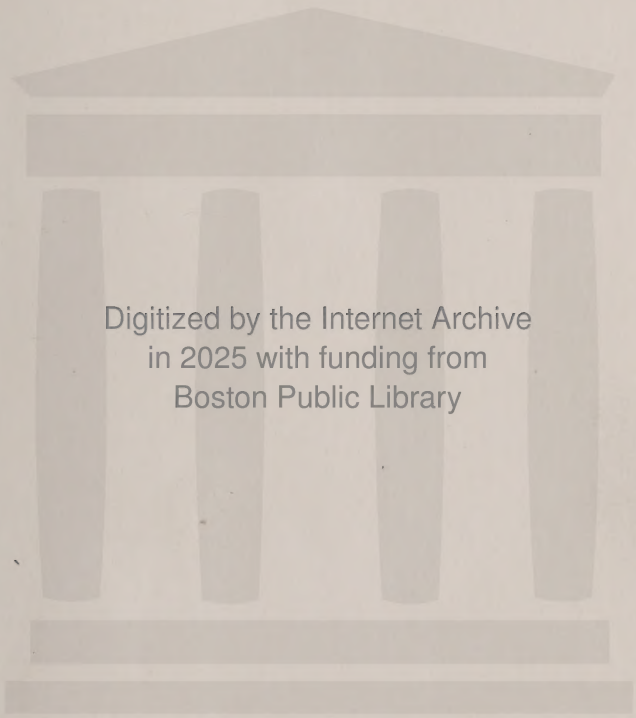
Boston Public Library
3 9999 10522 725 8


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025 with funding from
Boston Public Library

https://archive.org/details/northamericanrev4944webs

4462
J

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCXCIV.

JANUARY, 1898.

WHY HOMICIDE HAS INCREASED IN THE UNITED STATES.—II.

BY PROFESSOR CESARE LOMBROSO.

BARBARISM AND CIVILIZATION.

THE special conditions under which North American civilization has been developed are such that the results, even with respect to the white race, present an intermingling of the effects and dangers of the maximum of civilization and the maximum of barbarism. The types developed by Aryan civilization are twofold; the first is a type of violence, where the struggle for existence is met by force, political power, and wealth, which unite and maintain themselves by arms to the detriment of the weak; and as competition between ancient communities was supported by armed forces, so at the present time litigation is frequently anticipated and solved by violent means. Brigandage may be regarded as a species of natural adaptation to the conditions arising from bad government. When the police fail to provide protection against oppression and crime, when the ministers of the law tyrannize over the weak and are blind to the wrongdoing of the strong, then brigandage, like the *camorra*, steps in and opposes cunning and force to the evil conditions existing. In other words, it becomes a sort of wild justice, substituting its own sav-

Copyright, 1897, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

9336

age methods for the civil justice which is lacking. Thus, during the time of serfdom in Russia, the mujik had no defence save homicide against the intolerable tyranny of his master, the consequence being that there was hardly a great family in the country but could count a number of assassinations among its members.

"The *Cafoni*," testified Govone before a commission of inquiry in Southern Italy, "consider brigandage as the avenger of the wrongs they suffer at the hands of society." "We have," wrote Franchetti, "a class of peasants who are almost agricultural slaves, and, on the other hand, a group of persons who appear to hold themselves superior to the law; so that the former, finding that the law affords them no protection, have acquired the hab[illegible] of taking justice into their own hands." Add to this the sav[illegible] prejudice, widely inculcated, that he who would not aveng[illegible] insult is no man, and, therefore, that manly dignity der[illegible] that he should execute justice himself and not through [illegible] medium of the law, and it becomes evident how violence comes to be considered a virtue. So rooted was this idea that up to a very recent period a Roman woman of the people would have refused to marry a man who had never used his dagger, and no husband would ever assist the authorities to place their hands upon a robber or an assassin.

The other and more modern type of civilization shows a tendency, with the growth of government offices, universities, charitable institutions, hospitals, etc., to desert the small centres and to establish itself in more active communities where the criminally inclined find greater inducements and greater impunity, and where the mere fact of agglomeration frequently acts as a spur to crime and immorality.

In such a state of civilization the struggle for existence is carried on with craft and deceit; the cavilling of lawyers takes the place of the duel; political power is acquired, not by force of arms, but with money extracted from the pockets of others by official fraud or by tricks of the exchanges; while commercial war is carried on not only by perfecting the means of production, but also by deceit and by adulterations, which furnish the illusion of cheapness.

Each of these types of civilization has its corresponding special type of criminality. The one accompanied by violence has within

it a spirit of atavic criminality. It shows a tendency to return to primitive conditions, to a state of barbarism, which blunts the moral sense. Far from shuddering at homicide, it frequently considers that crime as heroic, and revenge as a duty. Crimes of blood are thus multiplied and the formation of criminal associations encouraged.

In an advanced state of civilization excessive culture introduces new forms of crime; such, for instance, as homicide for the purpose of collecting insurance, or murder by means of arsenic acid in times of cholera.*

Civilization, by weakening family ties, not only tends to increase the number of foundlings (to become future criminals) but also to the abandonment of the aged, and to an increase of rape and infanticide.

Liberal political laws, new forms of popular government, and a free press widely diffused, all favor the formation of corporations, either commercial or for mutual aid. A semblance of politics being infiltered into these, they are sometimes enabled to enjoy immunity for acts which, if committed by an individual, would bring the latter within reach of the law.

These two types of criminality, like the two types of civilization, are to be found in the United States. In some of the newer States where civilization has only recently penetrated, and to which has been attracted the least cultured class of immigrants, the population is sparse and the means of social defence are few. In some parts of those sections, acquired as they were by methods all too primitive—that is, by violently expelling the red-man—homicide may be said to be the only defence in case the settler's rights are transgressed. Those who invaded the territory of the Indian and who based their rights upon conquest, thought no more of killing a red-man than a hunter would of killing a monkey, and the consequence was they became so accustomed to homicide that the instinct has not yet become eradicated. The same may be said of the former slave holders, who were so used to disposing of the lives of their slaves that no

* In Vienna there was found to exist an association of mendicants who had their passports, false declarations, and a corps of travelling agents, the latter receiving 30 per cent. for information furnished by them. Armand had conceived the crime of feigning to have been bound and nearly strangled by his employer from whom he would subsequenty demand hush-money. The knowledge that the symtoms of cholera are similar to those produced by arsenic acid poison suggested to two doctors, during a cholera epidemic, the idea of insuring their patients and then poisoning them with that drug.

more importance was attached to the life of a negro than to that of a domestic animal in Europe.

The barbarous condition still continues in those States which have been but recently admitted to the Union, and is rampant in those where gold is sought for in vast solitudes where man returns to almost the primitive state, and where his own individual energy or that of a small group—I might almost say clan—is the surest guarantee of defence and of the accomplishment of his aim. Under circumstances like these, violence frequently becomes legitimate and homicide an act of defence. Even when the cause has ceased, and when the law, with that rapidity which is only witnessed in the Northern States, steps in and asserts itself, as in California, even then respect for human life is not deeply rooted. Homicides continue frequent, authority is defied, whether it be for the purpose of destroying industrial competition or putting an end to private strifes, or for the purpose of revenge. Frequently a criminal society is seen dominating a wide extent of country by instituting a reign of terror in the community. Such were the Molly Maguires and the White Caps, so powerful a few years ago in the Central States.

No less numerous are the crimes provoked by what may be termed the excessive civilization and too rapid progress of the United States. The vast extent of the country, containing immense tracts of virgin soil, and the long lines of railroad, great stretches of which are hundreds of miles distant from any civilized centre, furnish opportunities for a special crime, train wrecking for the purpose of robbery, resulting frequently in the killing of the passengers. In addition to this, owing to the vast development of the railroad system and the great speed at which trains are run in obedience to the demands of feverish American life, railroad accidents, with their attendant casualties, are so frequent that from 1888 to 1892 30,000 people are said to have been killed and 50,000 wounded in such disasters.

Even some of the greatest and most important of the economical associations of America, as for example that of life insurance, furnish to heartless speculators in human life incentives for assassination; and again progress in chemical and toxicological science is brought into the service of crime, as witness the case of Holmes, to whom poison served as the means and life insurance the motive for the commission of his nefarious deeds. So true

it seems to be that no great benefit is introduced but it is accompanied in its train by some deplorable evil. In fact, not only chemical and toxicological science, but all the other facilities of modern times are brought into play for the commission of crime, notably the telegraph, the telephone and the advertising columns of the newspapers, the latter being employed even in Australia, where not a few crimes have been occasioned by life insurance and facilitated by advertisements in the press. Even progress in liberty—that progress which has placed America in the vanguard of civilization—has at times been made the occasion of sanguinary crimes, as witness the cases of presidential assassination at the hands of political fanatics. To the same cause may be attributed the woundings and killings during electoral and especially during Presidential campaigns, which are not infrequent occurrences in the United States.

It is precisely this great American liberty which, by confounding politics with justice, particularly at the time of elections, occasionally renders the judges partial to criminals of their own party, thus weakening the law and the police, and converting these into mere instruments of a political faction. These forces become still more inadequate by reason of the limited number of officials and by the fact that their term of office lasts for but a brief period. To this must be added the further fact that, as the action of the law and the police is confined within the limits of the State, it would seem that there must be a tendency toward insufficiency and tardiness in the repression of crime. This explains, if it does not justify, public executions, which may, for the public welfare, serve as a counterpoise to judicial subtility and the insufficiency of the police, but are often the cause of a new kind of homicide perhaps graver in its effects, since it accustoms the most civilized and humane people in the world to scenes of violence—to the terrible spectacle of collective homicide, a spectacle which at times seems to produce the very crime it is supposed to repress.

Hence it is that, with a view to preventing this tendency and to debar the public from witnessing the spectacle of capital punishment, several of the States have provided for the infliction of the death penalty within the confines of the prison. But one might ask, what do these rare cases of humane precaution avail, when impunity is accorded to the parties engaged in those nu-

merous public executions which are the result of lynch law, and in which otherwise honest men are not only spectators but willing participants; executions where frequently the solemnity (at least apparent) of legal capital punishment is superseded by ribaldry and brutal laughter, where not only is the supposed culprit put to death, presumably for the public welfare, but the crowd enjoys the sight of his frequently prolonged suffering, thus reviving mediæval torture for the sake of the diversion and enjoyment of the mob.

Further, as I have before observed, a high state of civilization seems to lead to the abuse of stimulating and exciting substances such as alcohol, cocaine, and hashish; for, the nervous centres being more keenly developed, there ensues a greater necessity for nervous excitement. Hence the statistics showing 20 per cent. of purely alcoholic homicides, a figure which would probably be greatly increased if we were able to give the number, certainly not insignificant, of morphiomaniacs, the victims of cocaine and ether, etc., who are led to crime by these intoxicants.

I think I should add as an additional cause of crime that stimulus to imitation, the publication by the press of minute details of criminal incidents, reports of the police courts, accompanied by portraits, autographs, and biographies of criminals, all of which becomes more harmful when we consider that it is furnished to a community where but 22 per cent. of the native criminals are illiterate.

Some people, as La Place has well said, inherit from nature an organism prone to evil, but they do not indulge in evil acts until they are incited thereto by hearing of or witnessing the crimes of others. Some years ago a package of checks was found wrapped in a piece of paper upon which the thief had written these unhappy lines taken from a romance by Bourrasque: "Conscience is a word invented to scare the ignorant and to constrain them to drag out their lives in misery. Thrones and millions are acquired only by fraud and violence." The page containing these sentiments had been fatal to him.

Imitation, especially when it arises from newspaper reading, is a fruitful source of homicide. It was observed that barely had the news of the murder of Bishop Sibour been published, when two other bishops were assassinated, and the report of the trial of Philippe, the strangler of servant girls, brought forth imitators in

the shape of Billoir and Moyau; while Grimaud first of all attempted incendiarism, then killed his wife and threw nitric acid into the face of a friend, simply because he had read about similar crimes in the newspapers and he wished to achieve a like notoriety. In 1851 a woman in New York murdered her husband, and it was only a few days later that several others perpetrated the same crime. The crime of Troppmann produced such a sensation that for several days the circulation of the *Petit Journal* rose to 500,000 and that of *Figaro* to 250,000 per day; and it is a fact that, very shortly afterwards, this wretch found an imitator in Belgium by the name of Mouster. Another curious proof of the force of example in such cases was seen in Turin. It was found one morning that the bank of Signor R—— had been broken into. The police arrested the secretary, in whose house was discovered the stolen money, which he declared he had taken without any intention of using it; in fact, he could readily have stolen it without breaking in, but he desired to put in practice a crime similar to one of which he had read in the papers a few days before. His employer declared his confidence in the truth of the secretary's story, for he knew him to be an inveterate newspaper reader, and as soon as the culprit was released from jail he was reinstated in his old position.

Finally, there is that perpetual quota (which I have calculated to form 26 per cent.) of born criminals, almost all of them epileptics or morally insane—persons whom no civilization could cure, and who are to be found in all countries, including England, which has the lowest minimum of homicide. Train robbers are, for the most part, probably of this class; they are attracted to that very dangerous crime after having committed highway robbery and murder, simply because they are born criminals, and they become such preys to the vanity of crime that the most obtuse of police might recognize them at a glance. Thus, Bosco tells us of a certain working mechanic, who, after leading a criminal career in Texas, engaged in a certain train robbery, and was wounded in the act. The day after the crime he made his appearance at a resort in St. Louis, and accounted for his wound by saying that he received it while hunting; but shortly afterwards, upon reading in the newspaper the account of his crime, he could not restrain himself from exclaiming, as he showed the paper, that he himself had participated in the affair, thus illustrat-

ing the singular fact that men, otherwise intelligent and enterprising, are driven by a desire to gratify a criminal vanity to expose themselves to arrest and punishment.

The Remedy. As the physician never permits himself to expose a disease without suggesting the remedy, the reader is justified in asking what remedy I would suggest to check this prevalence of homicide in the United States.

To this inquiry I would reply that there will always be a certain number of homicides; for, as before shown, there is to be found in all countries a number of born criminals whose evil propensities no degree of civilization can suppress. So true is this that even in England, where it may be said every expedient has been tried to reclaim the occasional criminal, it has been demonstrated that there are certain individuals and, in fact, entire families who constantly and inevitably return to crime. The same thing has been said of another central European country which has done most to seek and to find remedies against such criminality and where religion has devoted itself to the task. refer to Switzerland. Geneva has its quota of habitual criminals, but this has been reduced by means suggested by the anthropological criminalist, such for instance as the establishment of colonies for the incorrigible and selection schools, which the United States, ever on the alert for new improvements, is about to adopt. By so doing, it will succeed in minimizing homicide long before European nations, which are opposed to changes and prefer to be killed rather than leave the old and beaten judiciary track laid out by the Roman code.

All those causes due in the United States to the opening up of new territories and the founding of new cities in sections conquered from the Indians, are fast disappearing. There will soon be no more reservations left to appropriate, and when not an acre of land will be left to the poor red man. The example of Massachusetts will eventually be followed by other States, and civilization, extending itself over the country like a torrent, will level all distinctions arising from race and climate. Even the excessive increase of homicide will cease and the quota furnished by this crime will be similar to that furnished by any Anglo-Saxon community, that race which is absorbing and assimilating all those who emigrate to its midst. But, in order to hasten this transformation as far as it affects crime, such legislation should be under-

taken as will result in a speedier suppression of the criminal by abolishing certain judicial formulas, doing away with the delays interposed by the wiles of lawyers, giving more independence to the police, divorcing the administration of the law from politics, and limiting the practice of liberating, under bail, those charged with the commission of crime; for it is these abuses which have led to the adoption of lynch law.

It is not to be expected that a country so jealous of its liberties as the United States will consent to any restriction of freedom of the press, even for the purpose of circumventing crime; but it would at least seem that societies similar to the Temperance Society might try to modify public opinion so as to implant in it that same laudable reticence and pudicity in treating of sanguinary crimes as is observed in cases of offences against good morals, and that the homicide should inspire the same horror and detestation as is aroused by the criminal who gives rein to his carnal and brutal instincts. By this means homicide would diminish, since one of the strongest of modern motives for this crime, namely imitation and love of notoriety, would be removed. When we think of the enormous interest Holmes succeeded in arousing, the hundreds of letters he received in jail, his autographs scattered far and wide, his portrait and his every act published in thousands of newspapers—when we think of all this, we can understand what must have been its effect on the born criminal, possessed as he is of a profound sense of criminal and personal vanity, and what a powerful incentive was furnished him by this wide notoriety, an incentive which will grow stronger with time and culture as the press proceeds to invade the most remote and isolated spots in the country.

In view of the relatively large proportion of homicides among miners, namely 3.2 per cent., while in the community at large it is but 1.6 per cent., and knowing as we do how laborious is their toil, how they are addicted to the use of alcoholic liquors and in what light esteem they hold human life, we can readily understand that if their conditions were ameliorated by protecting them against the oppression of the mining companies and facilitating their means of raising a family, there would be fewer homicides among them, just as there are already fewer among mechanics. These latter, while furnishing a high percentage of homicides in Europe, contribute but a small one in the United States.

Some measures have already been adopted and applied for correcting immigration evils, such as requiring the immigrant to possess a certain grade of intelligence and a certain amount of capital; not unreasonable when it is considered that 35 per cent. of the homicides in the United States are committed by foreigners of no education.

The immigration rules referred to will, likewise, serve to prevent many of the violent assaults and homicides provoked by bad economic conditions and by ill-treatment at the hands of some of the immigrant's own countrymen who cruelly speculate in the newcomer's labor. If there were a group of government officials whose duty it was to examine the newly-arrived immigrants and to distribute them throughout the country by explaining to them what sections and what industries offer the greatest advantages, the latter would be freed from the heartless cruelty of the boss or padrone and from speculators, whose swindling practices frequently provoke a frenzied reaction.

As regards the negroes, while we cannot say that they are irredeemable, since they have already made considerable progress, it will probably take a long time to infuse among them such a degree of intellectual culture as will refine them and develop their moral sense, for the impulsive and lower instincts are the last to disappear. These, in fact, have not been entirely eradicated even from the white race, as mobs frequently demonstrate. Societies have been formed for the promotion of negro emigration to Africa, and others for the purpose of relieving the congestion of the cities and spreading the surplus urban population over the country and away from the large centers, all of which, if feasible, will tend to modify the evil I have referred to. Those laws, institutions, and societies directed against alcoholism, and which make America a model for the world, have already produced a powerful effect, for, as I have shown, the percentage of alcoholic homicide now is but 20 per cent., while in other countries it is as high as 70 per cent. It is to be hoped that with an increased propaganda and energy this satisfactory showing will become still more favorable; for a decreased consumption of alcohol means less insanity, less misery, fewer suicides, less epilepsy and sterility, and at the same time tends to a decrease in such crimes as assaults, brawls, and thefts, which are largely due to alcohol.

Finally, when institutions similar to the one at Elmira come to be multiplied, we may confidently hope that the occasional criminal will be almost a thing of the past, and besides the glory of such an initiative, America would thus enjoy the direct advantage of a decrease in her criminal population, especially if, to the admirable institutions referred to, she should add a penal colony for the incorrigible where the latter might procure the means of subsistence by their labor, or perish if they refused to toil. This would be simply to place them in the same conditions as the honest man has to confront, instead of leaving them as now to prey on the community.

With respect to the final cause of crime which I have before referred to, that is, the coexistence of the two types of barbarism and civilization, of violence and fraud, every day that passes is tending to decrease and suppress the barbarous type by reason of constantly increasing culture among all classes, accompanied by a horror of war and a desire for the abolition of standing armies —which, after all, are nothing but the official representatives of barbarism—and also by a diminished sphere of conquest.

Another evil which the future is likely to cure is the tendency of the agricultural population to crowd into the large cities; for the United States more than any other country is introducing reforms intended to make life in the small towns and agricultural centres more attractive, that is, by giving them parks, squares, theatres, and other city adjuncts. Furthermore, the saloon influence is being combated by temperance and religious societies. Coffee houses and places of popular entertainment are being provided for the masses, and these tend to draw men away from bar-rooms which, being frequented by the criminal element, constitute a fruitful source of crime. All this will, without doubt, result in a diminution of homicide which, while sufficiently frequent, as shown by statistics, is in reality no more so than among other civilized people, when we deduct that proportion which is chargeable to the negroes.

CESARE LOMBROSO.

THE PASSING OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

BY THE HON. W. A. PEFFER, LATE U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS.

THAT the People's party is passing must be evident to all observers. *Why* it is going and *where,* are obviously questions of present public concern.

The party has a good and sufficient excuse for its existence. With our great war old issues were overshadowed and new forces came into play. The suspension of specie payments forced the government to adopt a new monetary policy, and the ignorance and prejudices of lawmakers afforded bankers a tempting opportunity, of which they promptly availed themselves, to use the public credit for purposes of speculation. Our currency was converted into coin interest-paying bonds, the word "coin" was construed to mean *gold,* and the minting of silver dollars was discontinued. The general level of prices fell to the cost line or below it, and the people were paying seven to ten per cent. annual interest on an enormous private debt. Personal property in towns and cities was rapidly passing beyond the view of the tax-gatherer. Agriculture was prostrate. Farmers were at the mercy of speculators; the earth had come under the dominion of landlords; forests and mines were owned by syndicates; railway companies were in combination; wealth and social influence had usurped power, and the seat of government was transferred to Wall Street.

These abuses were fruits of our legislation. Congress had forgotten the people and turned their business over to the money-changers. Both of the great political parties then active were wedded to these vicious policies which were despoiling the farmers and impoverishing the working classes generally. Gold was king and a new party was needed to shorten its reign.

And hence it was that the People's party was born. It came

into being that government by the people might not perish from the earth. It planted itself on the broad ground of equality of human rights. It believed the earth is the people's heritage and that wealth belongs to him who creates it ; that the work of distributing the products and profits of labor ought to be performed by public agencies ; that money should be provided by the government and distributed through government instrumentalities so that borrowers might secure its use at an annual charge not exceeding two per cent., which is equal to two thirds of the net average savings of the whole people.

Charges for services rendered by private persons or corporations entrusted with public functions—such as railroading and banking—had never before attracted much attention among the common people ; and as to interest for the use of money and rent for the use of land, they had been looked upon as things in the natural order, and therefore, being unavoidable, had to be endured. But the gold standard regime had driven the people to thinking. They saw that while they were paying from ten to a hundred per cent., according to the pressure of their necessities, for the use of money, the annual increase of the country's taxable wealth had but little exceeded three per cent., including the advance of values by reason of settlement and labor. And rent, they saw, was the same thing as interest on the estimated value of the property. If all the people working together as one cannot save more than three per cent. a year, when in possession of a vast area that did not cost them more than two cents an acre, is it cause for wonder that they did not thrive when paying three or four times that rate for the use of money ? And was there not something radically wrong in conditions when, in a country so great in extent as this, so rich and varied in resources and populated by freemen under a government of their own choosing, more than half the people were compelled to pay money or other property for the use of land to live on ? Why should any man or woman be required to hire space to live in ?

Forests are diminished and coal is used for fuel. But the coal is found in great beds under the earth's surface, and these sources of fuel are monopolized by a few men, and the rest of us are forced to pay them not only a price for the coal, but for rent of the land and interest on a fictitious capitalization of corporate franchises. By what authority is one man allowed to take and

possess more of the resources of nature than are sufficient for his own use and then demand tribute from others who are equally with him entitled to share them? And why shall one man or a company of men be permitted to dictate to other men what wages they shall receive for the labor they perform? And why should an employer be favored by the law rather than the person whom he employs? And by what rule of law or justice are the working masses required to use non-legal tender money in their daily business affairs, while the "primary" money is kept in reserve for the special use of the speculating classes? Why have one kind of money for the rich and another kind for the poor? Why should a stringency in New York City be treated more tenderly than a stringency in any other part of the country? Why pay a premium of 25 per cent. in gold on bonds that have many years yet to run? And why pay interest nine to twelve months before it is due? Why leave $18,000,000 or more without interest for years and years in national banks to be lent by them to their customers at six per cent. and upwards?

Questions like these were suggested by conditions present when the People's party was formed. It was the first great body of men, organized for political purposes, that took up these matters and put them in issue before the country with the view of ultimately securing relief through legislation. Its principles were essentially different from those of the other great parties on every fundamental proposition. Republicans and Democrats were given to old ideas in politics and law. Formed for altogether different purposes, they did not take kindly to any of the proposed reforms that would change established policies. Hence they were attached to the national banking system; they believed that the precious metals only are fit for use as money, and that all other forms of currency and all debts and pecuniary liabilities must be ultimately paid in coin. They believed that only private corporations should be intrusted with the function of issuing paper to be used as currency, and that the people's fiscal affairs ought to be conducted through the agency of private banks. They believed in private ownership of everything not absolutely necessary for the government's use in conducting its operations. They believed the coal mines might properly be owned and operated by corporations with the accompanying privilege of charging

what they please for the output. They believed in unlimited private ownership of land and in private means of transportation on public highways. The believed that railway and express companies might rightfully tax their patrons enough to pay dividends on a capitalization equal to two or three times the actual value of the property used. They believed that employers might justly dictate the rate of wages to be paid, and that, in case of resistance on the part of the employees, this right may be enforced by the use of military power, if need be.

On the other hand, Populists do not believe these things. They believe that every child has exactly equal rights with those persons who were here when he came; that he is entitled to a place to live, and that, equally with his fellow-men, he is entitled to the use of natural resources of subsistence, including a parcel of vacant land where he may earn a livelihood. Populists believe that the interests of all the people are superior to the interests of a few of them or of one, and that no man or company of men should ever be permitted to monopolize land or franchises to the exclusion of the common rights of all the people or to the detriment of society. They believe that what a man honestly earns is his, and that the workman and his employer ought to have fair play and an equal showing in all disputes about wages. They believe that railways and canals, like the lakes and navigable rivers, ought to belong to the people. They believe that money, like the highway, is made to serve a public use; that dollars, like ships, are instruments of commerce, and that citizens ought not to be subjected to inconvenience or loss from a scarcity of money any more than they should be hindered in their work or their business by reason of a shortage in the supply of wagons, cars or boats. They believe that the people themselves, acting for themselves through their own agencies, should supply all the money required for the prompt and easy transaction of business; that in addition to silver and gold coin, government paper, and only that, ought to be issued and used, that it should be full legal tender and that there should be no discrimination in favor of or against anything which is allowed to circulate as money.

It will be seen that every proposition in this code is intended to be in the interest of the great body of the people and in opposition to class distinctions. The monetary scheme proposed—

gold, silver, and government paper—is not a new departure; but it provides for unlimited coinage of both metals and an immediate increase of paper money to a limit sufficient for the people's use in their daily business. It opposes land monopoly, which is giving us a class of landlords and pauperizing a million people that are dependent on those who work in coal mines. This new party proposes to get the people in the saddle. Summarized, its party platform was this: Equal rights and opportunities to all: let the people rule. On that it went to the country and received more than a million votes.

A more earnest, enthusiastic, sincere, and disinterested campaign was never entered upon or waged than that of the Populists in 1892, and although the work was done under a continuing fire of ridicule on the part of Republicans and Democrats alike not before equalled in the history of American politics, the new party made a profound impression on the voters.

But early in 1896 it was agreed among the men in lead that an alliance should be formed with the Democrats for the campaign of that year, and now the People's party is afflicted with political anæmia. It took too much Democracy.

Shall the alliance of 1896 be continued? That is the question at issue. Fusionists answer yes, conditionally; Anti-fusionists answer no, unconditionally; and every day the question remains open these parties appear to get farther apart rather than closer together. Fusionists aver that they have not yet determined in favor of perpetual union with another party. That, they say, can be settled later—when they know what the other parties are going to do. Right there is the seat of trouble. If they would only declare against any and every form of alliance or fusion with any of the old parties, that declaration alone would settle the question and bring the party together again, while their failure to do so leaves the matter still in issue, and the breach widens. This claim of the Fusionists that they are simply waiting to see what course the other parties will take, that Populists may avail themselves of whatever strategy there is then in the situation, cannot, in the opinion of the Anti-fusionists, be safely accepted or allowed. It lacks evidence of party loyalty in the first place, they say; it lacks good faith in the second place; and in the third place it is wanting in truth. They are not waiting. On the contrary they are actively at work forming local alliances preparatory to the con-

gressional campaign in 1898 and the presidential contest in 1900. In every part of the country where they are comparatively strong, as in Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, they are in hearty accord with the fusion Democrats. In Iowa, at the late election, the regular State convention of the People's party refused to put out a ticket of its own, and personally the fusion members united in support of the Democratic nominees from Governor down. In Nebraska, where the Populists are largely in majority over Democrats, they united in support of a ticket headed by a Democrat. In Kansas, the patronage of the State administration (Populist) is divided among the parties to the triple alliance of 1896.

These things indicate the direction of political wind currents. They are signs full of meaning, and none but the blind can fail to comprehend their significance. Mr. Bryan, on his part, has already contributed fifteen hundred dollars to the People's party campaign fund, and Senator Allen has invested the money in interest-bearing securities that it may increase unto the day of its use in "promoting the cause of bimetallism."

On the other hand, the Anti-fusionists wish to maintain their party relations, and they do not see how they can do that by supporting some other party, more especially one whose principles do not accord with their own; and the division growing out of this difference is fatal. It is drawn on the dead line. These Anti-fusionists are like Cubans in this respect. They demand the independence of their party; they do not desire to be merely an attachment to another body, and particularly one from which they have once separated on account of unsatisfactory relations. They are affirmatively against fusion or alliance or federation of any sort with either the Republican or the Democratic party in any national election. They are Populists because they believe in the principles of the People's party, and they intend and expect to remain such, at any rate until a greater and better party is formed out of other existing political bodies that are aiming at higher ideals in government.

Nor can it be said that the Anti-fusionists have been wanting in attentions to their fusion brethren, for they have warned them from time to time of attempts of their national committee to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over them. They have repeatedly asked for a conference of the disagreeing factions, with the view of a friendly adjustment of their differences, but

no attention is paid to these requests. And that their number and temper might not be under-estimated or their motives and wishes misunderstood, they called a conference themselves, held at Nashville, Tenn., July 4, 1897, and on that occasion it was unanimously resolved by them to have no further union or alliance with other parties, and a committee was appointed to reorganize the Anti-fusion Populists of the country.

Several independent suggestions have been submitted by individual Anti-fusionists on their own responsibility, proposing plans to bring the members of the party together on new lines. One of these is to call a conference of delegates representing all political bodies that are opposed to the present gold-standard regime to consider whether it be not practicable, out of many, to form one great party with a single creed embodying everything regarded as essential by each of the parties represented. Such a conference, it is urged, would bring together the strongest and best men among the members of all parties. If, upon full and free conference, such a body should agree upon a common declaration of principles and a new name for the new body, the trouble which is now so threatening among Populists would be disposed of. Such a movement, if successful, would bring into being the most splendid body of men ever organized for any purpose, and they could gain possession of the government by the use of a freeman's safeguard—the ballot. This proposition, however, wise and patriotic as it is, brings no response from the other side.

Two things may be taken as facts: First; That as long as Mr. Bryan is in the field as the Democratic candidate for the presidency, Fusion Populists will co-operate with the Democracy. Second; That the Anti-fusion, or Middle-of-the-road, Populists will not again ally themselves either individually or as a body with the Democratic party, no matter who is its candidate.

These facts show *why* the People's party is passing. It now remains to consider *where* it is going.

It will not go to the Republicans, because its leading doctrines are diametrically opposed to the principles and policies of the present Republican party. Everything of importance favored by Populists is opposed by Republicans and everything cardinal in the Republican creed is opposed by Populists; hence the latter are not headed for the Republican camp. This is enough on that part of the subject.

If the People's party be merged, it will be in a new body that shall include advanced Democrats, like Altgeld and Bryan, Silver Republicans, and men of reform views in every other body that has been organized to promote political reforms. And that would be a wise and altogether practicable ending of these disastrous party antagonisms. But old party names would have to be dropped and a new name and creed adopted for the new party. If they could agree on doctrines, surely they would not fail to agree on a name by which they should wish to be known. This course would bring into one army all the forces that are now marching in the same direction—voters who ought to be together and who must be together before final victory is achieved over class rule. United in one party under a new name, with one creed and one leader, every member would feel the warmth of new friendships and be encouraged by the stimulus of a large companionship; for, together they would be able soon to re-establish popular government in the United States and the people would be in power again.

Such a party could be easily formed if Democrats were not opposed to it. And they would not be opposed if the Populists, united, should declare against fusion and merging and all sorts of co-operation with any existing party. And that is just what they ought to do. Let Populists but rise to the level of the occasion, shake off the hypnotic stupor of Democracy and assert themselves as party men, announcing the end of all unions and alliances with other parties, except such as shall relate to the formation of one great new party made up of voters opposed to the present Republican regime, and Democratic leaders, seeing that alone they are lost, would take counsel of their fears and hasten to the newer and securer fold. It is the readiness of Fusion Populists to train with their Democratic brethren that encourages them and turns their heads upward. If Mr. Bryan could not win for his party when he had virtually the united Populist support, how can he succeed with half that vote? The candidate of the Democratic party in 1900 will not get the vote of the Anti-fusion Populists, and without this support the chances for that party's success will be greatly lessened. But a union of all reformers in one body would be invincible.

It is no answer to these suggestions to question the loyalty or patriotism of the Anti-fusionists, for they will retort by saying

that if Democrats are in sympathy with Populism, their disinterestedness would be more apparent if they would come over and help the People's party, seeing that it had occupied and appropriated this reform ground long before it was discovered by the followers of Mr. Bryan.

Unless some new alignment of voters is effected soon, the People's party will permanently separate into two parts. One faction will go backward to the Democrats, and it will not have to go far, as the distance between the rear of the People's party and the vanguard of Democracy is so short that they readily mingle in the same camp and one countersign answers for both. The other faction will go forward to still higher ground. These men have nothing in common with Democracy except their views on the income tax and silver coinage, and these, even if they be taken as leading issues, are Populist doctrines, announced long before they appeared in the Chicago platform.

If it be inquired why they are opposed to Democracy, let the record answer. They believe the people of the United States constitute a nation; they believe the government is an agency created by the people for their use and benefit, and hence that all great national instrumentalities and franchises ought to be owned and operated by the government. This principle they hold to be vital. The Democratic party is and always has been opposed to this theory. It has uniformly opposed internal improvement by the general government except for military or naval purposes. That party believes in metallic money as the only real money; it is a "hard money" party, and it favors State bank notes for currency.

And while from the Populist doctrine on silver coinage, "sixteen to one" was made the Bryan battle-cry in 1896, there is no evidence that his party had then or has since changed front on the theory of Senate bill No. 2,642, introduced by Senator Jones, of Arkansas, on the 23d day of January, 1895, of which the ninth section is as follows:

"From and after the passage of this act the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to receive at any United States mint, from any citizen of the United States, silver bullion of standard fineness, and coin the same into silver dollars of four hundred and twelve and one-half grains each. The seignorage on the said bullion shall belong to the United States, and shall be the difference between the coinage value thereof and the price of the bullion in London on the day the deposit is made," etc.

The Democrats are now everywhere trying to get together on the silver question, and they can readily effect a union by agreeing to a law which shall have this section nine as one of its provisions. It is proverbially a party of compromise. A party with Bryan and Croker working harmoniously together in it need not struggle hard or long over so trifling a matter as the ratio between silver and gold. There is nothing in any of the public utterances of Mr. Bryan to indicate that, after securing the Populist vote, he would not consent to any ratio that would save to his party its conservative silver element.

Our coin debts were all contracted when the coin of the country consisted of silver and gold at the sixteen-to-one ratio, and every United States bond now out expressly declares on its face that it is "redeemable, principal and interest, in coin of the standard value of July 14, 1870," and the ratio was sixteen-to-one at that time. Besides, the greenbacks and Treasury notes are all redeemable in that kind of coin, and for these reasons Populists are not willing to change the ratio.

Nor can they agree with the Democrats on the subject of government paper money. The Chicago platform says:

"We demand that all paper which is made legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for duties to the United States, shall be issued by the government of the United States and shall be redeemable in coin."

That is to say, not that we demand or favor that kind of paper; but that, if any of it is issued, it "shall be redeemable in coin." The truth is, the Democratic party is now, as it has always been, opposed to government legal tender paper money. Otherwise, it would not demand redemption in coin.

The Populist platform puts it this way: "We demand a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts"—a demand quite different from that of the Democrats.

As a further matter of difference, attention is called to the fact that there is no evidence tending to show that the Democratic party has changed its position on the subject of retiring government paper money. Section one of Senator Jones's bill, above cited, provides as follows:

"That authority is hereby given to the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds of the United States to the amount of five hundred million dol-

lars, coupon or registered, at the option of the buyer, payable, principal and interest, in coin of the present standard value, and bearing interest at the rate of three per cent. per annum, payable quarterly, and not to be sold at less than par, the bonds to mature thirty years from date, and be redeemable at the option of the government after twenty years; and that the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby authorized to use the proceeds of the sale of said bonds to defray current expenses of the government, and for the redemption of United States legal-tender notes and of Treasury notes issued under the Act of July fourteenth, eighteen hundred and ninety, as hereinafter provided."

Seven sections following this section provide details, including authority to national banks to enlarge their circulation to the full limit of their bonds deposited. No Populist could endorse a measure like that, yet when the bill was reported favorably to the Senate by Mr. Jones every Democrat in Congress at the time, with the possible exception of a few monometallists, stood ready to support it.

There are still other matters of difference. Populists regard the land question as of supreme importance. The people's homes are slipping away from them. We are fast becoming a nation of renters. We have a million or more unemployed men and women all the time, some of whom, at least, could earn a living on the public lands if they could only get to them with means to start. Populists think the national and State governments ought to take hold of the labor problem and get the people at work again. Strikes and lock-outs, and consequent disturbances in trade, can be prevented by keeping people employed at fair remuneration. There is nothing in the Democratic platform or in that party's history which is in any way responsive to these advances of Populism. So, too, Populists believe that the present capitalization of our great railway system is a standing menace to the commercial peace of the country, and that final government ownership and management is the only safe and certain cure for the accumulating embarrassments attending present methods of handling the business of these powerful corporations. Democracy is opposed to such a policy. And if there is anything on which the Populist heart is chiefly set, it is the right of the people to propose legislation and to pass on important measures before they take effect as laws. But this doctrine has not found favor in any body of orthodox Democrats.

Finally, as to all matters which Populists regard as fundamental and of surpassing importance, the two parties are not only

not in accord, but are positively opposed to each other. The People's party was formed for present duties, while that of the Democracy came from divisions among the founders of the Republic. The doctrines of this young party are, in brief, the equal rights of men; its creed is the golden rule; its idea of law is justice, and its theory of government is the rule of the people.

If the scheme to organize a new body is left untried, or, if tried, it is found to be impracticable and the People's party is finally separated into two wings, the Fusionists will have no difficulty in finding a resting place; but the work for which the party was born and which it bravely commenced will be left for their old associates and new co-workers who shall be found in other bodies—men and women who believe good government can be maintained only through social order and just laws, citizens who believe in doing good because they love their fellow-men, reformers whose faces have always been to the front, veterans who draw the enemy's fire and who fight better in the field than in the camp.

There will be plenty of work for them to do. Conditions will not improve under the present regime. Times will get no better. Stringency and panic will be here on time again and again as of old, for neither Republicans nor Democrats offer a preventive. They do not seem to know what ails the country and the world. High tariff is but heavy taxation, and free silver alone will not give work to the idle nor bread to the poor. The case needs heroic treatment—just such as the People's party proposed.

Yes, the work will be delayed, but it will be done. Justice will be re-established in the land and the people's rights will be restored to them. The law of progress will not be suspended any more than the law of gravitation. While the factors are being arranged in equations of the next century, and during the siftings and winnowings of the time, these devoted Populists will gravitate to their proper places among the leaders of thought and action in the work of the trying days to come. To them, and to such as they, will be given truths of the future to reveal to others as they can bear them, and they shall have at least the reward of the faithful.

W. A. PEFFER.

THE SPEAKER AND THE COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

BY GEN. A. W. GREELY, U S. A.

A REVIEW of the history of the first century of the United States shows that this republic has been most fortunate in the selection of the official chiefs of its co-ordinate branches of government—the executive, judicial, and legislative. Rarely has it occurred that a man filling any of these exalted offices has fallen short of the high standard that America demands, and of a few it may be even said that the man has been, if anything, greater than his office. Notwithstanding the detraction of enemies and adulation of friends, it is evident that no inconsiderable number of thinking men consider Thomas B. Reed, the present Speaker of the House of Representatives, as one who overshadows the office; whether rightly or wrongly, it is for future generations to decide.

The power of the Speaker of the House of Representatives has steadily increased from the first Congress to the present, and in its influence on national legislation is believed by many even to exceed that exerted by the President. Samuel J. Randall, through whom the influence of the Speaker was increased more largely than by any other man in this country, once said: "I came to consider that (the Speakership) . . . was the highest office within the reach of American citizens; that it was a grand official station, great in the honors which it conferred and still greater in the ability it gave to impress on our history and legislation the stamp of truth, fairness, justice, and right."

In view of the recent political struggle in the House of Representatives over the dominating factor of national legislation—the appointment of committees—it seems of timely interest to

trace the growth of the Speakership from an office scarcely above that of moderator to its present autocratic position as a representative exponent of the policy of the dominant party.

It is interesting to note that if the House of Representatives at its first session in 1789 did not clothe the Speaker with autocratic powers, yet it invested the office with an external dignity of a somewhat Turveydrop character. The House, indeed, saved the dignity of the country by disagreeing to the proposition of the Senate to address the President as "His Highness . . . the Protector of their Liberties," but when it came to its presiding officer, the earliest rules ordered that "when the House adjourns, the members shall keep their seats until the Speaker go forth; and then the members shall follow," a procedure that was in force for nearly six years, until November 13, 1794.

The House, however, kept its legislative powers in the hands of its members. Business was often done on the motion of a member. The Speaker appointed only the minor committees, while the important committees were elected by ballot, a fact that is generally unknown. Committeeships were limited both in power and in tenure of office, service being as a rule for a few days only, and never beyond one session.

The first rules for the House of Representatives, April 7, 1789, were reported by Elias Boudinot on behalf of his fellow-committeemen, Nicholas Gilman, Benjamin Goodhue, Thomas Hartley, Richard Bland Lee, James Madison, Roger Sherman, William Smith, Thomas T. Tucker, and Jeremiah Wadsworth.

Among the most important rules were those setting forth the Speaker's relation to the committees, as follows:

"The Speaker shall appoint committees unless it be determined by the House that the committee shall consist of more than three members, in which case the appointment shall be by ballot of the House."

"Committees consisting of more than three members shall be balloted for by the House; if upon such ballot the number required shall not be elected by a majority of the votes given, the House shall proceed to a second ballot, in which a plurality of votes shall prevail; and in case a greater number than are required to compose or complete the committee shall have an equal number of votes, the House shall proceed to a further ballot or ballots."

It is to be noticed that all the important committees were named by the House, which in its first session elected nine committees by ballot. While the rules were silent on the subject, yet the tenure was brief, the committee on elections only serving through the session. The policy of the House in 1789 was indicated by the discharge of the Committee on Ways and Means, after less than two months' service, and by the entrusting of all matters to special committees whose tenure expired with brief reports speedily rendered. Even the fourth Congress in 1795 had but two standing committees, and the number in 1805 and in 1815 were but seven and twelve respectively. The fifty-fourth Congress in 1896, on the other hand, had, including three joint committees, no less than fifty-seven standing committees.

The chief officials of the two Houses of Congress evidently viewed with disfavor their restricted powers, and efforts were speedily made to enlarge their scope. Both attempts were along the same lines, to empower the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate to appoint all committees. The Senate, October 31, 1791, on a motion to alter the Senate rule, which provided for the election of committes by ballot, so that the Vice-President should be empowered to nominate committees in future, declined to surrender its powers and to this day elects its committees.

In the House the Speaker was more successful. The last committee elected by ballot, if indeed it was elected, was that of January 11, 1790, which was constituted to bring in a bill for the enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States. Under the standing rules of the House, this committee, consisting of one member from each State, should have been elected by ballot. The Annals of Congress, compiled nearly thirty years later, state that this course was pursued, but the official journal of the House states that the committee was appointed. However this may be, the House immediately thereafter reversed its original action and initiated a policy of strengthening the powers of the Speakership, which has been followed to the present day.

The House Journal of January 13, 1790, contains the following record: "On motion, Ordered, That so much of the standing rules and orders of this House as directs the modes of appointing committees be rescinded; and that hereafter it be a standing rule of the House, that all committees shall be

appointed by the Speaker, unless otherwise especially directed by the House, in which case they shall be appointed by ballot; and if upon such ballot the number required shall not be elected by a majority of the votes given, the House shall proceed to a second ballot, in which a plurality of votes shall prevail; and in case a greater number than are required to compose or complete the committee shall have an equal number of votes, the House shall proceed to a further ballot or ballots."

The House Journal and the Annals of Congress are silent as to reasons advanced by Richard Bland Lee, who assisted in formulating the original rules, in moving this change and also as to the vote on the subject. It was undeniably a thin House as no less than fourteen out of its sixty-one members had not qualified. It would hardly seem that the change was dictated by the difficulty of elections, for the House consisted of only sixty-one members and the occasions for elections were infrequent. It may be added that this was the only rule changed by the House during that Congress.

The importance of the committees was obvious at the opening of the second Congress, when immediately after the qualification of the Speaker, Clerk, and members, the House "Ordered, That the Speaker shall appoint committees until the House shall otherwise determine."

The next change of rules, November 13, 1794, affected the chairman of the Committee of the Whole, who under rules of April 7, 1789, "was to be appointed." The new rule put the intention of the House beyond doubt by a proviso that the chairman "shall be appointed by the Speaker."

The increased power of the Speaker proved displeasing to many members, especially those in the political minority, but no open attack was made upon the Speaker's absolute control of committees until the second session of the eighth Congress, when Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, was Speaker. It may be added that the persistent and determined attack then made affords the only instance in the history of the House where the power of the Speaker has been even ostensibly diminished. I say ostensibly diminished, for the limitation then placed on the Speaker and the power then granted to committees of electing a member to a vacant chairmanship has never again been exercised.

On November 6, 1804, the House excused Mr. J. C. Smith, chairman of the Committee on Claims, from serving thereon, and S. W. Dana, being appointed on the committee in Smith's place, was regarded by a majority of the committee as being its chairman, thus excluding from promotion Mr. Holmes, who was the second person on the original list. Thereupon a new standing rule was submitted as follows:

"That each of the committees of this House be empowered to appoint a chairman by plurality of votes in all cases where the first-named member of the committee shall be absent, or excused by the House."

The committee to whom this motion was referred reported in favor of the motion except that the election should be by a *majority* of the committee. The House after debate refused to agree to the resolution by a vote of fifty yeas and sixty-nine nays. Immediately a motion was made that all committees should choose their own chairman, but this with another similar motion failed. But the question would not down, and finally the following standing rule was adopted, November 23, 1804:

"That the first-named member of any committee appointed by the Speaker of the House shall be the chairman, and, in case of his absence, or being excused by the House, the next named member, and so on, as often as the case shall happen, unless the committee shall, by a majority of their number, elect a chairman."

It does not appear that any chairman has been so elected save in the original case, where the committee was carrying out the wishes of the Speaker.

One contingency, however, that of death, was not taken into consideration, but in providing for it in the amendment of the rules, 1888, the power of the Speaker was again enhanced by adding the following addition to the rule:

"And in the case of the death of a chairman, it shall be the duty of the Speaker to appoint another."

On April 21, 1806, Mr. James Sloan, after a bitter attack on John Randolph, moved, "for the purpose hereafter of keeping the business of the House of Representatives within its own power," that all standing committees shall be appointed by ballot and choose their own chairman. This motion was tabled, and being renewed by Mr. Sloan in the next session was defeated by

the very close vote of forty-two "ayes" to forty-four "noes." The question was revived at the beginning of the next Congress, October 28, 1807, by Thomas Blount, but without success. The attempt was renewed in the following Congress by Matthew Lyons, who moved May 23, 1809, that the standing committees be appointed by ballot for the reason that the "course proposed would be more respectful to the nation; and that the person so appointed would feel a greater responsibility to the House." Mr. Gardiner supported the motion as "consistent with the republican mode of proceeding and thinking proper for this country, . . . where the many were as competent as the few or as the one." The motion was defeated by sixty-seven "nays" to forty-one "yeas."

For forty years, until the election of a Speaker by a plurality vote in 1849, there were no further efforts to effect a radical reform in the selection of the standing committees, the intervening attempts being confined to single or to special committees.

However, not infrequent charges of partisanship were made against the Committee of Elections, and in 1813 the effort to set aside as illegal the election of Mr. Hungerford, of Virginia, on a report of the Committee of Elections to that effect, caused much debate. Finally the committee's report was rejected and Hungerford was confirmed in his seat. Rufus King, of Massachusetts, who voted against the report of the committee, moved June 14, 1813, that "the Committee of Elections shall in future be designated by lot, etc."; but the motion was defeated. Similar and unsuccessful attempts were made to change the method of electing this committee in 1838 and 1839.

As regards special committees, Mr. Pitkin's efforts failed, April 4, 1810, to have the committee to inquire into the conduct of General Wilkinson appointed by ballot, the vote being fifty-three "ayes" to sixty-four "noes."

In one case only has the Speaker barely escaped from the election of a special committee by the ballots of the members of the House, March 13, 1832, in connection with the appointment of a special committee on the Bank of the United States, Mr. Stevenson being Speaker. The House, after a long debate, voted by 101 "yeas" to 99 "nays" on a motion by Erastus Root that the committee shall be appointed by ballot. Before the result was announced Mr. Plummer, of Mississippi, who had voted "yea,

changed his vote, thus making a tie, whereupon the Speaker gave the casting vote in the negative.

In the prolonged contest over the election of the Speaker in 1849, when for the first time in the history of the House he was elected by a plurality vote contrary to the standing rules, the general question of the appointment of the committees by the Speaker was again raised. This was natural, as the complexion of the committees was a political factor of primary importance. Mr. Sackett, of New York, then moved "that the committees of this House be appointed by the House under a *viva voce* vote of the members thereof, and that it shall require a majority of those voting to elect." The Speaker ruled the resolution out of order.

In recent years Mr. Gillette's proposition in 1880, to restrict the power of the Speaker to appoint until especially authorized by the House, was unsuccessful. Mr. Orth's motion of January 11, 1882, to change the methods of appointing committees, was referred to the Committee on Rules, of which the Speaker was chairman. Mr. Orth claimed that in the present method "the responsibility was too great for any single individual, and that a one-man power is always dangerous and in conflict with republican principles of government." Several similar but unsuccessful efforts were made later, which need not be dwelt upon.

It may be added that with the increasing power of the Speaker the powers of the committees have been likewise augmented.

A brief statement indicating wherein lies the power of the Speaker and the committees may not be inappropriate. There is no rule requiring committees to report to the House any bills except general appropriations. Seven committees only have the right to report at any time, and then only on matters especially designated. One committee only, that on Rules, of which the Speaker is chairman, has a right to have its report considered at any time; to this committee must go all proposed action touching order of business. No proposition, except by unanimous consent, can be considered unless reported by committee. No member can address the House without being recognized by the Speaker, who decides which of several members rising together shall speak first. The Speaker, without laying them before the House, refers bills, executive reports, etc., to committees, and reports of committees to appropriate calendars, and on such references often depends the fate of a measure.

Until 1861 committeeships expired with each session, but now as regards standing committees the terms are coexistent with the organized life of each Congress. Speaker Colfax, when the power of the House was questioned, decided that "the House of Representatives has the power to instruct any committee which it is authorized to appoint. It is a judicial check upon the power of the Speaker in appointing committees." Such instructions are extremely rare, and the power of each committee over legislation in its particular branch is almost unlimited. It was frequently possible in the early Congresses for individuals to secure at times legislation that had not passed the scrutiny of a committee, but such legislative action is now almost unknown.

Inasmuch as the present system of appointments and the scope of power of committees have been the gradual and uninterrupted growth of a century's experience on the part of the House, it is not probable that any radical changes will be made therein in the near future. Such changes, if made at all, would naturally occur under conditions similar to those which caused the election of coalition Speakers in 1795 and 1839, or of plurality Speakers in 1849 and 1855. Any change would doubtless result in the adoption of strictly American methods, such as those in vogue in the Senate, where committees have always been elected. THE NORTH AMEMICAN REVIEW for August described the French, German, and Italian methods, where committees are elected by ballot through the medium of sections into which their legislative bodies are divided, but Congress would scarcely import these foreign methods.

Great as are the powers of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and potent for good or evil as are the committees appointed by him, it is pessimistic to attribute to either or to both a measure of power detrimental to the future weal of the nation. In continual contact with the people, and observant of the glaring publicity that causes frequent reversals of public opinion, it is safe to say that future Congresses, if they should initiate legislation of an objectionable character, would ultimately enact such laws as will harmonize with the intelligent wishes of the people, and tend to the highest development of the Republic.

A. W. GREELY.

AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY IN ASIA.

BY CHARLES DENBY, JR., SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES LEGATION IN CHINA.

It was the opinion of Mr. Lowell that the Pacific Coast of the United States would remain the back door of the Republic while her face would always be turned toward the Atlantic. This was the opinion which Mr. Bryce also came to after his latest visit to the United States. Great as these authorities are, the writer, familiar with the East, its industries, its peoples, and its resources, positively refuses to accept their opinion. The world has moved too fast for their prophecy. The Pacific of the date when Mr. Lowell spoke is not the Pacific of to-day; the America of which Mr. Bryce wrote so well and pleasantly has changed with changes of her own and must change further because the East has changed.

It is a familiar statement that Asia is the greatest hive of human beings in the world, the greatest storehouse of treasures, the greatest unexploited field, the last prize to conquer for the commerce of the West. For many centuries it was the end of the navigator's voyage, whence he returned again to the port from which he sailed. Beyond rolled the Pacific, a vast, forbidding barrier, which, five thousand miles further on, beat against the rocks of North America, the "back door" of a new continent, whose people had their faces turned the other way. Now this new continent is conquered. The Anglo-American stands on the shores of the Pacific. He cannot face back to Europe across three thousand miles of continent. The great barrier has become a highway.

Let us not be misled by historic parallels. Asia is more accessible to-day than Europe thirty years ago. In 1885 there was but one line of steamers from America to Japan, now there are

six, crowded with passengers and weighted down with freight. Twelve years ago the writer made the voyage from San Francisco to Yokohama in twenty-two days; this year he has crossed the same ocean in less than twelve. "The East" is no longer the East for Americans. If these new aspirants for oriental trade awake to their opportunities they may still make their triumphant motto "Westward Ho!"

A few years ago the exporters of the United States took little interest in China or Japan. From there we imported teas and silks and other fabrics, which found their way to us under foreign flags and by the way of foreign ports. But our exports were insignificant. Not only were American manufacturers occupied at home and satisfied with a market which a high tariff secured to them free from competition, and which they could scarcely supply, but the East itself continued on its monotonous way, disappointing all hope of progress, the same from year to year. Now two changes have taken place. The productiveness of American industry has outstripped the demand of the American market, and the manufacturer begins to look abroad. American locomotives whistle on the plains of Russia and of Argentina. American typewriters click in the offices of Europe. American rails are laid in the mountain passes of India. American cotton goods are the standard of the world. For the manufacturer of the United States the export trade has become a necessity, and it should be fostered with a jealous care.

The other change that has taken place is a change in China and Japan. The war of 1894–95 between these two powers was the most momentous event in the history of the East. It did more to startle, more to develop, China than any experience in her past. No victory of a European power could have had such an effect upon her. It required the triumph of an insignificant and detested rival to bring to the knowledge of Chinese statesmen the mortal weakness of their conservatism. This war has done more to open this vast field to Western commerce and civilization than five hundred years of foreign trade and one hundred years of missionary teaching. The effect has been instantly felt. The country seems to have sprung into life. Railroad lines are under construction, the beginnings of vast contemplated systems. Mines are being opened, new ports established, new lines of commerce developed. Schools for the teaching of English and

of Western sciences are being founded and attended by an earnest crowd of intelligent young men who, a few years ago, would have blushed to count a foreigner among their friends. China looks to the West to learn the sources of a strength which she has long affected to despise.

This attention is reciprocated, but in a different spirit. The eyes of Europe are turned toward China and the European powers are arranging far-reaching plans dictated by territorial ambition. Their journals already openly discuss the respective spheres of influence which they hope some day to make exclusively tributary to their commerce. France is annexing territory on her Tonquin frontier, and is building railroads into Yunnan. Russia has laid her hand on Manchuria, and six hundred miles of Russian railroad in Chinese territory will shortly connect the trans-Siberian system with the port of Vladivostock on the Pacific. Germany is obtaining "concessions" from China—small areas of ground at the treaty ports, which will be placed under the German flag and where, under their own laws, German merchants may establish houses and conduct their business. Japan, baffled in the North, has annexed Formosa and founded there a lasting basis for her commerce. Nor has she stopped here, but she is daily adding to her military and naval strength, preparing to take her part in the coming struggle for supremacy on the mainland. England has opened new territories for her commerce by asserting the right of British merchants to navigate the West River, the key to the southwest of China. British trade was never so flourishing in China as to-day and the supremacy of England's naval power in Asiastic waters bears testimony to her intention to defend it.

All these powers recognize the fact that trade follows the flag. Where their ships go and where they make their national influence felt, there trade springs up to meet them. They recognize that the present is a critical period in the history of China ; that when the breaking up and the inevitable partition come, those who have established themselves will obtain recognition of their interests, those who have failed to do so must see their trade go to the masters of the soil.

The government of the United States is strangely apathetic to these changes in the East, though it needs but little knowledge to assert that our interests there are of the first importance. The present crisis cannot be accurately judged from any

Marion Public Library MARION OHIO

notions of the past, though the past affords some analogy to what is taking place to-day. As the Mediterranean was once the centre of the ambitions of Europe, and as it ceded its importance to the wider fields of the Atlantic, so in the future must the Atlantic cede its importance to a wider field. There is a greater commerce growing up to our West, and its possession must be contested upon a greater stage. The statesmen of Europe reason that great size in nations is now becoming a matter of the first importance, and great size is possible only to those who have broad continents to grow in or widespread colonies. The relations of the great powers are changing, and the Pacific is becoming the centre of their striving. The powers that adjoin this ocean are destined to be the actors in the next drama of the world and the Pacific the stage thereof. England is the greatest of these powers. This she owes to Canada and to her possessions in the East. Russia is destined to a future greater than England's present. France is making desperate efforts to build up for herself an Asiatic foothold in this company. China's vast population and wide territory make her another factor in the problem. She may be conquered and enslaved for years, but the great vitality, the great individuality, the exclusive cohesiveness of her people, seem to destine her to an ultimately independent national existence. She must eventually emerge from her position of subjection and inferiority and become one of the great nations of the earth. Japan's *rôle* will be a smaller one, but the inherent identity of her interests with China's must make them allies against Europe in working out their common destiny. In the hands of these powers lies the future of the Pacific, and the future of the Pacific is the future of the world.

Our country cannot shut its eyes to this condition. The people of America, with a rapidly increasing population producing more than they can consume, with an aggressive character that brooks no opposition, with a coast line greater than that of any power of Europe, dotted with flourishing cities, constitute a factor in the future of the Orient that no apathy, no neglect, can belittle. Whatever policy we may have inherited as to entanglements with European powers must be discarded here. The people of the United States must not be content to see their neighbors to the West, with their boundless potentialities of trade, handed over, an uncontested prize, to the ambitions of

Europe. America may attempt to evade the responsibility thrust upon her. She may, with shortsighted resolution, turn her face away from her great future, but she will not succeed. The markets of the Orient are the heritage of her merchants, and the time will inevitably come when the voice of the Republic will be heard in oriental courts with the same accent of authority as in the commonwealths of South America. It would be well if the certainty of this destiny could he recognized before European statesmanship has barred the way with "vested interests."

Leaving aside, however, these future complications, which no present thought can evade, we find that the actual commercial interests of the United States in Asia are worthy of the most careful consideration. Though its trade is in its infancy, China to-day is a great market, unable to supply itself with the very manufactured goods we have to sell. To this market we are the nearest neighbors. Some of the energy and intelligence which our manufacturers are devoting to South America would find ample compensation here. In Western America, when railroads were built they took the population with them and built up the business on which they hoped to thrive. In China the population, the business, the prosperity are there waiting for the railroads to come to them. The commercial activity which good communications will create is inconceivable. If to the Empire of China, with its vast population, its vast territory, its limitless resources, the electric spark of American enterprise could be communicated, the trade that would spring into existence would surpass all the records of history. Already on the short lines in the north we have some indication of the future. The cars are crowded with passengers and freight, trade is springing up, and Chinese merchants, with ready intelligence, are planning the extension of their business. New industries are coming into existence. Certain cities are pointed out as railroad centres, and real estate is advancing in price as in the "boom" cities of America. The station of Fengtai, eight miles southwest of Peking, now a rude building in a field of cabbages, is confidently expected by railroad experts to become the busiest railroad station in the world. There is no doubt that the general import and export trade of China will enormously increase. Internal taxation barriers will be broken down, and not only will new markets of great importance be reached, but old ones will become more accessible. The peo-

ple will become more familiar with foreign products and inventions and will use them more freely. Increased opportunities of employment will give the lower classes more money to spend and there will be a greater demand for foreign oil, cloth, machinery, and the thousand things of foreign origin which the Chinese are only beginning to appreciate. It is a market which the writer candidly believes to be, for the American manufacturer, the most important in the world.

The present trade of the United States with China is difficult to accurately estimate. The Chinese returns of trade indicate as going to or coming from the United States such goods only as are carried directly between an American and a Chinese port. If Chinese goods are reshipped at an English port their further progress is not traced, but they appear as having been exported to England only. Similarly, American goods appear as imports from Great Britain and her colonies. In the year 1896 the foreign trade of China was 333,600,000 Haikuan taels,* of which imports were 202,589,994 taels, and the exports 131,081,421 taels. Of these totals, 201,263,026 taels was trade with Great Britain and Hongkong, and 23,053,452 taels trade with the United States. As above stated, however, these figures represent only the *direct* trade from American ports to Chinese ports and conversely, and are far from giving an accurate account of the export of American goods to China and of Chinese goods to the United States. A large part of American cotton goods, oil, flour, machinery, iron, lumber, etc., etc., in all of which there is considerable trade, appears credited in the Chinese returns to England and Hongkong. The totals should probably be nearer 40,000,000 than 23,000,000 taels.

The trade of Japan, though not of the same magnitude nor destined to the same development as that of China, is worthy of consideration. The total foreign trade of Japan for 1896 was about $145,000,000, United States currency, of which about $35,000,000 was trade with Great Britain and $25,000,000 with the United States. Japan's imports from the United States aggregated about $8,000,000, and consisted chiefly of kerosene, raw cotton, flour, locomotives, rails, cigarettes, watches, and timber. It is noticeable that 3,680,000 tons of shipping under the British

* The Haikuan tael was worth 81 cents United States currency at average value of sight bills of exchange on New York from Shanghai for the year 1896.

flag entered and cleared in Japan during 1896, while the total tonnage of American shipping for the period was only 284,000 tons.

It is interesting to look for a moment at the trade of Vladivostock, the port of Siberia, and a market of the greatest promise. In 1885 only eighty-six ships called at this port; in 1895 this number had increased to 191, and in 1896 to 270. The trade of Vladivostock and Nikolaevsk is chiefly import. It grew from 3,000,000 pud in 1892 to 11,358,891 pud in 1895. In this latter year the import at these two ports was valued at 22,418,524 silver roubles. Small as these figures are, the increase is striking, and there is no question that the opening of the Russian railroads in Manchuria and Siberia will give a great impetus to the trade of the Pacific. Already the Russians are talking of trans-Pacific lines, with the Eastern terminus at an American port, so as to form a new line of transportation around the world, which shall touch no British soil.

It has not been the purpose of this article merely to direct attention to the possibilities of the Orient and to arouse an interest in it, but chiefly to point out certain measures which would immediately benefit the exporters of the United States. The first and most important step should be the manifestation of a greater interest by the American government in the political and commercial affairs of the Orient. As to China in particular, the powers of Europe should be assured that whatever disposition they make of the land, the trade must be open to all; that no future tariffs, whether by conventions or as the result of annexation, shall be allowed to discriminate against the United States. The American merchant should be assured that his government is supporting him, and the Chinese government should be made to understand that the commercial interest of every American citizen is jealously watched at Washington. The official support which European merchants receive from their governments should be offset by an equally determined support of our merchants from our government.

Means of transportation between the ports of America and those of Asia should be put upon a better basis. Direct lines of cheap freight steamers under the American flag should be established from the Atlantic ports to Shanghai and Yokohama. Direct communication is the surest creator of trade. Private

enterprise must grapple with this problem. Arrangements can easily be made through American agents in China by which vessels sailing regularly with cargo from Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New York can be assured of cargo on their homeward journey. The steamer lines between the Pacific coast and the Orient should receive such financial support as to be able to maintain frequent communication by American-built ships of the highest class. Canadian competition should be surpassed in all particulars. The profits on the carrying and insuring of American goods should be diverted to American companies. Our people should no longer endure the humiliating necessity of sending our merchandise, our mails, and our telegrams under the protection of a foreign, perhaps a hostile, flag.

American merchants and manufacturers should insist on American representation of their interests in China. A German or an English agent of an American firm will sell German or English goods first, then American if he can. The methods with which American manufacturers have hitherto been content in China are in marked contrast to the methods they have used to push their business in other quarters. Nothing is so badly needed as aggressive American business methods.

On the 23d of September last the writer called upon the great statesman of China, Li Hung Chang, in the privacy of his home in Peking. "Grand Secretary," I said, "I am going to America to try to interest the merchants of my country more in the trade with China. What do you think of the idea?" "Go," said the venerable statesman, "and count on my assistance. Your idea is an excellent one; the trade between China and the United States is an unmixed blessing to both."

American manufacturers have shown that they need fear no rivalry. Their goods are sold in open competition with the world. On the shores of the Pacific lies their brightest hope. Russia, now bending her energies to the opening of Siberia, is our constant friend. China and Japan have no reason to be aught but cordial to us. We have all the advantages of position, all the advantages of goodwill. It is only necessary to realize our situation and to act upon it.

CHARLES DENBY, JR.

THE INTELLECTUAL POWERS OF WOMAN.

BY PROFESSOR FABIAN FRANKLIN.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for September contains a spirited discussion by Mrs. G. G. Buckler of several aspects of the woman question. Of these it is the object of the present paper to consider one only: that which Mrs. Buckler presents in the form of the inquiry, Has woman ever produced, or is she likely to produce, anything first-rate in the higher branches of literature, science, or art?

After a rapid survey of the field Mrs. Buckler answers the first half of this question with a decided negative; on the second half, in the only formal statement she makes concerning it, she holds to a position of judicial doubt. "Women have never yet attained," she says, "the highest rank in science, literature, or art. Whether they ever will do so is, of course, a mere matter of opinion, and here it is well carefully to discriminate facts from theories." And she proceeds to reject with something approaching contempt the *a priori* arguments which have been advanced to show that women are of necessity precluded from high intellectual achievements.

Did this passage represent the whole drift of the article, the present writer would have no quarrel with it. It is true that woman has never yet attained the highest rank in science, literature, or art. It is also true that the question whether she ever will or not is a mere matter of opinion—or rather of purely speculative conjecture. But the formal disclaimer thus made of any decision as to the possibilities of the future is not in agreement with the judgments expressed with emphasis at various points in the article. No reader can lay it down without the feeling that the author holds the facts of history to be conclusive as to the

limitations of woman's intellectual powers. Thus, after speaking of women mathematicians, Mrs. Buckler says: "Yet, taken all in all, these few individual instances of female achievement in science serve only to prove the rule that women as discoverers are inferior to men." So far as literature is concerned she is even more explicit when she says: "Probably woman's kind in literature will always be found to be the humbler species, the lyric and especially the hymn, letter-writing and domestic novels." But what is more to the purpose is the general drift of the whole article, which is clearly and emphatically to the effect that, in literature at least, women have had ample opportunity to show their powers, and that the result of the test has been a demonstration of hopeless inferiority; and that a similar test, not quite so conclusive, yet practically sufficient, has established the same result in the other two great departments of intellectual activity.

That the facts of history are not only not conclusive, but cannot properly be regarded as establishing even a presumption concerning the limitations of the intellectual powers of woman, it is the object of the present paper to show. Strange as the assertion may at first blush appear, it is nevertheless true that the presumption that women are incapable of the highest intellectual achievement may far more reasonably be based upon mere ordinary impressions than upon anything which historical experience has thus far been able to furnish. If a man feels it in his bones that no woman could possibly write a poem as great as "Paradise Lost" or evolve a body of mathematical doctrine like that of the "*Disquisitiones Arithmeticæ*," his state of mind is the result of a vast array of experiences, for the most part absorbed unconsciously, but not the less valuable on that account. A conviction arrived at in this way it is difficult to dislodge or weaken. But when the position is taken, as it has been taken by so many previous writers, as well as by Mrs. Buckler, that women have historically demonstrated their incapacity for such triumphs by not yet having achieved them, it is not difficult to show that the argument is thoroughly unsound.

The first and most vital defect in all these discussions is their total neglect of the question of numbers. "No woman has attained the *highest* rank in science, literature, or art"—granted. But in all the ages of the world there have been but a handful of

men who have attained this rank; and only an utterly insignificant fraction of the female sex can be regarded as having been in any sense in the running for these high honors. Among the writers who hold Mrs. Buckler's view, one never finds the slightest attempt to take into account the relation of these numbers. With all but an insignificant fraction of the sex ruled out, would not women have contributed more than their quota if they had furnished even *one* name to the list of immortals?

The force of this inquiry will become much more apparent if we turn aside for a moment from the woman question. Take our own great country, and ask whether any American has attained the *highest* rank in science, literature, or art. We have had no Newton, no Darwin, no Gauss; there has not only been no American Shakespeare or Dante, but no American Goethe or Burns; and neither Beethoven nor Michel Angelo has even a distant relative on the roll of American glory. Does it enter any one's mind to infer, hence, that Americans are intrinsically incapable of the greatest triumphs in science, in literature, or in art? And yet the number of American men who have in the past hundred years been placed in circumstances conducive to the accomplishment of great work is incomparably larger than that of all the women who have ever been so placed.

Other examples will point the moral quite as strikingly. Take the history of German literature. Between the romances and songs of chivalry which were produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the revival of German literature in the eighteenth century, there lies a dreary interval of five hundred years during which Germany produced not a single literary figure of importance, to say nothing of "the highest rank." And all this time her universities were keeping up the love of learning; she had ancient capitals and historic courts; she went through the stimulating experience of the Protestant Reformation, and it was within her bounds and during this period that the art of printing was invented. Or, again, take Scotland. An Englishman writing in the year 1750 could far more justly have said of Scotchmen than any one can to-day say of women, that historical experience had proved that we could not expect from them writings capable of attracting the attention or influencing the thought of the world. Yet the next half-century found Scotland furnishing to philosophy the pre-eminent name of Hume,

to political economy the illustrious Adam Smith, to poetry Burns, and to prose Walter Scott.

One is tempted here to introduce examples in which the course of history has been the reverse of this—cases where a period of glory has been followed by ages of utter insignificance. Of these, incomparably the most striking is that of Greece, or, let us say, of Athens. But the phenomenon presented by the magnificent flowering of Greek genius in a single century, followed by two millenia of obscurity, illustrates much more than this lesson of numbers, and may well serve to introduce the second great defect of the historical argument against the capabilities of women. For not only has almost the entire mass of womankind, in all historic ages up to the last two or three decades, been practically placed completely out of the running, but the extremely small minority from whom high achievement might possibly be expected have been wholly cut off from those influences which have, in the case of men, so great a share in the stimulation of ambition and the development of genius. Men who have had the spark of genius or even of talent in them have been spurred to effort by all their surroundings, by the traditions of the race, by rivalry with their comrades, by the admiration which the opposite sex accords to brilliant achievements, by the dread of disappointing the high expectations of relatives and friends, by the thousand nameless forces which impel and animate to exertion. What of all this has there been for women? How many have been so placed as to even think of an intellectual career as a possibility? Of these few, how many have been otherwise than solitary in their youthful aspirations and efforts? None has had the goad of the humiliation of failure to urge her on, for from none was anything great expected or looked for. And the very absorption in a high intellectual interest, which in the case of a boy would be hailed with delight even by the humblest parents as an earnest of future greatness, was, in the case of girls, up to the last two or three decades, universally condemned and repressed and thwarted even in the most cultivated families.

There is, of course, a very easy answer to all this. Genius, it will be said, rises superior to all obstacles, and will manifest itself in spite of all disadvantages. The widespread acceptance of this comfortable doctrine is an interesting example of the way in which opinions, which when examined are seen to be mutually

contradictory, may jog along together in the same mind without inconvenience. The same persons who hold this view of the infinite resources of genius will accept without hesitation the current explanation of the brilliant periods in the intellectual history of the world, or of a particular nation. But if the greatness of English literature in the time of Elizabeth is to be explained by reference to the glories of her reign in arms and adventure and statesmanship; if it is not to be considered an accident that Italy's pre-eminence in art and literature was coincident with the period when her rival states were at their highest point of wealth and political importance and civic pride; if Augustus had something to do with the Augustan age, and we find it quite natural that Virgil and Horace wrote then, and not in the reign of Augustulus; if we find a line of succession like Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, or like Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and recognize in it something most impressive, indeed, but nothing abnormal or miraculous; if we see nothing strange in the failure of the Greek race to produce a single world-name in two thousand years, after having, within the compass of a century and a half, furnished a considerable fraction of all the names on the brief list of the world's greatest men—if all these things are so, what becomes of the notion that inborn genius will triumph over all adversity of circumstance? In one breath we recognize that intellectual glory can be looked for only when the spirit of the time and the conditions of the national life are favorable to it; shall we say, the next moment, that genius is sure to assert itself under all circumstances? Evidently the two positions are incompatible.

So much for the inconsistency of the notion that "genius will out" with the all but universally accepted view that great things are, as a rule, done only in times somehow favorable to greatness. That it is the first, and not the second, of these doctrines which is at fault may easily be shown almost to demonstration; one has only to run over any list of the world's intellectual heroes, and strike out those who belonged to some great period. Leave only the solitary giants who arose unheralded and alone, who wrote noble verse in an ignoble time or made immortal works of art for a down-trodden or mean-spirited people, or extended the bounds of human knowledge at a time when learning was held in contempt. Is it necessary actually to go through the task?

Is it not plain at once that, if it were performed, the splendid roll of immortals would shrink almost to nothing? And yet, if this be so, it is clear that, far from being sure to triumph over all the obstacles of circumstance, native genius depends almost invariably for its fruitful development upon influences to which it, along with meaner endowments, is subjected. By this is not to be understood any approval of the evolutionary cant which at one time was so prevalent and which asserted that works of genius were a mere "product" of the environment. The environment cannot make a genius, and cannot "evolve" his work. On the other hand, however, genius is not endowed with omnipotence, but, as common sense would indicate, and as historic experience amply demonstrates, it may be powerfully helped or fatally hindered by the atmosphere which it finds itself compelled to breathe.

But the ordinary differences of atmosphere between one age and another, which we thus readily recognize to have an influence so powerful upon literature and art, are insignificant in comparison with the difference between the atmosphere which has surrounded women and the atmosphere which has surrounded men in all times. To suppose that absolute *exclusion* from the opportunities of culture is the only important factor that has to be taken into account would be to overlook in this question what all acknowledge as of predominant importance when we are considering the history of civilization at large. Most vital of all the adverse influences, except such absolute exclusion, has been the prevalent sentiment as to what is fitting and commendable, as well as the prevalent estimate of what is possible, to women. The effect of such influences has been well expressed by Colonel Higginson: "Systematically discourage any individual, from birth to death, and they learn, in nine cases out of ten, to acquiesce in their degradation, if not to claim it as a crown of glory. If the Abbé Choisy praised the Duchesse de Fontanges for being 'beautiful as an angel and silly as a goose,' it was natural that all the young ladies of the court should resolve to make up in folly what they wanted in charms."

Only those of us who are very young have any need of historical research to assure ourselves that up to an extremely recent date there was not one person in a hundred, of either sex, who did not look upon a really learned woman as a monstrosity. And

yet it is instructive to take an occasional glance farther back and find, for instance, that when, in the sixteenth century, Francoise de Saintanges wished to establish girls' schools in France, she was hooted at in the streets and her father called together four doctors learned in the law to decide whether she was not possessed by the devil to think of educating women (*"pour s'assurer qu'instruire des femmes n'était pas un oeuvre du démon"*); or that Fénelon held virgin delicacy to be almost as incompatible with learning as with vice; or that Dr. Gregory, in his book *A Legacy to His Daughters*, which seems to have been regarded as a standard work on female propriety at the end of the eighteenth century, utters such warnings as this: "Be cautious even in displaying your good sense; it will be thought you assume a superiority over the rest of the company. But, if you have any learning, keep it a profound secret, especially from the men, who generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts and a cultivated understanding." Every one knows that the two women who in our century have won most distinction by their mathematical work had to acquire the elements of the science surreptitiously and in the face of unyielding parental opposition, though both belonged to families of culture and high social standing. No one fails to see that this was getting knowledge under difficulties; but few realize the more important lesson that it teaches. For who shall say how many girls may have had mathematical powers greater than Mrs. Somerville's or Madame Kovalewski's, without possessing those other qualities which braced these two to fly in the face of what they had been steadily taught from infancy to regard as right and becoming in a woman?

One might go on almost indefinitely, pointing out the vast differences between the motives and ideals of the two sexes. But these considerations will easily occur to every one. The youthful dreams and aspirations of a gifted boy cluster around high achievement and resounding fame, because all that he hears and reads tends to arouse in him such ambitions; from earliest childhood, a girl learns to look forward to quite other things as her ideal. Beginning with the fairy tale and going on through poetry and romance and the talk of real life, the only thing which is held up to her as praiseworthy is the tender ministering to the needs of those around her; and it is the conquest of men

by beauty and charm which is presented to her imagination as the one triumph that a woman prizes. The very girls who are most capable of great work, those possessing an abounding vitality, high spirits, the pride of life, are sure to go in for the great prize of happiness, and they cannot unite the winning of that prize with intellectual work so long as intellectual work is regarded as unfeminine.

But it is not my purpose to make an exhaustive list of the hindrances to woman's intellectual achievements. I have wished merely to fasten attention upon them, and to show their bearing upon that matter of numbers, which, while it is the vital element of the whole question, is so strangely ignored by the supporters of the view maintained in the article under discussion. Let us quote one or two passages from it. "Taking literature as our first topic, we find women from the earliest days expressing their thoughts in verse and prose. Yet as real poets we can only mention the half mythical Sappho, and possibly, in our own day, Mrs. Browning and Christina Rossetti." "Women from the earliest days"; yes, but how many, and under what circumstances? "In physics and mathematics we find feminine enthusiasts at quite an early date. . . . Yet, taken all in all, these few individual instances of female achievement in science serve only to prove the rule that women as discoverers are inferior to men." In such a dictum the fact is entirely lost sight of that the whole number of women who acquired the elements of the infinitesimal calculus, in the two centuries from its creation by Newton and Leibnitz, to the opening of Vassar College in 1865, was probably less than the number of mathematical honor men the single University of Cambridge turns out in a single year. Yet of the ten thousand men or so whom the University of Cambridge has, within the past hundred years, stamped with her certificate of honor, after a course of training upon which that stronghold of English mathematics concentrates all her powers, only two, or at most three, have achieved high rank as discoverers in pure mathematics.

In drawing conclusions like those just cited, writers continually forget that great distinction is, *ex vi termini*, an extremely rare thing. The truth is, that they are impelled to their conclusion, not so much by the facts which they cite in support of it, as by a predisposition to believe it. Of this predisposition

they may themselves be entirely unconscious; but that it exists is shown by their failure to draw like inferences from similar and indeed much stronger premises, where there is no foregone conclusion to point the way. Almost every word, for instance, that is said of the failure of women to achieve the very highest distinction in science, literature, and art, may be said with equal truth of Americans, and with vastly greater emphasis of the inhabitants of almost any of our great States, say Pennsylvania; yet no one thinks of inferring from this that Americans or Pennsylvanians are utterly barred by inherent defect from ever attaining the highest intellectual glory. It will be a long time before women may be truthfully said to have had a test in comparison with men anything like as fair as that which Americans have had, or perhaps even that which Pennsylvanians have had, in comparison with the world at large; but because America has produced no Dante, no Newton, no Beethoven, it does not enter any one's mind to conclude that the middle heights of fame must be the limit of an American's ambition.

But this is not the only way in which the predisposition to a foregone conclusion manifests itself. I have freely granted the literal correctness of the assertion that women have not in any department achieved the very highest distinction; but when it comes to drawing a much lower line than this, and asserting that women have never come up to it, the case is very different. Writers adopting the view which Mrs. Buckler holds are very apt to betray the kind of bias that shows itself in the famous *jeu d'esprit* about German scholarship written before the days of Germany's pre-eminence in philology:

> "The Germans in Greek
> Are sadly to seek;
> All save only Hermann
> And Hermann's a German."

Work which, if done by a man, would be regarded as falling little short of the highest, takes on in the minds of these writers a feminine littleness or limitation, for no discoverable reason except that the author of it was a woman. Why, for instance, does Mrs. Buckler repeatedly speak of the "domestic" novel as marking the limits of woman's possibilities in the art of fiction? Could anything be more gratuitous? Is *Romola* a domestic novel? I take *Brockhaus' Encyclopædia*, which happens to be

at my side, and find that this German authority describes it as "a picture of the Italian Renaissance of the last half of the fifteenth century, drawn with a master hand." We all know that it is this and much more; and evidently the writer omitted to mention specifically, in so condensed an account, its other high qualities only because he had just given the following characterization of the earlier novel, *Adam Bede*: "Its excellences are a development of character as profound as it is brilliant, true epic force and richness, a style of extraordinary individuality and purity, and a highly original representation of English provincial life." Does one speak in this way of a mere "domestic novel"? In what derogatory sense can any of George Eliot's novels be so designated? And yet the belittlement implied in the words is heightened by the context; for we find hymn-making, letter-writing, and the composing of domestic novels put together as constituting that "humbler species" in literature which "woman's kind" not only has always been, but "probably will always be found to be."

This underestimation of woman's achievement in a direction in which many women have been distinguished and a few have been truly great is so remarkable, and is so instructive as showing how large a part unconscious bias may play in these judgments, that I shall dwell upon it a moment longer, and forego all criticism of estimates of feminine performance in other fields, which, though not open to so strong an objection, are yet vitiated in the same manner. In a passage other than that just quoted we again find "letter-writing and novels of domestic life" coupled together on an apparently equal footing; and here we find women's excellence in these departments ascribed to "their special demand for the feminine qualities of quick emotions and ready observation." Let me place alongside of this unfavorable estimate some words about George Sand written by the greatest of English critics:

"Whether or not the number of George Sand's works—always fresh, always attractive, but poured out too lavishly and rapidly—is likely to prove a hindrance to her fame, I do not care to consider. Posterity, alarmed at the way in which its literary baggage grows upon it, always seeks to leave behind it as much as it can, as much as it dares—everything but masterpieces. But the immense vibration of George Sand's voice upon the ear of Europe will not soon die away. Her passions and her errors have been abundantly talked of. She left them behind her, and men's memory of her will leave

them behind also. There will remain of her to mankind the sense of benefit and stimulus from the passage upon earth of that large and frank nature, of that large and pure utterance—the large utterance of the early gods."*

The object of this article was stated at the outset to be a negative one. Its purpose was to show that "the facts of history are not only not conclusive, but cannot properly be regarded as establishing even a presumption concerning the limitations of the intellectual powers of woman." The positive proposition that women are capable of doing such work as has been done by a few score only of all the thousands of millions of men in the world's history, I have made no attempt to establish. But that the absence, up to the present time, of supreme pre-eminence on the part of any woman cannot be allowed any logical weight in support of the conclusion that the sex is incapable of such distinction, I think the foregoing considerations sufficiently show. I have pointed out, in the first place, that those who draw such an inference entirely fail to pay regard to the all-important question of numbers; they forget for the time being how very rare the kind of achievement is upon the absence of which they base their conclusion. Great nations have gone on for hundreds of years without producing a single important literary figure; and it must be plain to any fair-mined person that the whole number of women in all nations and all times who may be said to have been so placed as justly to be considered in the comparison is far less than that of the men so placed in any great nation in a single century. It is only within the last few decades that any considerable number of girls have grown up with any other notion than that serious intellectual work in their sex is a monstrosity; and only in England and America has a different view of the matter been widely entertained even in our time, the "woman movement" having attained an important character in Germany only within the past five or ten years.

In the second place, I have endeavored to emphasize the fact that even this numerical exclusion of all but an extremely small fraction of the sex does not begin to measure the disadvantage of women in the comparison. Every one must recognize that the minute fraction which may properly be considered at all has not been surrounded by the atmosphere, affected by the agencies, im-

*Matthew Arnold: *Mixed Essays.*

pelled by the stimuli, which exercise so incalculable an influence upon human achievement; but there is a not unnatural tendency to think that after all there ought to have been *some* women who had risen superior to all these things. It is for this reason that I have dwelt on the utter absence of intellectual greatness in periods of national decadence, and on the universally acknowledged influence of general conditions upon the flourishing of literature, art, and science. But surely the ordinary differences in these conditions which have been uniformly found sufficient wholly to prevent the emergence of genius among men are insignificant in comparison with the unfavorable difference which has always existed in the conditions surrounding women, in every direction of intellectual effort.

A final word as to the importance or unimportance of the whole discussion. There would be no harm in leaving the question entirely open; what is to be deplored is an erroneous belief that it has been settled. In a matter of keen human interest—however unsubstantial or speculative that interest may be—any error is to be deplored, simply as error. But in this case there is another and more special reason for regret. It is that the conclusion which I have been engaged in controverting is sure to be understood by the generality of people as meaning vastly more than in its exact terms it professes to convey. Even those who are not "the generality" slide imperceptibly into this exaggeration of its purport. The most that could be claimed as shown by history, even were the considerations adduced in the present article wholly ignored, would be that women cannot reach the highest heights; yet we see the very able and gifted writer of the article to which this is a reply belittling achievements of members of her own sex which are of undeniable greatness, a thing which can hardly be ascribed to anything else than the bias due to a preconceived theory. Whether or not any woman can be as great as the greatest men, it is quite certain that some women can be as great as very great men; for some women have been.

The capacity for doing excellent work in the most difficult departments of university study, positive experience has now shown to be no more abnormal among women than among men. Yet we see surviving to our own day—and probably, if the truth were known, still very widely entertained—the notion that, leaving out a possible *lusus naturæ* here and there, women are in-

capable of doing high university work. In a recent number of a prominent Review, I find a Lecturer on History in the University of Cambridge making the utterly ridiculous statement that he had "never seen a woman's papers equal to a man's"; which, if understood literally, would mean that the ablest of the women whose papers had ever come under his eye was not equal to the most stupid of the men. This doubtless is not what he meant to say, but the expression shows the persistence in his mind of an utterly baseless belief in woman's essential inferiority. Any one whose memory extends back twenty-five years will remember the time when the belief was practically universal that women were incapable of mastering the higher mathematics. Go back a little farther, and we find a schoolmaster in one of the principal towns of Massachusetts set down as a visionary because he proposed to undertake to teach girls fractions. A century ago no less a man than Kant declared the unfitness of women for the study of geometry. "It is generally believed in Germany," writes Professor Klein,* one of the greatest of living mathematicians, "that mathematical studies are beyond the capacity of women"; but he assures us that the women who have attended the mathematical courses at Göttingen "have constantly shown themselves from every point of view as able as their male competitors." And it may be remarked that the mathematical work here referred to is as far beyond anything that was taught in America before the opening of the Johns Hopkins University as the work in our best colleges in those days was beyond that of a country school.

It is because the view combated in this article not only is lacking in foundation, but tends to strengthen the hold of beliefs which still cling to the majority of persons, though they have been amply proved to be erroneous, that I feel it to be important that it should be opposed. It is impossible to determine the relative powers of men and women; it will be long before experience can show, even with a moderate degree of probability, what limits there may be to the possibilities of woman in the realm of intellect. Let us not, in the meanwhile, belittle the actual work of women, in pursuance of a baseless dogma of essential inferiority. Let us refrain, for instance, from saying, with Mr. Gosse, that women cannot write poetry requiring art "because they lack the

* "*Les Femmes dans la Science.*" By A. Rebière. Paris, 1897. (Page 318.)

artistic impulse," when we know not only that they have written such poetry, but that paintings like those of Miss Mary Cassatt or Mme. Demont-Breton, not to speak of older names, show the possession of an extremely high artistic impulse. Let Americans, at least, not talk glibly of women's power in scientific discovery being essentially inferior to men's, until such time as some American mathematician receives as high recognition as that bestowed by the French Academy on the work of Sonia Kovalewski, the judgment being pronounced without knowledge of the writer's sex. Let us not regard the results of women's attempts in poetry and music as utterly fatal to aspirations however high, when we remember that our country has thus far produced neither a great composer nor, in the high sense of the word, a great poet. Let us not lay too great stress on the fact that "in dramatic literature no woman has ever gained for herself any lasting fame," when it is remembered that America has never produced a drama of even moderate excellence; while, on the other hand, I find Prof. Kuno Francke, of Harvard, saying in *The Nation* a few weeks ago, of a drama recently written by a German woman, Giesela von Arnim, the wife of Hermann Grimm, that its chief scene is "one of the most affecting in dramatic literature," that the personages of the play are "characters of genuine grandeur," and that in it the longings and aspirations of the author have "found a supreme poetic expression." In a word, as to what woman may do in the future, let us frankly acknowledge that the future alone can decide, the experience of the past being far too slight to furnish the materials for a forecast; and as to what women have done in the past, or are doing in the present, let us recognize it as what it is, and not as what, in accordance with an unproven generalization, we imagine it must of necessity be.

FABIAN FRANKLIN.

INDUSTRIAL ADVANCE OF GERMANY.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THE formation of the new German Empire in 1871 was the signal for industrial development in all the States of Germany, under a variety of forms. Nor is this the first instance where great political epochs in European kingdoms have been followed by a kind of Renaissance in the arts of industry and peace. England, for example, after Waterloo made unprecedented strides in manufactures. Belgium was no sooner emancipated from the Dutch yoke in 1830 than she commenced a brilliant career of progress. Hungary threw off the Austrian supremacy in 1867, to take her proper rank among nations, and the advancement which she has made in 30 years is nothing short of marvellous. Even Ireland may one day become a country of some importance, if ever the government be autonomous. Meantime, as regards Germany, if we consider her development in the last 20 years we find that in every particular it exceeds relatively that of any other country in Europe, which is the more surprising in view of the burden of an immense military establishment and a geographical position inferior to that of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Italy, or Turkey.

Population.—The natural increase of the German people in twenty years was close on 12,500,000 souls, or about 30 per cent. on the population of 1875, and about one-fourth of the increase emigrated, leaving a net gain of 9½ millions, viz. :

	1875.	1895.	Increase.
Prussia	25,700,000	31,800,000	6,100,000
Bavaria	5,020,000	5,800,000	780,000
Other States	12,010,000	14,650,000	2,640 000
Total	42,730,000	52,250,000	9,520,000

The tendency to an increase of urban population has been

even more marked in Germany than in other European countries, for we find that cities have doubled, viz.:

	1875.	1895.	Increase. Per cent.
Urban population	4,670,000	9,180,000	96
Rural "	38,060,000	43,070,000	13
Total	42,730,000	52,250,000	22

It appears that urban population has grown seven times as fast as rural, and that the large cities have grown much more than the small ones, viz.:

	1875.	1895.	Increase. Per cent.
Berlin	830,000	1,680,000	102
Hamburg	240,000	630,000	162
Munich	170,000	410,000	140
Leipzig	110,000	400,000	263
Fifty-six other cities	3,320,000	6,060,000	80
Urban population	4,670,000	9,180,000	96

The material development of Germany could not have been so great but for the rapid growth of population, and this has been by no means uniform, reaching 35 per cent. in Saxony, while it has not exceeded 10 per cent. in Wurtemberg.

Energy.—The working-power of the empire has grown 80 per cent., or almost four times as fast as population, viz. :

	Millions of foot-tons daily.			
Year.	Hand.	Horse.	Steam.	Total.
1875	3,490	10,100	12,110	25,700
1895	4,260	11,540	30,600	46,400

At present the working-power is equal to 900 foot-tons daily per inhabitant, as compared with 600 foot-tons in 1875, so that it may be said two men can now do as much work as three could do twenty years ago.

Agricultural.—Detailed returns are not available earlier than 1880 ; the annual averages for 1893-95 compare with those of 1880-82 as follows :

	Acres.		Crop, tons.	
	1880-82	1893-95	1880-82	1893-95
Grain	33,940,000	37,950,000	14,800,000	18,600,000
Potatoes	6,830,000	7,500,000	21,100,000	31,000,000
Beetroot	1,250,000	2,120,000	12,600,000	20,300,000
Sundries	1,280,000	2,980,000	3,100,000	9,500,000
Hay	14,600,000	14,600,000	18,200,000	17,200,000
Total	57,900,000	65,150,000	69,800,000	96,600,000

The area under crops has risen 12 per cent. in 15 years. The

average weight of crop (excluding hay) is now 31 hundred-weight per acre, against 24 hundred-weight in 1880-82, being an improvement of 30 per cent. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that agriculture is by no means at so high a level as the necessities of the empire demand, or as might be expected from so industrious and enlightened a people as the Germans. The area of land under cultivation is only 48 per cent. of the whole, the production of food is insufficient for the population, and yet the number of hands employed in farming is nearly the same as in the United States. The production of grain averages two tons to each agricultural hand, against 2½ in France, 3 in Great Britain and 9 in the United States. The annual food-supply, exclusive of imports, is as follows:

	Tons.		
	Grain.	Potatoes.	Meat.
Prussia	10,600,000	20,000,000	920,000
Bavaria	2,300,000	4,300,000	220,000
Other States	5,700,000	6,700,000	380,000
Total	18,600,000	31,000,000	1,520,000

The consumption of potatoes reaches almost 4 pounds daily per inhabitant, being the highest ratio on the European Continent. The production of grain and meat is short of requirements, net imports of grain in the last three years averaging 3½ million tons yearly, from which it appears that Germany subsists on imported grain during two months of the year. As regards pastoral industry there has been an increase of live-stock, except sheep, viz.:

Year.	Horses.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Pigs.
1873	3,350,000	15,780,000	25,000,000	7,120,000
1893	3,840,000	17,560,000	13,600,000	12,170,000

The production of meat has not kept pace with population, having risen only 13 per cent. in 20 years, viz.:

	Tons.			
Year.	Beef.	Mutton.	Pork.	Total.
1873	790,000	280,000	280,000	1,350,000
1893	880,000	150,000	490,000	1,520,000

This gives an actual average of 66 pounds of meat per inhabitant, against 73 pounds in 1873, the supply being now supplemented by 200,000 tons of imported meat, which brings up the consumption to 75 pounds per head. The quantity imported suffices to feed Germany during six weeks of the year. There is,

moreover, a deficiency of dairy products, for whereas the number of milch cows in 1873 was five per cent. more than requisite for the population, it is now six per cent. below par, and although Germany exports yearly 8,000 tons of butter, she is obliged to import margarine to meet the deficit.

The value of rural products was estimated 40 years ago by Block and Viebahn at 1,540 million thalers, or 1,150 million dollars. In 1895 it reached nearly double that sum, viz.:

	Million dollars.			
	Prussia.	Bavaria.	Other States.	Total.
Grain	312	60	151	523
Potatoes	202	41	62	305
Other crops	280	57	91	428
Meat	182	45	75	302
Dairy products	173	43	72	288
Sundries	91	24	41	156
Total	1,240	270	492	2,002

The sum total is fifty million dollars less than the value of farm products of the twenty-three Western States of the Union, but the number of hands in Germany is two and a half times as great, while the improved area of the Western States is three times that of German farms. In Germany the productive area is equal to no more than eight acres per farming hand; in the Western States it is sixty-two acres. The value of product per acre is, of course, higher in Germany, namely $31, as compared with $10 in the Western States; but the product per farming hand is $620 in the latter, against $250 in Germany. The backward condition of German agriculture arises from a variety of causes, two of which are self-evident. In the first place, eighty per cent. of the farms are so small that much labor is wasted, since it is impossible to use improved machinery, the tenure of land being as follows:

Estates.	Number.	Acres.	Average do.
Large	680,000	85,500,000	125
Small	2,275,000	27,000,000	12

With a 12-acre farm a man can hardly do more than feed his family and pay taxes, whereas the average farm in the Western States of America comprises 140 acres. In the second place, the military system of Germany takes from agriculture the flower of the peasantry. According to the census of 1895, no less than 35 per cent. of the population is agricultural; the actual number of farming hands is 8,200,000, each of the latter hardly raising

enough food to support six persons. Thus it comes to pass that the German people subsist on imported food during two months in the year, while 52 per cent. of the area of the empire is uncultivated.

Forestry.—There is no country of Europe where the forests constitute a more important or better regulated industry than in Germany. Their extent and gross annual product are approximately as follows:

	Acres.	Yield, dollars.	Dollars, per acre.
Prussia	20,400,000	47,600,000	2.35
Bavaria	5,900,000	15,100,000	2.55
Other States	8,200,000	45,300,000	5.52
Germany	34,500,000	108,000,000	3.13

In the last ten years the average cutting was 38 million tons yearly, of which one-fourth was lumber, the rest firewood, fences, etc. The value of lumber ranges from 4 to 7 dollars per ton (400 feet of board measure); the cost of felling and conveying to high-road averages 33 cents per ton. State forests cover 9,400,000 acres, or more than one-fourth of the forest area. In 1894 there were altogether 380,000 wood-cutters, who felled on an average 100 tons each, the value being 285 dollars per man, and the cutting averaged rather more than a ton (22 cwt.) per acre.

Textile Manufactures.—The weight of fibre consumed in the mills has more than doubled in twenty years; the following table shows the averages for two years at the beginning and at the end of that interval:

	Tons yearly.			
Years.	Cotton.	Wool.	Flax, etc.	Total.
1874-75	120,000	80,000	80,000	280,000
1894-95	290,000	185,000	115,000	590,000

Germany consumes 30,000 tons more fibre than France, whereas the latter country was very much ahead before the Franco-German war. The consumption as compared with that in Great Britain is as three to seven. Nearly all the fibre used in German mills is imported, home production consisting only of 25,000 tons wool and 55,000 flax. Germany has distanced all other Continental nations in cotton manufactures, and counts at present 4,700,000 spindles, of which one-third belong to Alsace-Lorraine and were formerly French. She comes next after France in silk manufactures, and as regards woollens the two countries are about equal. The growth of textile manufactures in Germany

may be, in a manner, measured by the increase of population in the principal seats of this class of industry, viz.:

Year.	Krefeld.	Barmen.	Elberfeld.	Chemnitz.	Dusseldorf.	Total.
1875.	60,000	70,000	72,000	68,000	70,000	340,000
1895.....	110,000	130,000	140,000	160,000	180,000	720,000

These five towns, where textile industries flourish, have in the aggregate more than doubled their population, and we have seen that the consumption of fibre has likewise more than doubled. The value of textile goods exported has almost trebled, rising from 42 million dollars in 1875 to 113 millions in 1895. The approximate value of textile manufactures produced in 1895 was 540 million dollars, of which there remained for home consumption 427 millions' worth, equal to 8 dollars per inhabitant, against 15 dollars per head in Great Britain and 13 in the United States.

Hardware.—While textile industry rose 110 per cent. in 20 years, the increase of hardware has been much greater, namely 180 per cent., the production of metals having been as follows:

	Tons.			
Year:	Iron.	Lead.	Zinc, etc.	Total.
1875.....	2,020,000	70,000	90,000	2,180,000
1895.....	5,790,000	100,000	170,000	6,060,000

Germany holds third place among the nations of the world as a producer of steel, the output in the above period having risen from 35,000 to 2,500,000 tons. The annual output of iron and steel goods is of the approximate value of 430 million dollars, of which nearly one-fifth is exported. The value of all hardware manufactures is about 525 million dollars, home consumption standing for 440 millions, equal to 8¼ dollars per inhabitant, against 6 dollars in France, 12 in Great Britain and 16 in the United States. The weight of metal consumed annually* averages 205 pounds per inhabitant in Germany, as compared with 280 pounds in Great Britain and 320 in the United States. There are 750 first-class machine factories in Germany, of which Prussia has 300, turning out everything requisite for railways, agriculture, mining, etc. Krupp's covers one thousand acres, employing 310 steam engines and 20,000 workmen, and consuming one million tons of steel yearly. The rapidity with which the manufacture of hardware has grown in Germany may be judged

*The consumption of metal in some countries is almost equal to the consumption of bread.

from the fact that it compared with that of France in 1875 as four to three, and in 1895 as five to two. Its present position as compared with that of Great Britain is as three to four.

Sugar.—This is another important branch of manufacture, shown briefly thus:

Year.	Tons. Beetroot.	Sugar.	Do., exported.	Bounty, dollars.
1876	4,160,000	360,000	55,000	2,200,000
1886	7,070,000	810,000	500,000	22,500,000
1896	12,300,000	1,620,000	960,000	4,600,000

The quantity of beetroot consumed in the mills has trebled, the production of sugar quadrupled, and the exportation multiplied eighteen fold. Whether owing to improved machinery or to a better description of beetroot the yield per ton of roots has risen from less than 9 per cent. to more than 13 per cent. To make the difference clearer let it be understood that if the percentage yield were the same as 20 years ago, the product in 1896 would have been only 1,060,000 tons of sugar; therefore, a ton of beetroot now produces 53 per cent. more sugar than in 1875. The ordinary crop of beet to the acre is the same now (10 tons) as it was then, but the yield of sugar is now 3,000 pounds to the acre, against \$1,960 pounds in 1875. The superior yield has fully compensated for the fall of price, otherwise the industry would perhaps have gone to ruin. It is evidently in a thriving position, as the increase of exports shows:

Tons yearly.	1888–90.	1891–93.	1894–96
Sugar made	1,020,000	1,190,000	1,570,000
" consumed	400,000	470,000	710,000
" exported	620,000	720,000	860,000

The average consumption of sugar in 1888–90 was 18 pounds yearly per inhabitant, and is at present 30 pounds, which is evidence that the people are better fed than they were seven years ago. At the same time the industry is so thriving that the bounty on exportation has been reduced from \$45 to \$5 per ton. Germany now produces 40 per cent. of the beet sugar made in Europe, as compared with 30 per cent. in 1876.

Mining.—In this industry Germany is surpassed only by the United States and Great Britain, the weight of minerals having risen 120 per cent. in 20 years:

Year.	Tons raised. Coal.	Iron ore.	Zinc, etc., do.	Total.
1875	49,500,000	3,700,000	1,700,000	54,900,000
1895	104,000,000	12,300,000	3,900,000	120,200,000

The number of miners is 400,000, and the average weight of mineral raised per man is 287 tons, against 190 in 1875, which signifies that two miners raise as much as three could twenty years ago. The value of minerals raised in 1895 was 172 million dollars, equal to $430 per miner, against $810 in the United States. The annual consumption of coal is 2 tons in Germany, 2½ in the United States, and 4 in Great Britain per head of the population.

Shipping.—No country except Great Britain has made such progress in merchant shipping in the last twenty years as Germany, viz.:

	Tons register.			Carrying power
	Steamer.	Sailing.	Total.	
1875	180,000	900,000	1,080,000	1,620,000
1895	880,000	620,000	1,500,000	4,140,009

Nominal tonnage has increased only forty per cent., but steamers have so far taken the place of sailing vessels that the carrying power has risen 156 per cent. The German merchant navy has one-seventh of the carrying power of the British, one-third of that of the United States.

Commerce.—If we count the value of imports and exports the increase since 1876 has not been remarkable, the fall of prices having greatly reduced the nominal amount from what it would have been. The value of imports and exports (including goods in transit) was as follows:

	Millions, dollars.		
Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1876	950	640	1,590
1886	740	770	1,510
1896	1,140	940	2,080

One-fifth of the trade is with Great Britain and her colonies; the next in the rank of customers are Austria and the United States, the transactions with the latter country reaching 170 million dollars yearly. The weight of merchandise exchanged between Germany and other countries has almost trebled, viz.:

	Tons.		
Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1876	$11,500,000	$10,700,000	$22,200,000
1886	16,900,000	18,900,000	35,800,000
1896	36,400,000	25,700,000	62,100,000

According to the tonnage entries it appears that 42 per cent. of the carrying-trade of German ports is done on German bottoms, as compared with 38 per cent. twenty years ago, which shows that although the German flag is gaining ground the merchant shipping of the empire is wholly insufficient, more than half of the trade of Germany being still done on foreign bottoms.

Railways.—Germany has more railways than any other country in the world, except the United States, having increased her mileage 62 per cent. since 1875, viz. :

	1875.	1885.	1895.
Prussia	9,870	13,490	18,090
Bavaria	2,440	3,160	3,800
Other States	5,070	5,990	6,350
Total	17,380	22,640	28,240

In the last 20 years the State has purchased or built 20,000 miles of railway, and at present it owns 25,400 miles, or 90 per cent. of all lines in the empire. This has powerfully aided the development of all industries by adopting low rates of tariff. The ordinary freight charge is $1.50 for carrying one ton 100 miles, as compared with $3.60 in Great Britain, while it is only 72 cents in the United States. The cost of the State railways of Germany has been 2,550 million dollars, and the net profit in the years 1894–95 averaged 127 million dollars, equal to 5 per cent. on the cost. As the government borrowed the money to buy the railways at 4 per cent., the Treasury makes a net gain of 25 million dollars, besides rendering an incalculable service to the empire by the reduction of freight charges.

Banking.—The amount of paper money in circulation has risen 40 per cent., that of bullion-reserve 100 per cent. in twenty years, official returns showing thus :

	Million dollars.	
Year.	Paper money.	Bullion reserve.
1877	230	136
1895	318	273

The sum total of banknotes and coin in use in 1895 was 1,150 million dollars, against 760 millions in 1875. This is an increase of only 50 per cent., whereas the industries of the empire had a mean increase of 116 per cent., which shows that it is by no means necessary that money and industry should increase in like

degree, as bimetallists pretend. The coinage of hard money in the last twenty years has been as follows:

Period.	Million dollars. Gold.	Silver.	Total.	Per annum.
1876-85	164	72	236	23.6
1886-95	269	11	280	28.0
Twenty years	433	83	516	25.8

The amount of money in Germany, notes and coin, is equal to $22 per inhabitant, against $18 in Great Britain, $60 in France, and $35 in the United States.

Savings banks have made wonderful progress all over Germany. We find, for example, that in Prussia the number of depositors has trebled, and the amount of deposits risen 500 per cent., viz.:

Year.	Depositors.	Dollars.	Average, dollars.
1872	1,706,000	145,000,000	85
1892	5,773,000	850,000,000	147

It may be said that every family in Prussia has a savings bank account. There are, moreover, in Germany 9,950 popular banks on the Raffeisen and Schulze-Dèlitzsch systems, first invented in 1850; they count 510,000 members, and their outstanding loans in 1893 reached 360 million dollars.

Wealth.—Official tables of income tax for Prussia show the number of persons having incomes over 750 dollars yearly as follows:

Year.	Number.	Per thousand inhabitants.
1875	139,500	5.3
1881	173,000	6.4
1893	319,000	10.3

It would appear that wealth has increased twice as fast as population, the affluent class having risen from five per thousand to double that ratio in 18 years. In 1890 Soetbeer estimated the aggregate earnings of persons subject to income tax in Prussia at 2,500 million dollars yearly, which is equivalent to 4,200 millions for the whole empire, exclusive of persons not liable to income-tax. The earnings of the nation in 1894 were approximately as follows:

From	Million dollars. Prussia.	Bavaria.	Other States.	Germany.
Agriculture	760	170	280	1,210
Manufactures	950	165	545	1,660
Trade	790	150	410	1,350
Other occupations	1,190	205	545	1,940
Total	3,690	690	1,780	6,160

This gives an average income of $117 per inhabitant in Prussia, and $119 for all Germany in general; average expenditure is about $109, the accumulation of wealth in recent years having averaged annually $10 per head.

The total wealth of the empire in 1895 was almost equal to that of the Western States of the Union (39,400 millions of dollars), and was made up thus:

	Million dollars.				
	Farms.	Houses.	Railways.	Sundries.	Total.
Prussia	7,610	5,040	1,740	9,310	23,700
Bavaria	1,630	865	330	1,735	4,560
Saxony	350	630	180	1,030	2,190
Wurtemberg	620	370	100	690	1,780
Other States	1,890	1,495	420	2,615	6,420
Germany	12,100	8,400	2,770	15,380	38,650

This gives an average of $755 per head of the population in Prussia, and $750 for all Germany, as compared with $1,120 per head in the United States.*

Finances.—The revenue of the States of Germany, including the proportionate shares of imperial taxation, has been as follows:

	Million dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1875.	1895.	1875.	1895.
Prussia	244	614	9.40	19.40
Bavaria	70	109	10.40	18.80
Saxony	17	25	6.20	7.50
Wurtemberg	17	23	9.00	11.00
Other States	62	131	8.50	14.80
Total	410	902	9.50	17.10

From this it would appear at first sight as if taxation had doubled in twenty years, but this is by no means the case. Much of the increase arises from the receipts of government railways, as the following table shows:

	Revenue, million dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1875.	1895.	1875.	1895.
Railways	62	307	1.50	5.90
General revenues	348	595	8.00	11.20
Total	410	902	9.50	17.10

If we exclude railway receipts the general revenue shows an average of $11.20 per inhabitant, an increase of $3.20 or 40 per cent. in 20 years, which is by no means excessive, seeing that the mean progress of 8 principal industries has been 110 per cent.

* The census of 1890 gave an average of $1,049; subsequent accumulations would bring it up to $1,120.

in the same interval. If all nations enjoyed an equal ratio of wealth per inhabitant we should find Germany to be very lightly taxed, the sum total of general and local taxes giving the following averages per inhabitant*: $9.60 in Germany, $18 in France, and $12 in the United States. But when we come to compare taxation with wealth it appears that the incidence is heavier in Germany than in the United States, viz.:

	Dollars per inhabitant.		
	Wealth.	Taxation.	Tax per $100 of wealth.
Germany	750	9.60	1.28
United States	1,120	12.00	1.07

In view of the foregoing comparisons it is permitted to say that Germany is lightly taxed in relation to Europe in general, but not so lightly as the United States.

As regards public debt that of Germany is now nominally five times as much as it was before the Franco-German war, viz:—

	Million dollars.			
Year.	Prussia.	Bavaria.	Small States.	Total.
1867	235	150	235	620
1896	1,825	385	690	2,900

No less than 88 per cent. of the present debt is represented by State railways, purchased by means of scrip bearing 3½ to 4 per cent. interest. The ordinary net earnings of these railways average 5 per cent., and hence the investment leaves a large annual profit to the Treasury. If we deduct the sum paid for State railways, the real debt of Germany will be found not to exceed 350 million dollars, which is less than 7 dollars per inhabitant, as compared with $30 per head in the United States, $105 in Great Britain, and $175 in France, between national and local debts in these countries. Hence it is evident that in this respect Germany enjoys an enviable advantage over other countries.

There is no necessity to recapitulate the items of German progress in the last 20 years: they are (except in agriculture) so striking as to command admiration, however we may deplore the military system and the autocratic tendency of the present regime. The increase of wealth is the natural result of the marvellous development of industry, and the latter must in great measure be ascribed to the advanced state of instruction in every part of the empire and among all classes of the people.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

* Excluding all revenue not raised by taxation, viz, Crown forests, State railways, Post-office, etc.

A PARADISE OF GOOD GOVERNMENT.

BY MAX O'RELL.

THE inhabitants of the pretty little island of Jersey are the richest, the happiest, the freest, and the best governed people on the earth. The assertion is not an audacious one and can be proved point by point.

Let us proceed in order.

Jersey belongs to the English—nominally, yes; in reality, no. Jersey belongs to the Jerseyans. But, you will say, the Jersey people do homage to the Queen of England. True enough, and yet no. It is as Duchess of Normandy, and not as Queen of England, that her Britannic Majesty claims recognition as the sovereign by the people of Jersey. Let us reason this out. It was a Duke of Normandy who in 1066 made the conquest of England, and it is the descendants of the Normans who still inhabit Jersey. In doing homage to the Duchess of Normandy the Jersey people remind England that she was long ago conquered by their ancestors. Conclusion arrived at by every true-born Jerseyan: It is not Jersey that belongs to England, it is England that belongs to Jersey. This being admitted in all corners of the little island, the English and the Jerseyans get on very well together. John Bull takes good care not to wound the feelings of the people whose countries are marked in red on all the maps of the world published in England. He is the prince of diplomatists.

The independence of Jersey is perfect. Its people make their own laws, levy their own taxes, and pay none whatever to the English. The governor of the island opens the Parliament in the name of the Duchess of Normandy and passes the rest of his time in giving soirees and garden parties and granting to priv-

ileged tradesmen permission to announce that it is at their shops he gets hatted, booted, or furnished with various necessaries. Just as in the colonies, the governor is the leader of good society, a kind of good King Log, who could perfectly well be replaced by a portrait of himself painted on the gate of Government House, the possessor of one of the best sinecures in the world.

> "Gouvernement facile et beau,
> A qui suffit pour toute garde,
> Un Suisse avec sa hallebarde
> Peint sur la porte du château."

The Jersey people all speak French. In good society it is English that one hears; commerce is conducted in French and English. Away from the towns, among the peasant proprietors, nothing but French is heard.

The official language of Jersey is French. All the debates in the Island Parliament, called the States, are carried on in French, and only candidates who can speak French are eligible. I might also say here that only a respectable life, an untarnished reputation, allows a man to stand as a successful candidate for public life. What a lesson to the world this is! In all the courts of justice magistrates and lawyers use the French language. All official documents are written in French, and to show how perfectly the Jerseyans are masters in their own island, I will give you an amusing little incident that occurred, so to speak, yesterday. John Bull one day took it into his head to suggest to the Jerseyans, *not* that the English language should officially take the place of the French (his presumption would never go so far as that), but that the use of the English idiom should be, if not obligatory, at least optional. The good Jersey folk did not see the matter with John Bull's eyes. "For centuries past," they replied, "we have spoken French, and we intend to continue to do so. We shall never allow the English language to penetrate into our public life." You see, John Bull is not much at home in Jersey, since he is not allowed officially to speak his own language there. But he is a philosopher. He came home to England, and said to his councillors: "The Jersey people wish to go on speaking French. It does me no harm, so we will let them go on speaking French as much as they like, and say no more about it." And this is

how the English behave towards all their colonies, that is how it comes to pass that if they know well how to found colonies they know still better how to keep them. They keep such a light hand on the reins that they scarcely seem to be driving the coach at all. Yet the driving is of the best.

The Jersey people are so proud of their French origin (or to be more exact, their Norman origin) that they choose none but their own countrymen to make their laws and govern their towns and villages. An Englishman, no matter how rich or how clever, who went and set up in Jersey, would not have the least chance of being elected member of the Island Parliament, still less of being made constable or Mayor. At the Town Hall of St. Helier I saw the list of constables. This list dates from 1529. There was only one name upon it which was not French.

The following incident will show how well Jersey knows how to make herself respected by England, and also how England treats the countries which form part of the British Empire. The English Crown having, on June 23, 1891, decided to change the composition of the Council of Prisons in Jersey, the parliament of the island sent delegates to England to plead their cause before the Privy Council against the Crown. They declared that they had decided for themselves the composition of the Council of Prisons in 1837; that they meant to be masters in their island; that the act of the Crown was illegal, tyrannical, and threatened the liberties of the Jersey people. The Privy Council decided the case entirely in their favor against the Crown of England, and the composition of the Council of Prisons therefore remained unchanged. The whole case was related to me by M. P. Baudins, the kind and popular constable of St. Helier. *Ex uno parvo disce omnes.*

The Jersey Parliament is only composed of one legislative chamber, called *Les Etats*. In this parliament you find a happy combination of *ancien régime* and modern democracy. The members of parliament are the twelve judges, representing the nobility; the rectors of the twelve parishes of the island, who represent the clergy; the twelve constables or mayors, and three gentlemen of St. Helier, who represent the Third Estate. Jersey satisfies the traditions of the past in seeing that the nobility, the clergy, and the representatives of the people sit in parliament; she satisfies the claims of modern democracy in seeing that

judges, rectors, constables, and representatives of the people are all chosen by the people.

The Parliament can only pass laws that are to last three years. For a law to become permanent it must receive the sanction of the Privy Council, but the Privy Council has never refused this sanction, and if ever it should take it into its head to do so the Parliament would have but to re-make the law in question every three years, and things would go on as before. This is nothing short of perfect autonomy, nay, independence; impossible to imagine a more perfect home rule. No upper house, as you see, dangerous when it does not agree with the lower house, useless when it does. Does it not seem as if a second house must always be a danger or a useless encumbrance? There is a little episode in the history of the France of our own times which has, I think, been too quickly forgotten. This episode might enlighten many nations on the uselessness of a second house. It happened under the Second Empire. The French Senate at that time was composed of a set of superior men—I say superior because they were picked men, chosen by the Emperor, it is true, but chosen nevertheless—all men of importance, having achieved their position, not by birth, like the members of the English House of Lords, but by their talents: cardinals, archbishops, marshals, generals, *savants*, men of letters, princes of commerce, etc., and all, with one or two exceptions, partisans of the Empire. The duty of the Senate was to watch over the constitution, and to throw out any bill passed by the Chamber of Deputies which might threaten the existence of the actual form of government. Well! and what happened? In the month of July, 1870, war broke out between France and Prussia, and on the 4th of September following the Lower House deposed the Emperor and proclaimed a republic. Now was the time for the Senate to uphold the constitution. What did these Senators at 6,000 dollars a year do? They bolted, and even forgot to call at the counting-house for their month's salary. They did not go to glory or death; they made straight for the station. They had been clean forgotten. In face of the will of the people, clearly expressed, they had nothing to do but pack up. These good gentlemen proved that in a great decisive hour an upper house is absolutely useless. In England, when the Liberals are in power, the House of Lords can at

any moment hinder the wheels of the governmental machinery from working. When the Conservatives are in office, the House of Lords, whose support of the government may be counted on in advance, can take a holiday. If ever any one should say to me that a nation could not govern itself with a single legislative House, I should reply: Look at Jersey; that which succeeds on a small scale would surely succeed on a large.

The Jersey people have advanced little by little, without shocks, without violence, without revolutions, and have succeeded, while holding on firmly to their past, in establishing a government which might well be the envy of the whole world. The Jerseyans hold such and such a custom sacred, because it is ancient; but, ravenous after justice and liberty, they would shed their blood to the last drop rather than submit to despotism.

Nothing is more curious than to hear mentioned in this well-ordered little republic such things as *seigneurial* rights and the *bon plaisir* of the Duchess of Normandy. Here you might believe yourself living in the Middle Ages; you ask yourself if Fate has not pitched you down in one of those happy countries described in books which treat of the world as it is to be in the year of grace two thousand and something. In England, too, Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Duchess of Normandy, speaks of her *bon plaisir*. As you read certain royal proclamations you ask yourself whether the present Queen of England does not really still enjoy the same prerogatives as William the Conqueror. The words are a form, nothing more. The English do not break with their traditions as we do; they live on souvenirs, prejudices even, and a long chain of events which constantly reminds them of a glorious past. The Queen, then, can afford to speak of her "*bon plaisir*" in the proclamations which her ministers, that is to say, the *servants* of the people, polish for her. It is a mere formula. As a matter of fact, if the Queen of England, or any member of her family, ventured on, I do not say an act, but a word, bearing upon politics outside the family circle, the days of the English monarchy would be numbered.

I am told that the *cri de Haro* may still be heard in the island. This is an institution dating from 912, and brought there by Rollo, first Duke of Normandy, when he annexed them to his duchy. If a Jersey or Guernsey man is attacked or molested in any way, and he can in the presence of two witnesses

fall on his knees, calling on his aggressor to respect him, while he invokes the name of Rollo, crying *"Haro! Haro! A l'aide, mon prince!"* the aggressor is bound to forthwith abstain from further act of violence or menacing speech ; he is arrested on the spot and the matter is decided before a tribunal. Nay, more, any person who is a witness to such a scene and allows the offender to escape is himself liable to a fine.

The island of Jersey is about ten miles long and about six miles wide. It has a population of about 55,000. Four drives, which you will never forget as long as you live, will make you acquainted with every corner of this little terrestrial paradise. It is not so much the mild, temperate climate, the fertile soil, the shady lanes, the wild cliffs, the sheltered beaches, a hilly landscape full of changing beauty ; it is not this that you will be most struck with. It is the atmosphere of happiness and contentment that you breathe on every side which will delight you and make you feel that no corner of the earth can offer to the traveller a spot more favored by nature, that no community is better administered.

It is not politically alone that Jersey belongs to the Jerseyans. These happy islanders are not only masters *in* their isle, but *of* their isle. The Irish, in their wildest dreams, have never dreamed of possessing Ireland more completely than the Jerseyans possess Jersey, and yet John Bull declares that if ever he grants home rule to Ireland the British Empire will crumble to pieces—but do not let us be drawn on to the slippery and treacherous ground of modern English politics, nor, above all, the Irish question. *Restons avec nos moutons.*

The land of Jersey is in the hands of a frugal and industrious people, worthy descendants of the rural populations of Normandy and Brittany. Not a square inch of ground that does not produce a potato or a cabbage. Prosperity reigns on all sides. Not one dilapidated house. In this bee-hive of an island everything speaks aloud of cleanliness, comfort, and even of riches, to those who can understand that real wealth does not consist in the quantity of things we possess, but in those that we can do without, if need be. Jersey is a kitchen garden of about seventy square miles, picturesque, healthy, fertile, strewn with cottages that are wrapped in roses, and when I have told you that the cultivation of the potato alone brings in from twelve to fourteen millions of

francs annually, that is to say about three millions of dollars, I shall have no trouble in convincing you that poverty is practically unknown in Jersey. Happy Jersey! Add to this that, with the exception of wine and liqueurs, which pay a light duty, all kinds of merchandise enter Jersey untaxed; that living is consequently very cheap; that the income tax collector is unknown; that a crowd of tourists visit the isle during four months of the year; that activity reigns everywhere, not the feverish activity of the Americans, but the regular, uniform, intelligent activity of the French; that the soil is so fertile that flowers and fruits seem to spring from it as by enchantment; that the landscape is most picturesque and varied; that the climate is delicious; and you will conclude that Jersey is probably the Eldorado of the world, and the Jersey folk, as I said before, the richest and happiest people on the surface of the globe.

Nor is this all. The social element adds yet one more charm to a sojourn in the island. Jersey society is charming, and if you have the good fortune to arrive there armed with a few letters of introduction you will be feted and made much of by the most hospitable people that you can ever dream of meeting anywhere.

If you love contrasts, Jersey has an endless supply to offer. The manners of the Faubourg St. Germain of to-day flourish in one place, and a mile's travelling brings you to a peasantry who, by their speech and their manners, might make you believe yourself in the depths of old Brittany as it was centuries ago. Go, for instance, to a garden party in one of the dainty villas of St. Helier, from thence drive to the pretty beach of Plémont, on the north of the island, and draw rein in the village of Saint-Ouen, about four miles from St. Helier. There you will find yourself in the Brittany or Normandy of the Crusaders' times. Ask your way of any peasant you may pass, and the good fellow will reply, "*Oui, M'sieu, tout dret.*" No diphthongs, as in the old Norman dialect of the *Langue d'Oil!* It is not a mere question of speech, for if you hold a sustained conversation with him, you will find that he thinks as did the peasant of five hundred years ago.

Here is a little incident told to me by one of the foremost doctors of St. Helier. It will make you forget for a moment that we are so near the twentieth century. A peasant of the village

of Saint-Ouen came to St. Helier to seek a doctor, bringing with him his daughter, who was ill. "What is your daughter suffering from?" asks the doctor. "Upon my word," replied the son of the soil, "I cannot tell you, and that is why we are here." The doctor put a few questions to the girl and examined her. "Your daughter appears to be anæmic," said he, "I will give her some medicine, which must be taken very regularly." "No, no," put in the father, "write down the name of the disease for me on a piece of paper." In Jersey it is the custom for doctors to supply patients with the medicines which they need, and, moreover, a Jersey doctor can make no claim for payment unless he has supplied drugs. No physic, no bill; and the wily Saint Ouen peasants are not so ignorant but that they are awake to this fact: their Norman origin must be borne in mind. The doctor, having written the name of the girl's complaint, the father has obtained what he came for, and straightway makes for his village home. There, he, his wife, and all the other members of the family having gathered together, incantations are begun. All the saints are addressed in turn, and as they may not guess the disease from which the poor girl suffers, the little bit of paper will prove useful. "St. Peter," the family cry in chorus, "cure Marie Maillard of atrophy; St. Paul! cure Marie Maillard of atrophy; St. Anne! cure Marie Maillard of atrophy!" and so on to the end of the calendar.

Alongside these superstitutions and methods of the Middle Ages you find modern British puritanism flourishing and rampant. If you make an excursion in the island on a Sunday, you cannot procure the slightest refreshment, not even a glass of milk or a cup of tea, that sanctified beverage which Britons drink in modest sips, with the subdued and innocent air of a child taking the first communion. A few days before I reached Jersey, the hotel-keepers had besought the Royal Court to allow them to open their doors on Sunday afternoons from two to five. They promised not to sell any alcoholic drinks, but to limit their Sabbath trade to such harmless refreshments as lemonade, tea, milk, etc. The request was refused. Among the expressions of opinions set forth in support of continuing the Sunday closing, I culled the following: "I consider that besides the terrestrial law there is a celestial law to respect. I have sworn to do everything in my power to advance

the cause of God, and in voting for the opening of hotels on Sundays I should be breaking my vow and should be putting my soul in peril." You might think that this is part of the speech of a member of the Raad in the Transvaal. The superstition of Saint Ouen peasants proves how little the Breton character is capable of assimilation, even in a restricted island like Jersey. The puritanism of the witness, whose deposition I have just quoted, proves that if the Jersey folks have succeeded in keeping British fingers out of their political pie, they have allowed an entrance to middle-class British cant.

It must be admitted that these are only insignificant flaws in a picture almost perfect. In fact, these little blemishes are rather interesting to the traveller who likes taking notes and carrying home souvenirs of manners and customs, as well as sketches of landscape. I have been round the world. I know America, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and have a passable knowledge of Europe. I do not remember ever to have passed a fortnight more pleasantly and more interestingly than in the pretty, picturesque, and interesting little island of Jersey.

MAX O'RELL.

COMMERCIAL SUPERIORITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY WORTHINGTON C. FORD, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS AT WASHINGTON.

THE ability to use statistics with point and intelligence is a rare one, and it is no uncommon experience to find even an expert drawing conclusions from a set of figures (statistics) that are in reality neither applicable to the subject treated, nor capable of a general interpretation. Any compilation of returns, commercial, industrial, or financial, is reduced to a per capita basis, and on that basis is reared a superstructure that becomes unstable, incomplete, and subject to condemnation, when examined in the light of related facts.

To gauge a people's welfare by production or consumption per capita of any one article, or a few articles, is an enticing and really simple method. To draw proper conclusions is difficult, and in the majority of instances is out of the question. Bananas constitute an important and nutritious article of food; a West Indian consumes more bananas than an inhabitant of the United States; therefore, a West Indian is better fed, and is, in consequence, better off than his neighbor in the States. It would not require much thought or attention to point out the fallacy of such estimate and reasoning. Again, in Germany, the consumption of spirits, in 1896, was 4.7 quarts per capita; in the African colonies of Germany the returns showed a per capita consumption of 17 quarts. As a luxury, a large consumption of spirits proves a prosperous people. Therefore, the Cameroon is nearly four times more prosperous than the German.

The bare figures prove nothing, and yet every writer on social questions feels that he clinches his argument by a per capita calculation, rarely stopping to question how his calculation has been

obtained. For this method, when correctly applied, is highly scientific, and only in the hands of a skilled worker, possessed of wide and accurate knowledge, and eliminating all possible sources of error as carefully as an analyzing chemist, can it prove acceptable. If it is attempted to frame a generalization on the consumption of quinine and of opium, hardly two investigators would agree in their results. For some regard opium as a curse, and would use it to gauge a people's indulgences, not its sobriety and welfare. Yet most of the opium brought into the United States is used in medicinal preparations, and stands, therefore, almost on the same ground in general utility as quinine.

Some protest is called for against the loose application of this per capita method to commercial statistics, even where the foundation is made to rest upon a series of years. Agriculture makes little progress outside of the application, more or less limited, of chemical knowledge to the treatment of soils, and of mechanical appliances to planting and gathering the crops. These improvements are akin to the improvements in instruments of carriage. They have enabled more land to be put in cultivation, and the crops to be more readily prepared for market. But there has been no such producing revolution in agriculture as there has been in manufactures. In 1869 the average yield of wheat per acre was 13.5 bushels; in only five years since has this average been attained, and in some years it was lower than 11 bushels. The other cereals will give the same difference in results from year to year. Does this show that agriculture has actually retrograded since 1869, or would a per capita production be a true guide in determining that question?

The foreign commerce of the United States has always rested upon agriculture, and until the last five years three-fourths of the exports was represented by agricultural products. To measure its power or influence in foreign markets would require a study of the conditions governing the production of and demand for each leading article, in foreign as well as domestic markets. To confine the attention to the aggregate returns of the United States is the very way not to discover the truth; o r it is more often the demand from a foreign source that counts than the home condition. The market of to-day is not supplied by goods brought to it "for a market"; the seller does not take the initi-

ative, except in a few lines. The wool market of London does attract consignments, because it is known that demand centres there, and a sale is more readily made than elsewhere. But for the larger share of commercial transactions goods are shipped on orders ; the buyer determines the movement and destination.

In the few cases of true monopolies the condition is much the same. Chili deserves as little credit for her exports of nitrates as Italy deserves for brimstone, for each is possessed of the only deposits of these natural products commercially practicable. It was not many years ago when the copper of the United States was regarded as worthy of careful protection ; now the product controls the markets of Europe. Twenty years ago the production of cane sugar in the world far exceeded that of beet root ; ten years ago the beet root product equalled the cane, and in this last year the quantity of beet produced was double that of cane. In 1879 more than one-half of the value of the import trade of British India was represented by yarn and manufactures of cotton. In 1896 India had excluded English low-grade cottons from the local markets, and was exporting largely raw cotton, yarns, and cloth to Asiatic countries, and building up a large trade in cloth with Africa. In no one of these instances would mere commercial returns have given a satisfactory answer to a question involving the cause of the movement or of the revolution accomplished in production or direction of trade. Commercial returns, more or less imperfect as they must be, are only surface indications of the deep-lying undercurrents which carry along the economic development of a people.

The present year offers an instance of the danger of generalizing from commercial returns. The largest exports of wheat and wheat flour, from the United States, were made in 1892 and 1893, incident to the famine in Russia and the moderate yield in France, which led to heavy demands on outside holdings of grain. The grain supply of the world was deficient in 1894 and 1895 ; in 1896 the famine and plague in British India, a partial failure of crop in Europe, and the almost complete destruction of the Argentine wheat export came as a climax to a series of misfortunes. So that the situation in 1897 was of so unusual a character as to stand alone, and to require an explanation which the returns of no single country could give in any but a most misleading form. It is a world movement, and with every step for-

ward in production or exchange, the elements of such a movement become multiplied and more complex. In the twelve months of 1896, the United States exported 83,756,000 bushels of wheat and 131,960,500 bushels of corn. In the first seven months of 1897, the exports of wheat were 6,200,000 bushels less than in the same period of 1896, but the exports of corn were 51,000,000 bushels greater.

To have based upon these returns any estimate of the ability of the United States to encounter a sudden demand for breadstuffs would have been misleading. In August a great change occurred, and continued through September. A sudden flurry in the price of wheat was reflected in an enormous export, so that at the end of October the returns gave a movement in wheat of 15,600,000 bushels more in the ten months of 1897 than in 1896, and of corn an increase of 54,000,000 bushels. The movement of corn was checked, and that of wheat was much stimulated. The two months of August and September would have destroyed any average export based upon the year's movement, and introduced a disturbing factor in an average for five years. Standing by themselves they were inexplicable; but when the prices in foreign markets, notably in France, and the estimated visible supply of wheat are examined, the export is no longer freakish and abnormal, but just what might have been expected.

The exceptional character of the wheat movement may be illustrated by a few incidents. Mr. O'Conor, the able head of the Statistics of the Government of India, writing on the trade of that empire in 1896–97, says: "Wheat was imported from the United States into Calcutta to the extent of 24,400 tons—an unprecedented event not again to happen, it may be hoped, after the present year which will record a further importation—a gift from the charitable in the States. . . . Of the total importations of food-grains more than half came from the United States, and most of the other half from Turkish ports in the Persian Gulf." In Europe, Austria-Hungary, which usually may be counted upon to give from four to eight million bushels of wheat for export, for the first time is enrolled among the importing countries. Even America has its similar surprises. For in August and September New York was actually exporting wheat to Argentina, less than 300,000 bushels to be

sure, but a quantity large enough to emphasize the unusual conditions of the wheat situation throughout the world. San Francisco in July exported to Brazil 253,085 bushels of wheat, a transaction quite as unusual as that with Argentina. The pre-eminence now held by the United States in the wheat markets of Europe cannot continue without a continuance of the conditions giving rise to it. It is estimated that the present home wheat crop is one of the largest ever gathered in our history; but mere product will not give command of market. It is true the wheat of Argentina does not come into Europe before February, and in large quantities not before April or May. Australian wheat cannot be counted upon before midsummer, and the Indian grain is not available before June, or even later. Until these new crops are gathered the American supply must be the mainstay of the markets of Europe for what is required above home products.* Even that resource is not unlimited and a high authority recently wrote:

"We come again to the one fact, namely, that all depends upon the outturn of the crop now struggling for existence on the hard-baked plains of Argentina. Should it succumb, there seems as if nothing stood between the hungry consumer, and actual want, but some substitute such as rye or maize."

The immense economic advantage thus possessed by the United States over every other nation, by reason of its agriculture, is thus manifest. It is to-day the only great industrial power which produces sufficient cereal food to maintain its labor and sell a surplus to foreigners. It is this that makes the United States so full of promise for the future development of its resources and of its power and influence in foreign markets.

Another point cannot be too strongly urged, that the commercial power of the United States in foreign markets is due to the fact that its high-priced labor produces a lower priced article of equal or better quality than could be obtained elsewhere. After passing through spasms of apprehension through the competition of Europe, British India, and Asia in wheat and cotton, the American producers awake to the fact that there has not only been no diminution of market for his products, but his rivals

* From November 1 to November 10 exporters purchased at New York 5,730,000 bushels of wheat and 5,451,000 bushels of corn for export. Mr C. A. Pillsbury estimates that by November 1 the farmers had marketed 62 per cent. of their crop of wheat.

have been beaten in the face of being favored by low-priced goods and propinquity to market. Indian raw cotton came to Manchester and was offered at a fraction less per pound than the American, a fraction large enough to have made it an object to the manufacturer to take the Indian fibre. But this was not the result, and the Indian cotton was driven to the continent of Europe, where the manufacturers were less fastidious in their choice; and it is now being driven out of Europe by the American cotton, though there is still a difference in price in favor of the Asiatic product. Quality has conquered, and in point of quality and price the cotton raiser of the United States controls the markets.

It was much the same in petroleum. For many years the United States held a natural monopoly in the supply of this important oil. An immense export trade was fed by the products of the oil wells, and seemed to be limited only by the ability of the oil-fields to yield. Russia entered the markets with the Baku oil, and, favored by discriminating duties on imports, or by nearness of markets, succeeded in crowding out the American oil from many countries. Later the Sumatran, or Langkat, oil came forward, and has still further restricted the sale of the American oil, and in some parts of China even of the Russian oil. Yet the exports of both crude and refined oil from the United States were larger in 1897 than in any previous year of its commercial experience. What a per capita comparison would not develop is the fact that every additional gallon of export has been made in spite of a severe and constantly increasing competition from other countries; and further, a competition that has been so effectual in certain regions as to have changed the direction of the exports from the United States. The interest attaching to a rise in the exports from this country of crude mineral oil from 76,000,000 gallons in 1887 to 131,726,000 gallons in 1897, and of refined or illuminating oil, from 480,800,000 gallons in 1887 to 772,000,000 gallons in 1897, does not rest in the mere weight of figures, but in the conquest of difficulties arising from distance, discriminating duties, and cheapness of a competing article. The export to Asia, where this competition has been most severe, was 99,578,000 gallons in 1887, and 174,000,000 gallons in 1897. That increase really speaks more for commercial power in this article than do the 258,000,000

gallons which were gained in the same period in the exports to Europe. Against this gain may be placed the fact that Russian oil has now permanently gained the lead in the Indian market, being imported in bulk, while the American oil is imported exclusively in cans.

Nor is this prime factor of low labor cost confined to crude materials. The export of manufactured articles bears testimony to the increasing ability of the American product to meet competitors in foreign markets. In 1890 the value of manufactures of iron and steel exported first touched $25,000,000; in 1897 the exports were $57,497,000, of which more than one-half was in machinery. Before 1890 a total export of the articles classed in the trade returns as manufactures never touched $150,000,000. In 1897 this total was more than $276,000,000. Large as were the exports of these manufactures in 1897, they will show a good further increase in 1898. In the three months of the fiscal year 1898 already passed they show an increase of $5,000,000 on the returns for the corresponding period of 1897.

Another fair test of economic progress is to be found in the introduction of new methods or appliances for utilizing waste or by-products. Here the per capita gauge would be out of place, for an enormous trade is often built up in a few years by such discovery or applications. Before 1871 cottonseed oil was of so little importance in the foreign trade of the United States as to be unenumerated among the exports. It required twenty years to give an export of more than 6,400,000 gallons in a year, but after 1890 the movement became very heavy, and in 1897 amounted to nearly 27,200,000 gallons. The meal, or what remains of the cotton seed after the hull has been removed and the oil pressed out, has become an even larger item of export, and with the meal of flaxseed gave an export of more than a billion pounds in 1897—a figure surpassed only by the weight of cotton and flour sent to foreign countries. If a comparison of the exports per capita in 1867 and 1897 were to be made it would not begin to express so much commercial progress and command of a market as is implied in the mere announcement of so extensive a utilization of what was regarded as a waste product, fit only to be used as a fertilizer.

Sweden in a few years has almost ceased to import sugar, raw or refined, although five years ago her population depended upon

foreign supplies. By imposing a high customs duty on foreign sugars a domestic beet sugar interest has been built up sufficient to supply the home market, and, it is believed, will soon be sufficient to afford a surplus for export. The commercial returns, showing a large annual decrease in the importation of sugar, and no exportation, would be interpreted by our cut and dried statistician as an indication of trade weakness; by the protectionist as an element of strength, making Sweden more independent of foreign markets; by the free trader as a wrong policy, in that the consumer must pay more for supporting a home industry than he need pay for importing from the excessive supplies thrown upon the market by Germany. This difference in opinion is irreconcilable, and least of all by compiling per capita imports or exports. But in the case of wood pulp the situation is different. In 1884 Sweden exported 23,400,000 pounds of wood pulp; in 1894 the exports were more than 220,000,000 pounds, an increase of nearly tenfold in ten years. Every reader of this would at once see that there is no room for questioning the advantage to Sweden of this export. It is a splendid development of a domestic industry that has created without the aid of government a great market for its products, and means industrial as well as commercial power, founded upon natural laws of trade. The utility of wood pulp in the manufacture of paper has become recognized. The pulp is a uniform and cleanly article, and more easily handled than rags, esparto or similar raw materials more difficult to manipulate. It is in such conquests that the United States proves its expanding strength in competition.

Germany is continually cited as a remarkable example of a modern progressive nation. Almost within the present generation it has grown from a number of lesser principalities into an empire, still far from homogeneous or of single purpose. From a collection of separate states and free cities, independent rivals in commerce and industry, it has become a great industrial nation, an aggressive and successful competitor for neutral markets, and the would-be possessor of colonies into which a part of the teeming production of soil and factory, and a part of the redundant population of the fatherland, may be poured with profit. The emigrant to these colonies is regarded in the light of the colonist of the eighteenth century. He relieves the pressure of competition at home; he becomes a planter to raise

the raw materials for the home factory; and he is to be a consumer of the finished products sent out from Germany. The theory of this colonial enterprise is perfect; the circle of production, manufacture, and consumption is complete, so far as the home interests are concerned. With principalities in Africa, the home of a future and greater Germany, there is hardly an argument to be urged against the beautiful scheme for a general, but always German, prosperity. The activity proved by the protective, commercial and colonial system has raised German influence until it is the arbiter of European policy, and is as active among its colonial neighbors as it is at home.

Tested by results this scheme proves to be little worthy of imitation. It is only on the colonial side that it need be examined to measure its success or failure. In 1896 the total value of the trade between the Empire and its African colonies was $2,837,000, and the cost of maintaining the administration of these colonies will be about $2,010,000. The exports from Germany exceeded the imports from the colonies by $534,500. The white population was about 3,600, of whom 1,350 were officials and soldiers, and 1,778 other than Germans. This is in a colony where the late Governor, who has had sixteen years of African experience, declared there was not "a foot of East Africa which could be regarded as healthy." In fact the Germans go elsewhere and in such numbers as to awaken a desire on the part of home authorities to more immediately direct the stream into German territory. At present only a very small part of the emigration from Germany finds a settlement in the national colonies, for labor is much needed to realize any of the possibilities of these possessions. Few of the native tribes are capable of continuous and intelligently applied labor, and Europeans are soon used up by climate and disease. So long as the exports were confined to ivory, rubber and palm and cocoanuts, the Africans sufficed; but with the introduction of the cultivation of coffee, cocoa, tobacco, and rubber tree, some substitute must be found, and Chinese and Japanese are already an article of demand.

On what different lines has been the growth of the United States! Its western territory furnished a colonial empire of vast extent and rich possibilities. Labor came in vast quantities, tempted by the promise of cheap and fertile lands, a freedom from feudal survivals, and bringing the habits and skill, together

with not a little prejudice, fostered under its former conditions. An ever increasing market developed industry, and so great was the premium offered to agriculture and manufactures that sea-power was neglected. At peace with its neighbors, a foreign trade has been gradually built up, and in spite of would-be political connections, there exists no entangling alliances. At home there has been enough to keep labor and capital employed, and the colonies have gradually been absorbed as States into our political system.

The United States is comparatively rich because of its immense natural resources, and because it has not had a severe and wasting drain upon its abundance and energies for outside objects. Its capital and labor have been applied to its great natural advantages and foreign capital has been borrowed in immense sums to hasten forward the development of these resources. There are no distant principalities to govern, save Alaska, and no region where the possibility of a contest with another power calls for the maintenance of expensive armanents to secure unremunerative markets under a plea of colonial enterprise. This position is not measurable in statistics, and no combination of its material facts can make it clear. It is only in studying the situation in its relation to other countries that its true meaning is demonstrated.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

THE FARCE OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION LAWS.

BY J. THOMAS SCHARF, LL.D., LATE UNITED STATES CHINESE INSPECTOR AT THE PORT OF NEW YORK.

"Which I wish to remark,--
And my language is plain,--
That for ways that are dark
And for tricks that are vain
The heathen Chinee is peculiar."

THE history of Chinese immigration in the United States is a somewhat peculiar one. It began as early as 1786, when our ships first visited China, but it was slow until the news of the discovery of gold in fabulous quantities in California reached China. Before 1852 the Chinese immigration into the port of San Francisco amounted to about 10,000, but in that year 20,026 arrived. There being no prejudice or hostility to them, they were welcomed as a unique addition to the society and a valuable ally in the development of the material resources of their new home. Governor John McDougall, in his message to the California Legislature of that year, referred to the Chinese as the "most desirable of our adopted citizens." In 1853 only 4,270 arrived at San Francisco, followed in 1854 by 16,084 more. This sudden invasion of more than 40,000 strange people in three years caused much dissatisfaction among the laborers of California, who could not compete with the Chinese in the mines, and an effort was made in the legislature to impose a head "tax on all aliens working mining claims." There being no provision in the Cushing treaty of 1844, nor the Reed treaty of 1858, that the Chinese should not come to this country, they continued to arrive at San Francisco. The statistics of Chinese immigration into that port from 1854 to the Burlingame treaty of 1869 were as follows: 1855, 3,329; 1856, 4,807; 1857, 5,924; 1858, 5,427; 1859, 3,175; 1860, 7,341; 1861, 843; 1862, 8,175; 1863, 6,432;

1864, 2,682; 1865, 3,095; 1866, 2,242; 1867, 4,290; 1868, 11,081; 1869, 14,990; making a total to the last date of 141,800.

Notwithstanding this large influx of Chinese, the Legislature of California, as late as March 11, 1862, through a joint select committee, made an elaborate report, congratulating the State upon the presence of the Chinese, urging the adoption of measures to secure as permanent citizens those already there, and offering inducements to others to come. When this report was made the Chinese population in the State was estimated at about 35,000. In a few months after this report was made the favorable judgment expressed by it was entirely reversed, and the Chinese, by reason of their sordid, selfish, immoral, and non-amalgamating habits, came to be regarded as a standing menace to the institutions of the State. Governor Leland Stanford, in his Message to the California Legislature in 1862, said:

"To my mind, it is clear that the settlement among us of an inferior race is to be discouraged by every legitimate means. Asia, with her numberless millions, sends to our shores the dregs of her population. Large numbers of this class are already here, and unless we do something to check their immigration the question which of the two tides of immigration meeting upon the shores of the Pacific shall be turned back will be forced upon our consideration when far more difficult than now of disposal. There can be no doubt but that the presence of numbers among us of a degraded and distinct people must exercise a deleterious influence upon the superior race, and to a certain extent repel desirable immigration. It will afford me great pleasure to concur with the Legislature in any constitutional action having for its object the repression of the immigration of the Asiatic races."

This was the first official utterance from any public man anywhere in favor of Chinese exclusion, and in a short time it became a national question.

The Burlingame treaty was ratified at Peking November 23, 1869, and the fifth and sixth sections related to the right of the citizens of one country to voluntarily migrate to the other country for the purpose of curiosity, trade, or permanent residence. After providing for the citizens of the United States visiting and residing in China, as in the other treaties, the Chinese came on and for the first time said in this treaty: "And reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation."

It was against what was then known as coolie labor that the Burlingame treaty directed its prohibition, which the act of Congress of 1862 had failed to prohibit between China and the United States. The declaration concerning voluntary immigration was unfortunate in tying the hands of our Government so that it could not freely legislate against an invasion coming under the guise of a voluntary immigration, but the treaty did not provide for or encourage such immigration. There was, on the contrary, a significant provision against naturalization, which indicated that there was to be a line drawn somewhere between the people of China and the people of the United States.

The ratification of this treaty, as we have seen, caused a marked increase in the arrival of Chinese into this country. The evil results of the presence of this great horde in San Francisco, which had already an immense Chinese population, were most conspicuous, and subsequently throughout the whole State the hostility to the Chinese became so great as to threaten constantly a breach of the peace. The public press was almost unanimous in its condemnation.

Enthusiastic public meetings were held, presided over by representative men of the State. Anti-Chinese societies were formed and a war of races seemed imminent. The municipal and State authorities, responding to the overwhelming sentiment, endeavored to remedy the evil by ordinance and legislative enactments. Among these may be recalled the "queue ordinance," the "capitation tax," the "basket-ordinance," the "landing tax," the "cubic air law," all of which were aimed at the Chinese, and all of which were finally adjudged to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. The hope of reaching and remedying the evil by State or municipal legislation was finally and utterly overthrown by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Chy Lung, plaintiff in error, *vs.* Commissioner of Immigration of California *et al*, which went to the length of deciding that the State of California had no power to prohibit the landing of passengers of any kind whatever, not even when known to be immoral, criminal, or vagrants.

Every other means of relief proving ineffectual, the people of the Pacific Coast determined to appeal to Congress. Accordingly, as early as December 22, 1869, at the second session of the Forty-first Congress, an effort was made, but without success, to

secure restrictive legislation. In the Forty-second and also in the Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses numerous memorials, resolutions of public meetings, and petitions, one of which numbered over 16,000 signatures, were presented to the same effect and with the same results. In the meanwhile the question had assumed dangerous proportions. Chinese immigration was at its flood: the arrivals in 1870 being 15,740; in 1871, 7,135; in 1872, 9,788; 1873, 23,292; 1874, 16,085; 1875, 18,021; 1876, 22,781; 1877, 10,594; 1878, 8,992; 1879, 9,604; and to November 17, 1880, when a new treaty was concluded between China and the United States.

In the meantime the people of the Pacific Coast had become indignant because the American Congress was not following the path that had already been trodden by France, by England, and by every country in the world that had ever suffered the disadvantages, the horrors, and the burdens of Chinese immigration. As far back as 1855 the English colony of Victoria levied a capitation tax of $50 upon every Chinese immigrant. In 1861 a similar tax was imposed by the colony of New South Wales, and in 1877 by the colony of Queensland, and also by the French colony of Saigon. The same opposition had been aroused in Java, in Siam, in Singapore, in the Philippine Islands, and in the Australian colonies. Everywhere the Chinese have made themselves obnoxious; everywhere heavy penalties and restrictive legislation have been found a necessary means of protection.

In 1876 Congress sent a committee to the Pacific coast, headed by ex-Governor Morton, of Indiana, for the purpose of ascertaining the actual condition of affairs, and in their report they said they believed that "the influx of Chinese is a standing menace to republican institutions upon the Pacific, and the existence there of Christian civilization," and demanded relief from the "terrible scourge" by prompt restrictive legislation on the part of Congress, whether approved by the Chinese government or not. When this report was submitted to Congress, the counsel of the Chinese Six Companies and the counsel of the railway and steamship corporations who had represented the Chinese before the committee, attempted to raise false issues and to create an impression that the committee was not in sympathy with the masses of the people. When the citizens of the Pacific coast saw that their views had been misrepresented, they undertook in the

most solemn form in which the people of the Pacific coast could do so to speak to the American people by a resort to the ballot. The Legislature of California in 1878 provided for a vote of the people upon the question of Chinese immigration (so-called) to be had at the general election of 1879. The vote was legally taken, without excitement, and the response was general. When the ballots were counted, there were found to be 883 votes for Chinese immigration and 154,638 against it, an anti-Chinese majority of 153,755. A similar vote was taken in Nevada and resulted as follows: 183 votes for Chinese immigration and 17,259 votes against it. For nearly thirty years this people had witnessed the effects of Chinese immigration. For more than a quarter of a century these voters had met face to face, considered, weighed, and discussed the great question upon which they were at last called upon in the most solemn and deliberate manner to express an opinion, and their extraordinary vote was a conclusive argument in favor of Chinese restriction. Recognizing the exigency of the occasion, the Legislature of California, on the 13th of August, 1877, also presented an "Address to the people of the United States," and a memorial to Congress based upon the testimony of witnesses acquainted with the subject, which ably and graphically set forth the objections to the Chinese.

In the meantime the agitation of the question had extended to the Eastern States, who responded to the Pacific slope. The introduction of a number of Chinese to fill the places of striking Crispins at North Adams, Mass., created the most intense excitement. Monster meetings of workingmen were held at North Adams, throughout the State, and in all the leading cities of the Eastern slope. The press and forum were ablaze with defences and denunciations of the Chinese. The war of races for the time was transferred from the West to the East; "passion and prejudice" ruled the hour. The Labor Reform party in convention at Worcester, Mass., on September 8, 1870, resolved that they were "inflexibly opposed to the importation by capitalists of laborers from China and elsewhere for the purpose of degrading and cheapening American labor, and will resist by all legal and constitutional means in our power." The Democratic party at Fitchburg, Mass., on the 12th of October following, adopted a similar resolution. Hon. Henry Wilson, then U. S. Senator from Massachusetts, and afterwards Vice-Presi-

dent, Wendell Phillips, John Quincy Adams, Presidents Grant and Garfield and others made an emphatic stand against Chinese immigration. In 1876 the Republican and Democratic National platforms took strong ground against the Chinese, and these formal declarations were discussed and approved by all parties at every political gathering in the country for several years.

Finally ministers plenipotentiary were appointed, by whom, on the 17th of November, 1880, a treaty was concluded between China and the United States. The first article of that treaty expressly declares the right of the United States "to regulate, limit, or suspend the coming or residence of Chinese laborers." This stipulation was considered a great concession on the part of China, but those who are familiar with Chinese affairs know that there never has been a time when China would not prefer absolute restriction to the slightest form of contingent emigration to the United States. It is in our own hands. There can be no measure of restriction too comprehensive for China. And Mr. John Russell Young, ex-Minister to China, says that this observation might be made complete "by saying that, if a treaty of restriction would return every Chinaman to his own country, and send every alien out of China, it would be hailed with joy throughout the Celestial Empire." Chinese laborers are prevented by the Chinese government from emigrating to the United States from a Chinese port. All Chinese emigrants bound for the United States sail from Hong Kong, a British colony separated from China by a narrow strait. China has no more to do with Hong Kong than with Liverpool or New York. The immigrants mostly sail in British ships and for British gain, and as the traffic has paid well, those who control it oppose Chinese exclusion in the United States. The clamor that reaches the United States in regard to Chinese emigration; the ingeniously continued articles in foreign newspapers; cable despatches expressing the indignation of Li Hung Chang, the indignation meetings in Canton, emotion among the Chinese as to their exclusion from America; the vaporings of paid lobbyists in the halls of Congress and elsewhere; all this literature of invective and remonstrance comes mainly from English sources, railroad and steamship corporations, comes as an expression of disappointment at the threatened suppression of a valuable trade. This is the very root of this vexed question.

No action was taken toward the execution of the treaty of 1880 until May 6, 1882, when a law was enacted by Congress suspending Chinese immigration for a period of ten years, afterward extended to twenty. It went into effect August 5th of the same year. This law not proving effective, it was followed by the laws of July 5, 1884, October 1, 1888, the "Geary Law" of May 5, 1892, the act of November 3, 1893, the act of August 18, 1894, and the treaty of December 7, 1894.

All of these measures sought to execute the will of the people of the United States to exclude Chinese laborers. For a time, each act in turn had been deemed effective, but the immigration has continued in spite of legislation forbidding it. During the period of nearly two years, between the date of the treaty of 1880 and the law of Congress of 1882, the Chinese poured into the country from every direction. The steamships from Hong Kong were crowded to their utmost capacity by an eager mob hurrying to get into the United States before the gates should be closed against them. Over six thousand were admitted at San Francisco in two months, and the arrivals in 1881, 1882, and 1883, the three years following the treaty, were 59,500, being an annual average of 19,833, or more than double the former average.

This was one of the unfortunate results of the effort to secure an exclusion that did not at once exclude, and for the time being the purpose of the treaty was not only defeated, but its negotiation caused a large increase in Chinese immigration. This rapid increase being brought to the attention of Congress, the act of 1884 was passed, and during the next year 9,049 were admitted at San Francisco, as against 6,602 in 1884. This large increase proved that restrictive legislation did not restrict, but rather, under its operations, the number of Chinese in the country were being augmented. The press of San Francisco denounced the workings of the law in the severest terms. The people of the Pacific coast were indignant. It was plain to be seen that the Chinese were coming into the country in utter defiance of the restriction acts. They came into San Francisco on false testimony as to prior residence. They came into the country across the frontier without any evidence of a right to come. The people became exasperated over the condition of affairs and in some instances resorted to effective exclusion measures. In Washington

Territory, where the invasion across the Canada border could be seen and understood, the people rose in self-defence and ordered the invaders out of the country. On September 5, 1885, the unfortunate collision occurred at Rock Springs, Wyoming, for which Congress afterward voted an indemnity of $147,000. The situation was serious and required immediate action, but nothing was done to repair the leak until the passage of the act of 1888. As this law did not suppress the evil, the acts of 1892, 1893, and 1894 followed. In the meantime the Asiatic tramps were forcing their way through the western gate of the country in greater numbers than ever, contrary to the spirit and purposes of our laws. In 1886, 6,714 were admitted into San Francisco, followed in 1887 by 11,572 more, or nearly 3,000 more than the yearly average arrivals before the treaty of 1880. Since the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad along the entire distance of our northern frontier, the facilities for celerity of invasion have been vastly multiplied, and this company, with its subsidized line of British steamers running between its western terminus at Vancouver, in British Columbia, to Hong Kong, brings into the United States from three to five thousand Chinese immigrants every year. Two other lines of steamships run between Hong Kong and San Francisco, while another line has a terminus at Seattle, and another runs to Tacoma. All of these steamship lines are largely engaged in carrying Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong to the United States and British Columbia, running steamers about every three weeks, and bringing over from one hundred to seven hundred Chinese persons on each trip

The head tax of $50 per capita imposed by the Canadian provinces is no real impediment or restriction in the way of Chinese destined to the United States *via* Canada. To secure this traffic the Canadian Pacific Railroad Company gives bonds to the Canadian government to pay this amount if the Chinese have not departed out of Canada in ninety days, and its agents, officers, and employees are instructed to send the Chinese as soon as possible into the United States, anywhere along our 3,740 miles of border. As a consequence, like water from a sieve, the Chinese are showered upon us from every conceivable point on Puget Sound, and all along the line from Victoria to Halifax. So with reference to the Mexican border. They cross the 1,540 miles of our

Southern boundary line without detection into the United States. Between this country and Canada there are about twenty-five railroads crossing from one country into the other, and between this country and Mexico there are about five railroads crossing the line, making about thirty railroads that cross our boundary. These lines of railroad, and steamship lines running into New Orleans, Tampa, Key West, New York, and other ports, from Cuba, Mexico, and Hong Kong, furnish ample facilities for these people to come from one side of the line or the other.

The records of the Treasury Department show that many Chinese laborers have been landed in the United States on the claim of being in transit who have not taken their departure, or if they have, their identity has been so completely lost that, with an eye to profit, they have been able to carry off return papers for sale or future use. In many instances Chinese in transit have remained here by substituting others in their places. Again the papers of nearly all returning alleged merchants are fraudulent, and their witnesses in many cases are professional perjurers. Another mode of securing admission is for "sons" to claim birth in San Francisco, and prove it by the testimony of alleged "fathers" who perjure themselves for a consideration.

From the passage of the first Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 to the present time, there have been in the matter of hearings on *habeas corpus* in Chinese cases serious and radical conflicts of opinion between the judges of the Federal courts and the executive officers of the government, which have been the cause of a great many admissions. The very fact of the existence of such a wide difference of opinion as to the construction and administration of existing law is the most effective argument that could possibly be adduced to show the imbecility of the Chinese Exclusion Acts, and of the absolute impotency of such measures to meet and cope in an efficient and effective manner with this great evil. Then the careless and absolutely inefficient manner in which the question of Chinese immigration has been treated by Congress has been the cause of the admission of thousands. This is clearly demonstrated by the admission of 502 Chinese persons for the Chicago World's Exposition, 350 for the San Francisco Mid-Winter Fair, 206 for the Atlanta Exposition, and about 600 for the Nashville Exposition under joint resolutions of Congress permitting alien laborers to be imported in connection with the

foreign exhibits. All of the above 1,656 Chinese laborers obtained admission into the United States by the payment of about $225 each to the holders of the concession for Chinese exhibits at the above expositions. In most cases the women who were brought in at the same time were sold in San Francisco for immoral purposes.

The official statistics of the government purporting to show the yearly admission of Chinese into the United States in no way approximate the truth. They fall far short of the actual facts and cannot be relied on. For example, they do not include the 16,000 who crossed the boundary into the United States after their discharge upon the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. In these figures no account whatever is taken of the thousands that have been smuggled across the waters of Puget Sound and along the Canadian boundary line, nor the carloads passed in over the Mexican border. No account has been taken of the vessel loads of Chinese smuggled into the country along the Gulf coast. And still another fact must be taken into account, and that is that vessels on the route between San Francisco and Chinese ports are as a rule manned by Chinese crews, many of whom are constantly deserting and remaining in this country. No account has been taken of the 1,500 alleged merchants landed at Portland, Ore., by a corrupt collector of customs at $50 per head; nor the hundreds who were admitted into Idaho and Montana upon forged certificates with counterfeit seals attached.

The census returns of the number of Chinese in the United States are equally defective. The census of 1860 placed it at 34,933, 1870 at 63,199, 1880 at 105,465, and 1890 at 107,475. Any one familiar with the Chinese understands the improbability of obtaining exact statistics concerning them. The Chinese Six Companies have always endeavored to prove as small a number of Chinese in this country as possible, and it is well known that when the census takers were taking the census the Chinese avoided them. As evidence of the unreliability of the census, in 1869 H. C. Bennett, Secretary of the San Francisco Chinese Protective Society, with the aid of the Chinese Six Companies, made a careful estimate of the number of Chinese in the United States, and gave 90,000 as the number. One year later the census only gave 63,199. The testimony of

Hon. F. A. Bee, the Chinese Consul at San Francisco, ought to have weight on this question. He was reported in a San Francisco journal in 1888 as having testified in a Chinese investigation in that city that "within the last six months more Chinese women had arrived, and been landed by the courts as previous residents, than ever departed between 1849 and 1887," and, furthermore, "that all the women brought into this country were brought here for immoral purposes."

The folly and inefficiency of the restriction acts are further demonstrated by Special Treasury Employee T. Aubrey Byrne, in his report to the Secretary of the Treasury, dated March 29, 1897. He says: "Of the total admissions of Chinese into the United States during the fiscal year 1896, over 35 per cent. were effected through the Vermont district. The Chinese inhabitants in Boston in 1895, compared with 1885, show an increase of 192 per cent. In the State of Massachusetts the increase in 1895 over the number in 1885 is shown to be 273 per cent. It must be borne in mind that the majority of the Chinese entering Massachusetts through the Vermont district do not remain in this State, but pass into other States to take up their laundry work. For arrival of Chinese laborers in this special agency district 1896 was the banner year, and, judging from the inflow during the first two months of 1897, it is quite probable that the current year (1897) will outrank any preceding twelve months."

Taking the Custom House record of Chinese coming into the United States through the district of Vermont from June 1, 1895, to February 23, 1897, and adding to them 581 alleged boys, etc., who were admitted into the country by the United States Commissioner at St. Albans, Mr. Byrne shows that the total admissions for the period in Vermont stood 2,947, or more than were admitted into the remainder of the United States.

In the State of New York the census of 1890 gave 2,935 Chinese. At the time of the passage of the Geary Act of May 5, 1892, requiring all Chinese laborers to register, Internal Revenue Collector Keriom of the Southern District of New York made a canvass of the Chinese in his district and found that there were only 500 Chinese who would have to register. When the amended act was approved November 3, 1893, and before the Chinese registration began, the collector made another canvass and, much to his astonishment, found 1,200 Chinese. When the

registration was completed it was found that over seven thousand had registered in New York City. According to the best estimates there are to-day (1897) all told in New York and Brooklyn and within a radius of ten miles about 12,000 Chinese. There are, it is believed, notwithstanding reports to the contrary, as many as 700,000 Chinese, perhaps more, in the United States. It is estimated that there are as many as 150,000 in California, 20,000 in Oregon, 10,000 in the State of Washington, 10,000 in Montana and Idaho, 4,000 in Nevada, 3,000 in Arizona, 3,000 in Colorado, 3,000 in Wyoming and Utah, to say nothing of those scattered over all portions of the country. Gradually, and almost imperceptibly, like the coming of a cold wave or the rising of the tide, the "Little Brownies" have crossed the Great American Desert, the Rocky Mountains, the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, and the Alleghany Mountains, and to-day there is scarcely a city, town, or hamlet, either large or small, not excepting the capital of the nation, in which there are not more or less, and in many of them a very considerable number of Chinese persons.

That the present Chinese restriction acts, as at present administered, are worse than a pretence is conceded by all familiar with their operations. Judge Hagar, while Collector of the Port of San Francisco, a few years ago, stated "that the restriction act, as now administered, is an utter failure," which assertion has been verified in a thousand ways in the past few years. John H. Seuter, U. S. Attorney in the Vermont District, on December 30,1896, said that in his district the Chinese "hearings are in a certain sense farcical," and Leigh Chalmers, Examiner of the Attorney-General's office, in a report dated July 1, 1896, said "that nine out of ten of these (Chinese) cases do not amount to the dignity of a farce," and that "the U. S. Attorney and Commissioner both agree to this conclusion, but say there is no remedy." Wm. A. Poucher, U. S. Attorney at Buffalo, in a letter to the U. S. Attorney-General, dated April 30, 1897, said that his assistant had "attended examinations at Malone and at Plattsburg, . . . and has reported that it was absolutely useless, under the present condition of affairs, to attend any further examinations, as it was a waste of time and money," and that he was "powerless."

These law officers of the government are charged with the enforcement of the exclusion laws, but they practically admit that

owing to the loose interpretation of the laws by sympathetic U. S. Commissioners, and the radical diversity of opinion between the judges of the Federal Courts, the crafty practices and fraudulent devices of the Mongolians themselves, the ready aid of well-paid allies on the border line, perjured witnesses, and the oath-breaking and bribe-taking public officials, the exclusion laws have become more honored in the breach than in the observance. From Tampa Bay at one corner, from Puget Sound at the other, from El Paso at the south, from San Francisco at the west, to New York at the east, to the Vermont, New York, New Hampshire, and Maine line on the north comes the same narrative of betrayed trusts on the part of debauched customs and judicial officials, and of hordes of these barred and branded Mongolians pouring into the United States, each with his bribe-money in one hand, his fraudulent papers in the other, and perjury on his lips. With several years' experience in attempting to enforce this supreme law of the land, our faith in effective legislation upon this subject is much impaired. Laws deemed apparently faultless have proven but legislative makeshifts. They do not meet the evil, but rather aggravate it by offering opportunities for their evasion through perjury, chicanery, and frauds. The entire customs service of the country, the Federal judiciary, and those appointed specially to enforce these laws, all admit that the Chinese Exclusion Act is a pretence and fraud in that it assumes to be legislation in pursuance of treaty stipulations, when in fact it is in violation of them; that it pretends to correct the evil complained of by offering opportunities for its evasion through the crafty practices, fraudulent devices, and bold perjury of the criminal Chinese; that it has opened a door to the perjurer, who is too ready to swear himself within the pale of our laws, and thus whole legions of these people are flocking to the United States who are not entitled to come. Thus with every precaution under existing laws, and in the face of every effort, we have failed so far to arrest the incursions already effected over the border lines of the neighboring territory; as we have seen, well-known routes are established by trails and by water ways, along which they come. When once here they mingle and merge with and become an unrecognizable portion of the "former residents."

J. THOMAS SCHARF.

CONDITIONS GOVERNING TORPEDO-BOAT DESIGN.

BY LIEUTENANT R. C. SMITH, U. S. N.

IT now seems to be a settled part of our policy to add largely to the number of our torpedo-boats. A recent article in the REVIEW described the steps hitherto taken to this end. The present writer submitted to the Naval Institute a study of the questions controlling future design, and from the character of the criticisms it is fair to assume that the ideas were generally accepted by the service as reasonable.

I propose to review now these governing considerations, which are really of a character to be easily intelligible to persons other than those who make a technical study of the subject.

Our guide at the start is the uses and limitations of torpedo-boats. These are best understood by a careful survey of foreign practice and opinion, based on the growth of a quarter of a century. The results only can be given here.

The prime end of a torpedo-boat is to attack and sink the enemy's ships, the secondary object to ward off the attacks of the enemy's boats. The weapon for the one use is the torpedo, for the other the gun and the ram. Can these two uses be reconciled in a single type of boat, adapted either for cruising with the fleet or operating independently along the coast, or for hurried raids from protected harbors? Or do we need several distinct types? Or can a boat of any size or type be used advantageously for all the duties?

In the attack on ships it is admitted without reserve that a total or partial surprise is the main element of success. In the absence of this feature the boats would be utterly destroyed by gun fire before they reached torpedo range. Hence attacks will almost invariably be made under cover of darkness or mist.

The boat, therefore, should be small to be as little visible and to present as small a target as possible, and should have a high speed to get quickly into action and quickly out. The main weapon is the torpedo, and there should be as many launching tubes as the size of the boat will permit. No guns are required for use against the ship; and were it not that the attacking boat might be headed off and put out of action by boats of her own kind or smaller, but carrying a battery of guns, there would be no necessity for any other weapon but the torpedo. In view, however, of the above possibility she must carry as many and as good guns as are usually to be found in the boats of the same size abroad.

For the second use, warding off the attacks of other boats, more and heavier guns and a higher speed are required. Other things being equal, this in itself points to an increased size of boat. Add to this that boats of this character should be capable of keeping the sea with the fleet in all weathers and to that end should carry more coal and stores, and also that they should afford a fair degree of comfort and habitability to their crews, and the necessity for greater displacement is manifest. The feature of invisibility must unfortunately be sacrificed to the extent demanded by these paramount requirements. Withal there will be occasions when surprises can be made, and in the melee of battle when torpedos can be used with effect; and for such uses launching tubes are provided, though there are not so many in proportion as in the torpedo-boat proper, where the torpedo and not the gun predominates.

The bows of all these boats can be so strengthened at the expense of a very moderate weight as to make them capable of cutting into the side of any similar boat or running through a smaller picket launch without material injury to themselves. Without seeking such occasions, which would involve many failures and consequent loss of time, it is very desirable to take advantage of them when they offer; as the enemy if struck would be quickly and effectually disposed of. In the navigation of our more northerly inland waters in the winter season, boats with bows so strengthened could safely cut through several inches of ice, a feature of decided possible value in time of war. The "Cushing's" bow has been provided with an interior fitting of this nature which has already demonstrated its usefulness by carrying

the boat totally unharmed through ice that would otherwise have crushed her bow plates out of shape.

The two uses enumerated have practically determined two types of boat, the torpedo-boat proper and the torpedo-boat destroyer, or briefly, torpedo-boats and destroyers, which terms are used hereafter in this special sense.

By limiting the torpedo-boat to operations from a shore base its size can be kept within reasonable requirements as to invisibility and inconsiderable extent of target. This is apparent when account is taken of the saving in weight effected by omitting the special features constituting a high-sea boat. These are coal endurance, seaworthiness, stowage space, habitability. The smaller boat must, however, sacrifice speed to a certain extent to be able to carry her torpedo and battery weights. The reason is that, to obtain a very high speed in a small boat, nearly all her carrying capacity must be given up to machinery and coal.

Here, then, must be studied the value of the required features, and a compromise effected that will give the best result as a whole. There is, of course, great latitude for individual opinion. The only logical way to approach the subject is to take up each feature in succession and fix for it two limits, the higher one such as to offer no inducement to pass beyond it, the lower one such that if not attained the whole object of the boat is defeated.

The features and qualities to be striven for are speed, invisibility, seaworthiness, carrying capacity for torpedoes and guns, coal endurance, stowage capacity, habitability. Taking these up in order, and with regard first to the torpedo boat, what are the limits of speed that should be established? The object of speed in a torpedo boat is to pass quickly through zones of fire, to escape from destroyers, and to be able to strike suddenly and unexpectedly from a distance. Generally speaking it should be as high as is compatible with other requirements. Naturally it cannot be expected to equal that of the destroyers, except by an almost complete sacrifice of other essential features, such as endurance, or carrying capacity. Torpedo boats must gain the advantage of destroyers by numbers, and not by speed. Some must be sacrificed so that others may pass through.

But when it comes to the supreme effort of the torpedo-boat, the attack of the ship, is excessive speed after all the main requirement? It is such a fashion to make speed the sole criterion

of excellence in this craft, that a suggestion of anything else is almost startling. Newspaper publicity and the rivalry of builders are responsible for the fashion. Besides, speed appeals to the public, and it is something tangible to offer for comparison.

It has been mentioned that the attack should be made under cover of darkness or mist, and must be in a measure a surprise. Consequently the boats in approaching will avoid anything like noise or commotion or any visible display that might indicate their presence. At any excessive speed the rush of water is audible at a considerable distance under favorable circumstances. There is usually a white crested bow wave and always a white streak of disturbed water in the wake. Then as the fires are forced there will be tongues of flame at the funnels. These are evidently not favorable accompaniments for a surprise attack. The alternative is to proceed at a moderate speed. In the "Cushing" with a maximum speed of 24 knots it was found that it was not advisable greatly to exceed 12 at this stage of the attack.

Now, as the result of many exercises at the Newport Torpedo Station, it appeared that the average distance at which the boat could be discovered with the aid of searchlights was 781 yards. These exercises were all held in good weather on nights of varying darkness, and under conditions generally favorable to the defence. The accepted torpedo range for a number of years has been 500 yards. Hits at this distance should be very probable, and especially now in view of recent improvements in torpedoes and in particular of the adoption of an automatic steering device which holds the torpedo very accurately to its course. When the boat is discovered concealment is at an end, and it is an object to dash in at top speed until the distance intervening from the point of discovery to the limit of torpedo range is passed. At 24 knots, now readily attained in torpedo boats, it would require 21 seconds to pass this interval of 281 yards (781 yards less 500 yards). Something would have to be added to this to allow for the time of working up to full speed after discovery. Now suppose that 30 knots was the maximum speed of the boat. It would mean reducing this interval by a fifth, or something over 4 seconds. But 30 knots in a small boat means the sacrifice of nearly everything else. Is it worth the price? It may be added that the length of time thought to be necessary to put a single boat out of action when in sight and beyond torpedo range

has varied between 1 and 3 minutes as instanced by the rules in foreign naval manœuvres. In the English manœuvres of 1896 it was quoted as 2 minutes.

So much for the question of speed. As mentioned above, 24 knots can be readily obtained. When the other requirements are determined, if a higher speed can still be secured, then so much the better; otherwise, 24 knots will be sufficient.

Next as to invisibility. It is evident the smaller the boat, from this point of view, the better. This is the feature of those quoted that is opposed to all the rest. Speed, seaworthiness, capacity, endurance, and habitability all call for increased tonnage. Still, the quality of invisibility is of such vital importance that it is imperative to consider most carefully any feature that tends to impair it by increasing the size of the boat. It is known from our own experience that boats of about the size of our "Cushing" or "Ericsson" are very difficult to pick up at night when painted the dark olive color now adopted for torpedo-boats. This color, by the way, was developed as the result of several years' experience under the searchlight at Newport. Though called green it really has no green in it. It is made up of white, black, and yellow of proportions in the order given.

This size of boat, moreover, conforms to the latest practice abroad in torpedo-boats proper, and it is fair to assume that it is warranted by the experience of foreign nations. When it comes to the question of a larger size, it is a great temptation to say this will give us a little more speed or greater seaworthiness. That is true, but is the game worth the candle? The first idea occurring to any one who sees the new torpedo flotilla together is how very much more conspicuous than the "Cushing" and "Ericsson" are the later additions; and yet their topedo armaments are all the same. In a surprise attack on a hostile ship I should prefer the "Cushing" by all odds to any of them, notwithstanding that her maximum speed is three to five knots less than that of the others. Greater speed should mean greater powers of offence as well, and it will be seen that this points to a very much larger boat. There seems to be no reason whatever for adopting any intermediate sizes. Some of the features can be improved on, but to a point which gives no substantial gain, and at the sacrifice of the prime requisite for a surprise attack against ships, namely, invisibility.

The other features may be discussed together. These boats are intended to operate along the coast, to be independent of the squadron and to return to port in bad weather or to replenish stores. For such purposes the "Ericsson" is perfectly seaworthy. She could stay out in weather in which a much larger boat could not handle her torpedoes. She carries three torpedo-tubes, which are ample, and she could carry heavier guns than her present 1-pounders, which an authority as great as M. Normand, in speaking of the French first-class boats, describes as an arm absolutely without value. Her coal endurance is ample, approximately a day at full speed or a week at economical steaming. Of stores of all descriptions she can carry enough to outlast her coal, and she is entirely habitable if advantage is taken of her return to port to assure her crew of a complete rest if they need it.

The question of guns for these boats deserves some further remarks. Their main object is for attacking or resisting boats of their own class. Four 3-pounders are the armament of some foreign boats, and it is higher than the average. The automatic 3-pounder seems to me the ideal gun for this purpose. The question of reliability, to be determined on trial, will affect the decision. This gun could also be used with effect against destroyers when hard pressed and might by a lucky shot bring the boat out safely. A torpedo boat engaged in an attack should pay no attention to picket-boats, except to run over them if they are in the course. By firing she attracts attention to herself from the ship, whereas if she keeps straight on she may still get within torpedo range before she is discovered.

There is, of course, the probability that we shall never be attacked on our own coast by torpedo boats proper, though it is possible that destroyers might be sent against us. It is, therefore, sometimes argued that as our torpedo boats cannot hope to contend with destroyers, it would be better to save the weight and not arm them with guns at all. But I think the better view is that they might, as above stated, save themselves by a lucky shot if they carried a few suitable guns, and they could then scarcely be boarded at anchor and captured by a boat expedition, which might conceivably happen if they carried no guns whatever. The small-calibre machine gun is sometimes advocated for these boats, with the idea of using it against the crews of picket or other smaller boats. But as stated above, it does not seem advisable to

fire at all under these circumstances, and the machine gun would be of no use whatever against destroyers.

The destroyers are a type developed by the English and date from 1893. They are in appearance large torpedo boats, but they carry a much heavier gun armament. Their object is to keep the sea in all weathers with the fleet, and to overhaul and destroy torpedo boats. Secondarily, they are to attack ships when occasion favors, and to this end they carry a limited torpedo outfit. When the type first appeared it was contemplated to arm them with guns only. But as they would then have been harmless against ships, and would have no means of defence except their speed, it was decided to add a few torpedoes. The conditions imposed required a decided increase in displacement. Speed, endurance, and carrying capacity were to be enhanced. The feature of invisibility had to be sacrificed ; but as their main object was to ward off and destroy torpedo boats, this was not an insuperable objection.

The earliest of these boats, the "Havock" and the "Hornet," much resembled our "Porter" and "Dupont." They were 5 feet longer and of 40 tons more displacement. Since then the size has materially increased. The latest of them displace nearly 400 tons and the speed is to be 32 knots. The armament is two torpedo tubes for the long 18-inch Whitehead (16½ feet by 18 inches), one 12-pounder and five 6-pounder rapid fire guns.

We see at work in the development of the type the same influences that tended to produce larger and larger torpedo-boats with speeds higher than required and an area of target that at the sacrifice of invisibility almost defeated the object of their creation. This is due to the rivalry of builders, whose success is judged by speed alone. If this growth continues we shall have gunboats instead of destroyers, with a high speed it is true, but with a draught that precludes their following torpedo-boats into shoal waters, and of a size that puts their use as torpedo-boats almost out of the question. With us the requirements of canal navigation should effectually put a stop to this increase.

If the feature of invisibility is taken to limit the torpedo boat to about 120 tons, then all the requirements of the destroyer can be satisfied in a boat of less than 300 tons, and it would seem merely fatuous to pass beyond. Bearing this in mind our destroyers, if limited to a displacement of from 250 to 300 tons,

will still stand a chance when used as torpedo boats proper, though evidently not the equal of the smaller craft for this purpose alone. Their displacement will warrant a speed higher than that of any torpedo-boat; they will be seaworthy, and habitable, and have a coal endurance and capacity enabling them to keep the sea at all times with the fleet. This is the limit of size for our coastwise canals.

Their torpedo armament can well be that of the smaller boats, *i. e.*, three tubes for the long 18-inch, and there will still be room for a formidable gun armament. If the 3-pounder is of sufficient power for the attack of a similar boat, why go to 6-pounders and 12-pounders as the English have done? I think in lieu of the one 12-pounder and five 6-pounders, that eight automatic 3-pounders would prove a more formidable battery and would have the advantage of a saving in weight. Nor are the advantages of a single calibre of ammunition to be lost sight of.

Thus it seems that keeping well in mind the uses to which torpedo-boats and destroyers are to be put, the limitations in each case will produce two entirely distinct types of boats. There does not seem to be the least object in merging these two types in one by building boats of intermediate sizes. By so doing the objects of the torpedo-boat proper are defeated and those of the destroyer are not attained. There will also be produced a heterogeneous flotilla incapable of manœuvring for any common object. This state of affairs will inevitably be produced by permitting builders to set their own dimensions and displacements. I believe it would be wise to use the terms destroyer and torpedo-boat in appropriation acts to indicate the character of the boat, and then for the proposals to indicate very nearly the displacement, speed, trial weights, and total coal endurance. The builders would then have an opportunity to display their skill within the settled requirements in such directions as design of hull with regard to speed, lightness of construction consistent with strength, and horse-power in proportion to weight of boilers and machinery. Then by requiring all speed trials to be made at normal displacement it would be easy to compare the performances of rival boats. A simple definition of normal displacement is the displacement with all torpedo and battery weights aboard, the crew and their effects, all permanent stores, and one half the full amount of coal and perishable stores.

It is conceivable that nations may be so situated as to make their torpedo-boat policy very variable. The English, for instance, predominate over other powers in regard to ships. They are willing to trust their ships to take care of the enemy's ships. With regard to torpedo boats they prefer not to have many, but to possess enough destroyers to look after all the enemy's boats. In our own case, as before stated, it is not probable that hostile torpedo boats will be encountered on our coast, but it is possible that we may meet destroyers. As we are not in the first rank in respect to ships, we can well rely largely on torpedo boats to help us out; and as we shall require destroyers to meet those that may be present in the enemy's fleet, it is evident that it is the part of wisdom to build both types; but for the present we would seem to need more of the smaller ones.

Nothing has been said here of the means of defence that would be used by ships against these craft. Torpedo nets are out of vogue, and as has been stated, the searchlight cannot be relied on to pick up the boats early enough to ensure their destruction. A squadron at anchor within striking distance of torpedo-boats would be almost at their mercy if unprovided with other means of defence. The logical defence is a flotilla of destroyers. These would cruise about the anchorage within signal distance of each other, and some would be detached to scout for torpedo-boats. Then, nearer the ship would be vedettes and picket-launches to give the alarm. Searchlights are condemned by all the best authorities prior to the actual discovery of the attacking boat. They blind the eyes of the lookouts and they serve as a lighthouse to the enemy. Their only use is to light up the target offered by the approaching boat.

At sea the squadron should cruise with lights concealed and with scouts and destroyers surrounding it on all sides. We have the beginning of a fine fleet of vessels, but we are almost entirely helpless in the means of saving them from one of the most destructive foes they are liable to meet, and one whose importance and power of offence are constantly increasing.

R. C. SMITH.

THE IRISH QUESTION IN A NEW LIGHT.

BY THE RT. HON. HORACE PLUNKETT, M. P., CHAIRMAN OF THE RECESS COMMITTEE, AND PRESIDENT OF THE IRISH AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION SOCIETY.

A REMARKABLE change has taken place in the Irish situation. In the first zeal of his conversion to Home Rule, Mr. Gladstone declared that the whole civilized world was on his side; and he could, at any rate, count upon the enthusiastic endorsement of his policy by American public opinion. A week or two ago there was widely circulated in the American press an obituary notice from the pen of no less distinguished an observer of current events than Professor Goldwin Smith, who has satisfied himself that Home Rule is dead!

Be this as it may—and for my part I do not go so far as the eminent historian—the once burning Irish question no longer attracts audiences, or dollars, in the United States. Nevertheless, no greater mistake could be made than to suppose that the American nation has finally cast off its Irish sympathies. There is too much Irish blood flowing through its veins to allow it to forget Ireland while many of her people remain in poverty and discontent. For these Irish sympathizers, even if Home Rule were dead, the Irish question would remain. But it will be approached in a calmer and more helpful spirit. There is no public opinion in the world which learns more surely from experience than that of the American people. The logic of events has forced many who supported the National movement to the conclusion that there must be something unsound either in the cause itself or in the method of its promotion. And now, practical before all things, the American mind will not readily commit itself again to any definite policy for Ireland, unless it sees clearly whither that policy will lead.

Nor is it only sympathy for Ireland which will keep alive American interest in the condition of her people. The influence of Irish organizations upon the public life of the United States, whether it be for good or for evil, will at any rate be a powerful influence for many years to come. The bond between the Irish in Ireland and the far larger portion of the race which has found its home in the Western hemisphere may in some respects be temporarily loosened. But, in the main, the policy, tone, and temper of these Irish-American organizations will reflect the political, social, and economic situation in Ireland. It is equally true that the situation in Ireland is affected by the influence of public opinion in the United States. There exists, then, a common interest between the readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and the Irish politician whom its Editor has invited to address them. I am, therefore, glad to tell, and I believe they will be glad to hear, of certain new developments in Ireland which seem to point to better things.

For nearly twenty years I have enjoyed intimate relations with Americans in many States from the Atlantic to the Rockies. In the earlier years of my sojourn among them I found it wiser to avoid the Irish question altogether. Everyone knew so much more about it than I did, and had found a comprehensive and entirely satisfactory solution to the problem which baffled my poor understanding. The main facts upon which their conclusions were based seemed to belong to an Ireland of which I have read, but which ceased to exist some years before I was born. Now, however, American public opinion seems itself to be passing through a period of bewilderment and has returned to its characteristic openmindedness, which the Irish controversy seemed for a while to have disturbed. I have, therefore, no hesitation in submitting to public criticism in America the new Irish movement with which I am associated. In doing so, I shall try to follow the advice of a learned judge, Sir Edward Fry, now presiding over a commission appointed to enquire into the working of the Irish Land Acts, who, in opening the proceedings, appealed to counsel so to present the case from either side as to generate the maximum of light and the minimum of heat.

The policy to be described depends for its success upon the united action, for the common good, of Irishmen politically op-

posed to each other. This may appear to some to be the pious aspiration of a visionary. But those who really understand the Irish character, and know something of Irish history, are aware that the barriers which divide class from class, party from party, and creed from creed, do not exist by virtue of any natural law, and might easily be broken down. The fact is—and I speak from experience—that it is not hard to get people to work together in Ireland if you can only get them to come together. But, until the last year or two, it was regarded as a political necessity to keep men apart. I will briefly summarize, from my own standpoint, the circumstances which have so happily altered the situation.

Many of my American friends, who, in the heydey of Parnell's power, plunged themselves heart and soul into the Irish question, now confess themselves totally incapable of comprehending how differences of opinion among his followers can be allowed to wreck the policy which he had built up. I am glad that I can honestly avow my own utter inability to throw any light upon the subject, or to give any clear definition of the issues which keep asunder the various sections into which this once formidable party is now divided. I am convinced, however, that the present state of confusion in Nationalist ranks has a more deeply seated cause than merely personal disputes. These would be effectively dealt with if there were not "something rotten in the state" of Ireland. The trouble arises from an inherent defect in the Parnell system. During his reign the suffrage was widely extended, and, under other circumstances, the political development of the people would have ensued as a natural consequence. But the paramount influence which the Irish leader exercised over an essentially leader-following people enabled him to enter into a simple compact with the Irish electors, the terms of which he dictated. They were to vote for his nominees, and he was to obtain Home Rule. As a question of tactics, this was probably the best course to pursue. Had Parnell lived, and, above all, had the cause not suffered a blow which, among an extremely moral people, was more fatal to his influence than his demise, Home Rule might at least have been tried. In that event, it may be argued that the undoubted statesmanship of the "Uncrowned King" might have found in autonomy the forces necessary for the rapid political education of the people. Per-

haps, too, he might have used his influence to develop their industrial capacities—a task for which the mere concession of a more democratic franchise did not afford him an opportunity. I consider it fair to state these possibilities, though they do not harmonize with my own ideas of a nations's growth. In any case, speculations of this kind are of mere academic value now. Whatever its merits or defects, the Parnell system was a one-man system, and as such it carried a risk against which it was impossible to insure.

What followed the disappearance of Parnell is well known. The political pendulum swung over the Home Rule allies. A Home Rule bill passed through the House of Commons, and was summarily rejected by the House of Lords. The agitation against the much-abused aristocrats fell flat, and the Liberal Government showed no anxiety to place the issue again before the electors.

When Lord Rosebery took up the reins from the venerable statesman who then retired, he seemed to regard the one-man system as a permanent principle of Irish politics. In a memorable speech he significantly remarked that the next Irish leader was probably being wheeled about in a perambulator. And if our politics really are to blunder along indefinitely in the time-honored rut, I dare say we shall have to wait for any hopeful solution of the Irish question until this infant prodigy has arrived at man's estate.

It may be wondered why an opponent of Home Rule in the accepted sense should not contemplate such a prospect at least with equanimity. The explanation is simple. While I consider that the proposed constitutional change would only aggravate the evils from which we suffer, I do not, on that account, think that nothing should be done. England does not owe us Home Rule ; but she does owe us, and would give us if we would only agree upon the need of it, remedial legislation of another kind. She is virtually pledged to a reform by which our local government shall be "put on a broad and popular basis," and she will make a great step in that direction in the coming session of Parliament. Private legislation by which purely local Irish business will be relieved of the expense and inconvenience of transacting it at Westminster, is in contemplation. But there remains a less popular and showy reform which is in my judgment

of surpassing importance, as it goes to the root of Irish poverty. The main purpose of this article is to explain and enlist sympathy with the efforts which are being made to obtain the desired relief.

The principle upon which, under modern conditions, the salvation of Ireland must be sought, becomes more manifest every year. The Irish difficulty has long been rather economic than political, and it is so more than ever to-day. Solve the economic problem, and in the process the Irish people will be so elevated and strengthened that they will be able to solve the political problem for themselves. I am firmly convinced that all future attempts to deal with the Irish question on purely political lines are doomed to share the fate of Irish policies in the past.

The space at my command does not permit me to establish the theoretic soundness of the position I take up. I believe it will commend itself to the judgment of the most of those who read this article. In any case, I must now proceed to describe the steps which are being taken to give practical effect to the views I have enunciated.

In doing this, I am confronted with a great difficulty. I have to speak of events in which I took a leading part, and I have not the circumlocutory ingenuity which would be required to combine in my narrative the advantages of personal experience with the avoidance of the first person singular. I hope I may disarm the criticism of those who would accuse me of egotism by admitting frankly that my own prominence, in the somewhat novel and unconventional proceedings I am about to describe, was due to the possession of a political reputation with which I could afford to play fast and loose; while the credit for any success which has been or may be achieved by the new movement which I helped to initiate, is due to men of infinitely greater capacity who devoted themselves to its promotion.

It was not until the general election of 1895 had, by universal admission, postponed, for some years at any rate, the concession of Home Rule, that the opportunity arose to formulate a definite scheme. In August of that year I promulgated in a letter to the Irish press what, quite sincerely if somewhat grandiloquently, I called "A proposal affecting the general welfare of Ireland." A few extracts from this letter will best explain the general scope and purpose of the scheme. After confessing my continued opposition

to Home Rule because "I did not think it would be good for Ireland," I made the admission "that if the average Irish elector, who is more intelligent than the average British elector, were also as prosperous, as industrious, and as well educated, his continued demand, in the proper constitutional way, for home rule would very likely result in the experiment being one day tried." On the other hand, I gave it as my opinion that "if the material conditions of the great body of our countrymen were advanced, if they were encouraged in industrial enterprise, and were provided with practical education in proportion to their natural intelligence, they would see that a political development on lines similar to those adopted in England was, considering the necessary relations between the two countries, best for Ireland; and then they would cease to desire Home Rule." I then thus suggested a basis for united action between politicians on both sides of the Irish controversy: "We find ourselves still opposed upon the main question, but all anxious to promote the welfare of the country, and confident that, as this is advanced, our respective policies will be confirmed. If, then, it be agreed that it will be good patriotism and good policy alike to work for the material and social advancement of our country, what is to make any of us hesitate to enter at once upon that united action between Irishmen of both parties which alone can produce the desired result?"

The letter proceeded to indicate economic legislation sorely needed by Ireland, and yet quite unobtainable unless it could be removed from the region of controversy. The *modus co-operandi* suggested was as follows: A committee, to sit in the parliamentary recess (whence it came to be known as "The Recess Committee"), was to be formed, consisting, in the first instance, of Irish Members of Parliament nominated by their leaders of the different sections. These nominees should invite to join them any Irishmen whose capacity, knowledge or experience might be of service to the committee, irrespective of the political party or religious persuasion to which they might belong.

I desire, in passing, to emphasize the importance which attaches to this last provision of the scheme. Regarding the Irish question simply from a business point of view—a way of looking at things for which years spent upon the Western plains are accountable—I have always been struck by one very deplorable

feature of Irish public life. Not only the representative men of the classes which have the advantage of wealth and leisure, but also the leaders of our commercial and industrial enterprises, have long been excluded from all influence on the thought and action of the great majority of the people. On the other hand, the actual Irish leaders have rarely been men prominent in any walk of life outside the sphere of politics. I do not wish to be understood as reflecting in any way upon the most representative of my Nationalist fellow-countrymen in pointing out this disadvantage, which I could easily prove, if it were relevant to my argument to do so, to have been in many respects greatly to their credit. My purpose is to show that the Recess Committee was designed to bring about what I consider to be an absolutely necessary combination between the two elements of Irish leadership—the one possessing practical knowledge and commercial experience, the other monopolizing effective influence over the people.

I concluded the letter by broadly commending the scheme to Irish politicians all and sundry. The day had come when "we Unionists, without abating one jot of our Unionism, and Nationalists, without abating one jot of their Nationalism, can each show our faith in the cause for which we have fought so bitterly and so long by sinking our party differences for our country's good, and leaving our respective policies for the justification of time."

Needless to say, few besides the author of the proposal were sanguine enough to hope that such a committee would ever be brought together. If that were accomplished some prophesied that its members would but emulate the fame of the Kilkenny cats. A severe blow was dealt to the project at the outset by the refusal of Mr. Justin McCarthy, who then spoke for the largest section of the Nationalist representatives, to have anything to do with it. However, before this decision was officially announced the idea had "caught on." Public bodies throughout the country endorsed the scheme, and Mr. John Redmond and his followers, who acted in the most conciliatory manner throughout, gave it their adhesion. The parliamentarians then invited prominent men from all quarters, and a committee, which, though informal and self-appointed, might fairly claim to be representative in every material respect, was constituted on the lines laid down.

Truly, it was a strange council over which I now had the honor to preside. All shades of politics were there—Lords Mayo and Monteagle, Mr. Dane and Sir Thomas Lea (Tories and Liberal Unionists) sitting down beside Mr. John Redmond and his parliamentary followers. It was found possible, in framing proposals fraught with moral, social, and educational results, to secure the common agreement of the Rev. Dr. Kane, Grand-Master of the Belfast Orangemen, and of the eminent Jesuit educationalist, Father Thomas Finlay, of the Royal University. The O'Connor Don, the able chairman of the Financial Relations Commission, and one of Her Majesty's judges, both Unionists, were fairly balanced by the present and two former Nationalist Lord-Mayors of Dublin. Sir John Arnott fitly represented the commercial enterprise of the South, while such men as Mr. Thomas Sinclair, Sir William Ewart, Sir Daniel Dixon, Sir James Musgrave, and Mr. Thomas Andrews would be universally accepted as the highest authorities upon the needs of the community which has made Ulster famous in the industrial world.

The story of our deliberations and ultimate conclusions cannot be set forth here except in the barest outline. We instituted an inquiry into the means by which the government could best promote the development of our agricultural and industrial resources. Failing to get the information we required from official and other publications, we despatched special commissioners to nine countries of Europe* whose economic conditions and progress might afford some lessons for Ireland. Our funds did not admit of an inquiry in the United States or the Colonies. However, we obtained invaluable information as to the method by which countries which were our chief rivals in agricultural and industrial production, have been enabled successfully to compete with our producers even in our own markets. Our commissioners were instructed in each case to collect the facts necessary to enable us to differentiate the parts played respectively by State aid and the efforts of the people themselves in producing these results. With this information before us, after long and earnest deliberation we came to a unanimous agreement upon the main facts of the situation

* France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Austria, Hungary and Switzerland. Mr. Michael Mulhall, the well-known statistician, and Mr. Thomas P. Gill who acted as secretary to the committee and rendered invaluable service in that capacity, as well, undertook this mission.

with which we had to deal, and upon the recommendations for remedial legislation we should make to the government.

"We have in Ireland," I am quoting from the report, "a poor country, practically without manufactures—except for the linen and shipbuilding of the north, and the brewing and distilling of Dublin—dependent upon agriculture, with its soil imperfectly tilled, its area under cultivation decreasing, and a diminishing population without industrial habits or technical skill." We sought to prove that this melancholy state of things was not due to racial defects or other unalterable conditions, but was largely attributable to misgovernment in the past. It was not our purpose to criticise, in the light of our present knowledge, the policies of other days, or to indulge in abuse of the present generation of Englishmen for the misdoings of their ancestors. We merely sought to establish a claim for such special treatment as might, without offending against the accepted principles of political economy, or disturbing the fiscal arrangements of the United Kingdom, place our people on the economic level which they would probably have obtained, if England had governed Ireland as well as she governed herself. I think we convinced all with whom the doctrine of *laissez faire* is not carried to the verge of idolatry.

The substance of our recommendations was that a Department of Government should be specially created, with a minister directly responsible to Parliament at its head. The central body was to be assisted by a Consultative Council representative of the interests concerned. The department was to be adequately endowed from the Imperial Treasury, and was to administer State aid to agriculture and industries in Ireland upon principles which were fully described. Those who desire to know the details of this proposal for legislation, and the facts and arguments upon which it was based, must refer to the report, which can easily be obtained.* I need only say here that the scheme, in its main features, was taken from the institutions of the countries to which our investigations were extended, and modified to meet the requirements of our own case. The amalgamation of agriculture and industries under one department was largely due to the opinion expressed by M. Tisserand, late Director General of Agriculture in France, and

* Published by Browne & Nolan, Nassau Street, Dublin.

probably the highest authority in Europe upon the administration of State aid to agriculture. The memorandum which he kindly contributed to the Recess Committee was copied into the annual report of the United States Department of Agriculture for 1896. The creation of a new minister directly responsible to Parliament was a necessary provision. Ireland is at present governed by a number of boards, all, with the one exception of the Board of Works, which is a branch of the Treasury, responsible to the Chief Secretary—practically a whole cabinet in himself—who is supposed to be responsible for them to Parliament. The bearers of this preposterous burden are generally men of great ability, as is the case at the present time. But no Chief Secretary could possibly take under his wing yet another department with the entirely new and important functions now to be discharged. The members of the department were to be nominated by the Executive, since no process of popular election could be counted upon to secure the best men for such administrative work. The Consultative Council, a device which, from continental experience, we were convinced would keep the department in touch with the interests it was created to subserve, was to be largely elective.

The appearance of the report was greeted with a chorus of approval in the press, the perfected scheme meeting with the same public support which had been accorded to the original project. In the last session of Parliament the Chief Secretary introduced a measure, avowedly based, in its main lines, upon the report. The Treasury, however, inserted a provision by which the funds for working the scheme should come out of the Irish instead of the common purse. This made the bill unpopular. But in any case it had little chance of passing into law in the then attitude of a large number of Irish members towards the Recess Committee. Mr. Dillon, who had succeeded Mr. Justin McCarthy in the leadership, and who has opposed the Recess Committee throughout, publicly characterized the report as "idiotic," and accused its author of seeking a salary for himself and jobs for his friends. I can quite understand that, to any one who believes in the sufficiency of political agitation to deal with the Irish problem, such criticism may appear appropriate. In any case, it is rather helpful than the reverse. Meanwhile, public opinion in favor of our recommendations is growing rapidly. On November 30 last, a large deputation rep-

resenting all the leading agricultural and industrial interests of the country waited upon the Irish government, in order to press upon them the urgent need for the new department. The Chief Secretary, after describing the gathering as "one of the most notable deputations which has ever come to lay its case before the Irish government," and noting the "remarkable growth of public opinion" in favor of the policy embodied in his bill of last session, expressed his heartfelt sympathy with the case which had been presented, and his earnest desire—which is well known—to proceed with his policy of agricultural and industrial development at the earliest moment. But his hands are tied. The demand made upon the government is, in a qualitative sense, already irresistible. But economic agitation of this kind takes time to become numerically powerful. You cannot get backward producers to agitate for the legislation I have described, any more than you can get schoolboys to clamor for a more advanced curriculum. We are, however, moving along, and whatever delay the exigencies of party politics may prescribe, I claim for those who gave their work and time to its deliberations, that the Recess Committee has already been a powerful influence for good, and has justified its existence.

I now pass to the other side of the new movement, which is in no sense political. In seeking remedial legislation, the Recess Committee did not fall into the error of placing undue reliance on the efficacy of State aid. Those who read the report will see that they rely mainly upon self-help, and insist throughout that the government should be careful to intervene in such a manner as to evoke and supplement, but not provide a substitute for, this essential quality.

They recognize also that this self-help must be organized in order to fulfil its purpose. This is the teaching alike of countries mainly agricultural, such as Denmark; of those mainly industrial, such as Würtemburg; and of those largely agricultural and industrial, such as France and Belgium. The government always seeks to work with and through local associations. Even in schemes of practical education, local initiation, local contribution, and local control are generally made the condition precedent of monetary and other assistance from the central authority. Undoubtedly this principle must be observed if governmental interference is not to degenerate into jobbery and waste.

It will surprise most of those who read this article to hear that this principle is finding wide acceptance among the farmers of Ireland. During the past eight years a movement which has for its object the uplifting of the rural community, economically first, and then socially and intellectually, has been quietly but actively promoted by a few enthusiasts. The programme of these reformers is based on the principle of voluntary association for industrial purposes, an agency which, in addition to its economic advantages, has proved, wherever it has been tried, to be productive of most beneficial effects upon the character of the individual.

Practical effect was to be given to this principle by the establishment of societies of farmers on lines well known in many European countries, notably in Denmark, where such organizations are to be found in every parish. Ireland, of course, needs diversified manufactures, reliance upon a single industry not being a desirable condition. But Irish statistics, which show that the vast majority of the people are dependent, directly or indirectly, upon the land, point clearly to the advancement of agriculture as the first step in economic progress. Moreover, a class possessing the habits and methods of industry is a prime necessity in the successful promotion of manufacturing enterprise. Such a class can be created in Ireland only out of the agricultural community, and industrially educated in connection with the industry with which it is familiar. *Festina lente* was the motto of these men.

The history of this work might be interesting, more especially as the problem with which it deals is very nearly related to a problem now coming to the front in the United States, which I may seek an opportunity to discuss on another occasion. I can now only say that after a period of constant and apparently fruitless toil the farming societies began to struggle into existence. In the spring of 1894 a considerable amount of public interest in these efforts was aroused, and a society called the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, as widely representative as the Recess Committee, was formed to provide funds for carrying on the movement, which had then grown to such proportions that it could no longer be promoted by the original volunteers. Owing to the influence of this philanthropic association we have to-day some 170 of these societies in Ireland scattered throughout thirty-

one of the thirty-two counties, with an aggregate membership of some 17,000.

These societies variously embrace every branch of the farming industry. They cheapen production by the joint purchase of seeds, manures, implements, machinery, and other requirements of their industry. In dairying districts they erect creameries, which they show a capacity to operate for their own profit. They jointly sell what they produce with a view to saving middle profits. They are in many districts applying the principle of co-operation to agricultural finance, and are thus securing a great reduction of interest upon farm loans. The advantages derived from combination of individuals is enhanced by joint action between societies. The societies are generally prosperous, the percentage of commercial failures being practically nominal.

Such is a rough outline of the purely economic movement which preceded and rendered possible its semi-political complement, the Recess Committee. I believe that the full development of agricultural organization points the only way by which the agricultural industry in Ireland can be saved. The Irish farmers, who formerly had to compete only with their fellow-workers in the United Kingdom, are now brought into competition with the farmers of the whole world. The time has come when they must intelligently apply to their industry those methods of combination which have been resorted to by those engaged in every other industrial undertaking, and by farmers of other countries. The system by which we are seeking to attain this result has already proved its economic soundness; and it is only lack of funds sufficient to send organizers qualified to educate bodies of farmers, who are ready to listen to them in almost every parish in Ireland, in its principles and procedure, which delays its universal adoption. May I point out that in providing the sinews of war a splendid opportunity is open for some wealthy lover of Ireland to confer upon her people an incalculable boon?

I am quite aware that I throw myself open to adverse criticism on the part of more ardent politicians on both sides of the great dividing line. On the one hand, I shall be told that the settlement of the land question is immeasurably more important than the attempt to bolster up an industry hopelessly handicapped by landlordism. I cannot now deal with that argument, but must ask my readers to withhold judgment until they have

studied, at least in outline, the drastic land legislation of the last quarter of a century, and have realized the present legal status of the Irish tenant. They will probably come to the conclusion that rent is no longer the chief factor in cost of production, and that the need of the day is a system of organized self-help supplemented by State aid. On the other hand, I may be told that I fail to be duly grateful for the noble work—and such it was—of Mr. Arthur Balfour in the west of Ireland, and that I am unreasonable in pressing for further State aid while other Irish affairs are before Parliament. I can only reply that the best way to help Ireland is to aid in developing her resources, and that of these by far the most important are those which exist in the people themselves. The annual exodus of Irishmen from Ireland still appeals eloquently to the government to develop something besides our politics.

One criticism of a more general character remains. I shall be told that those of us who are trying to turn the minds of our countrymen from purely political to economic reforms take no account of Irish sentiment, and show a profane disregard for the national aspirations. Our answer is broadly this. While we do not consider it un-Irish to be practical, we are quite aware that without sentiment on our side we can exercise no influence for good upon our fellow-countrymen. So let us be known by our fruit. I believe our chief offence is that we despise that so-called love for Ireland which is but a thinly disguised hatred for England. Our hopes for the regeneration of our country do not involve the destruction of an empire which Irishmen have taken a leading part in building up, and are to-day foremost in maintaining.* Such a perverted patriotism is alien to the character of the Irish people, who are neither revengeful nor wanting in intelligence.

It may be that independence of thought upon the Irish question will still subject a man to a storm of obloquy. I am, however, convinced that nothing but good can come from a frank and unreserved expression in America of opinions upon the Irish question which have not there been heard before.

HORACE PLUNKETT.

* The names of Irish empire-builders in the past are too numerous to cite. The services of Lords Wolseley and Roberts on land, of Lord Charles Beresford on water, and of Lord Dufferin in diplomacy, are among the latest instances of the preëminence of Irishmen in imperial affairs.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE HEART AND THE WILL IN BELIEF.—ROMANES AND MILL.

THESE two names I have linked together on account of a similarity in certain phases of thought through which they passed. They were both recognized champions of Agnosticism, and yet they came in their later years to modify their earlier positions—Mill, in a tentative manner, Romanes in a frank acknowledgment on his part of a radical change of opinion. The transition from a negative to a positive position in reference to the question of theism is of primary interest in its bearing upon the problems of religion and of life. As the writer of the article on Romanes in the *Quarterly Review* has pointed out, "The current of his thought may be called the movement of the age." This larger view of the subject is alluring, and yet within the scope of the present article I would examine some of the psychological phenomena accompanying such a change of opinion, rather than attempt to assess its value, or interpret its significance. I shall consider, therefore, the experiences of Mill and Romanes as illustrating the influence of certain mental forces which lie outside the processes of reason, and yet are contributing factors in determining the judgment.

We find these two men, the logician and the scientist, absorbed through many years in special pursuits which naturally developed a habit of mind which led to the consideration of all propositions "in the dry light of reason." They were scrupulously consistent adherents of a purely logical and scientific method. In this atmosphere, a negative criticism of theism naturally ensued. Mill's position is indicated in various passages of his earlier works, and notably in his essays on religion. These essays were published after his death; we fail, however, to estimate them properly if we overlook the fact that the essay on Nature, and the others on the "Utility of Religion" were written in the years 1850-58, and the third essay, on "Theism," was written between 1868 and 1870, just before his death.

The interval between the two former and the last will account for the concessions which the final essay contains, and which are not in harmony with the negative attitude of his earlier position. He acknowledges that the hope, while only a hope, concerning the government of the universe and the destiny of man is nevertheless legitimate and philosophically defensible. Though espousing the Religion of Humanity and Duty, he still confesses that in living consistently in the spirit of its high behests, one may be "cooperating with the unseen Being to whom we owe all that is enjoyable in life." Mr. Morley, who can be accused of no bias in his opinion, reluctantly and with evident regret acknowledges this change of attitude, and evidently feels that Mr. Mill in the essay on Theism has become almost apostate as

regards the creed of Agnosticism. In this essay Mill concedes the possibility of the sentiments and the imagination determining assent as well as the purely ratiocinative process of the mind, and remarks that "in the regulation of the imagination literal truth of facts is not the only thing to be considered. Truth is the province of reason, but when reason is strongly cultivated, the imagination may safely follow its own end, and do its best to make life pleasant and lovely inside the castle in reliance on the fortifications raised and maintained by reason round the outward bounds. This makes life and human nature a far greater thing to the feelings, and gives greater strength as well as greater solemnity to all the sentiments which are awakened in us by our fellow-creatures and by mankind at large."

In the early years of Mill's life there was a conspicuous absence of the elements of feeling. His education was calculated to stifle all sentiment and emotion. "The education," he says, "which my father gave me was in itself much more fitted for training me to know, than to do," and it might be added, than to feel also. For Mill confesses that his father resembled most Englishmen in being ashamed of the signs of feeling, and by absence of demonstration starving the feelings themselves. As to his own nature in this respect, he says: "The habit of analysis has a tendency to wear away the feelings, as indeed it has when no other mental habit is cultivated and the analyzing spirit remains without its natural complements and correctives. I had learned by experience that the passive susceptibilities needed to be cultivated as well as the active capacities, and required to be nourished and enriched as well as guided. I never turned recreant to intellectual culture, or ceased to consider the power and practice of analysis as an essential condition both of individual and of social improvement. But I thought that it had consequences which required to be corrected by joining other kinds of cultivation with it. The maintenance of a due balance among the faculties now seemed to me of primary importance." Through Mill's knowledge of his own limitations in this respect he was led to put forth special efforts to overcome this conscious deficiency. The cultivation of the feelings became one of the cardinal points in his ethical and philosophical creed.

There is a deliciously *naive* remark in Mill's *Autobiography* upon the occasion of his reading in *Marmontel's Memoires* of the death of the author's father and the distressed position of the family, so vividly described as to move him to tears. Mill hails this outburst of feeling on his part with positive delight, saying: "From this moment my burden grew lighter. The oppression of the thought that all feeling was dead within me was gone." The growth of his emotional nature was no doubt quickened and nurtured by the influence of Coleridge, Sterling, and Maurice. Mr. Courtney, in his excellent biography of Mill, thinks that the influence of Mrs. Taylor, afterward Mill's wife, checked these influences for a time. Feeling and sentiment, however, came slowly to blend more and more with the powers of pure reason as effective moments in the life of the spirit. In his later years Mill sensibly mellowed, so that his last utterances represented the ripe product of heart as well as of brain.

Romanes passed through a similar experience, reaching, however, more definite and pronounced results. The tendency which is evident in Mill, and yet only a tendency, became in Romanes a radical change of opinion unmistakably and unreservedly expressed. He had published in 1876 his *Candid Examination of Theism* under the *nom-de-plume* of *Physicus*,

repudiating the possibility of theistic belief. In his *Thoughts on Religion*, a posthumous work, Romanes frankly disavows the conclusions of his earlier reasoning, and presents positive considerations in defence of a theistic position. There had been evident tendencies toward such a change manifested in his Rede Lecture on *Mind and Matter*, also in his essay on *The World as Eject*, as indicated in his interpreting the phenomena of existence upon a monistic basis which was essentially spiritualistic. The earlier materialistic tendencies of his thought are here repudiated. Not only do we have the fact of this revolution of thought clearly stated, we have also Romanes' explanation of the causes operative in effecting it: "It does not appear to me that the modifications which my views have undergone since the publication of my previous *Candid Examination* are due so much to purely logical processes of the intellect as to the sub-conscious (and therefore more or less unanalyzable) influences due to the ripening experiences of life. The extent to which this is true is seldom, if ever, realized, although it is practically exemplified every day in the sobering caution which advancing age exercises upon the mind. Most of all is this the case in those departments of thought which are furthest from the region of our sensuous life, viz., metaphysics and religion."

Romanes' position in this later work is substantially that reason alone leads to Agnosticism as regards religion, that the question of the being of a God is incapable of proof or disproof by abstract reasoning and scientific evidence, but that at this point one has only begun his inquiry into the grounds and justification of religious belief. "For," he adds, "reason is not the only attribute of man, nor is it the only faculty which he habitually employs for the ascertainment of truth. Moral and spiritual faculties are of no less importance in their respective spheres even of everyday life; faith, trust, taste, etc., are as needful in ascertaining truth as to character, beauty, etc., as is reason." Romanes very frankly confesses that his chief difficulty had been an undue regard to reason as against heart and will. He dwells upon the complexity of assent throughout the whole range of life, and especially emphasizes the volitional as well as the emotional factors in those forces of the mind which make for belief. He insists that inasmuch as all first principles even of science are known by intuition, so must certainly the first principles of morality.

In the two experiences which I have endeavored to present, we find a consciousness of the limitations of the reasoning powers of the mind, and the conscious need of supplementing their exercise by the results of the intuitive deliverances of the moral and spiritual consciousness. While the latter may be called extra-rational, they must nevertheless not be regarded as irrational, for it is possible that these results may become incorporated in the body of rational doctrine, inasmuch as we have seen in the lives of Romanes and Mill that they can actually find a place in a severely logical and scientific mind, and yet no conscious incongruity be experienced. They do no violence to a rational sensitiveness that is consistently inhospitable to all discordant claimants, however clamorously they may crave recognition. We, therefore, conclude that there is a will to believe that is not solely the result of a reasoned analysis, that there are intimations of truth which are not demonstrative, that there are determining factors which are not premises, judgments which are not conclusions, and that the heart has its reasons which the heart alone can understand.

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN.

A CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT FUND.

DURING the four months of the late special session there were introduced in Congress twenty-six bills and joint resolutions bearing on the Civil Service system, besides two Senate resolutions directing investigation of the operations of the Civil Service Commission, and inquiry into the dismissal of employees in the government printing office. The Senate assumed a conservative and rather unfriendly attitude toward all measures for the reform and extension of the service, and evinced willingness to listen to wholly frivolous charges of extravagance on the part of the Commission. The House vindicated its theoretical character as the popular body by originating twenty-two of the twenty-six measures referred to ranging in the scope of their provisions from mere administrative changes in the present law to total abolition of the system on the one hand, and on the other to its further extension to all classes of civil employees in all offices, and the crowning of the edifice of reform with a retirement system, providing pensions for disabled and superannuated employees, to be paid, not from the public purse, like army and navy pensions, but from a fund raised by the employees themselves.

The only proposition for unconditionally wiping out the entire system was made, as might have been anticipated, by a Republican and a new member, Representative Dorr, of the Third West Virginia District. Populist Senator Allen, of Nebraska, introduced a bill even more sweeping in that it proposes not only to abolish the system but to revoke and annul all executive orders based on the existing law and the legislation supplementary to it. His bill offers a sop, however, to the public demand for ascertained fitness in appointees by requiring the head of each executive department "to establish reasonable and just rules in writing for the examination of all persons applying for positions." These bills will never be reported from the committees, nor is it likely that anything further will be heard of the several bills and resolutions to revoke or limit the authority of the President to extend the Civil Service to offices and positions not at present included in the system. It is held by most of the lawyers in Congress that the President's authority to extend the Civil Service implies equal authority to revoke previous extensions, and many Republican Congressmen have based on this the hope that Mr. McKinley would presently undo some of Mr. Cleveland's work, and, especially in the government printing office, open the door for wholesale dismissals and the reinstatement of many discharged Republicans and appointment of others who have never yet been in the service. There is not, and has not been, any indication that the President will take such a step. He is apparently in accord with the general policy of improving the service and at the suggestion, if not at the request, of the commissioners made his order severely limiting removals of subordinate officials; and the order was issued on the eve of the judicial decision which, as had been anticipated, sustained the general power of removal in the chiefs of government offices and suggested that their responsibility for the exercise of that power is not to the Civil Service Commission but to the heads of the respective departments and so, ultimately, to the President.

The extension of the Civil Service to offices not as yet included is inevitable and will not be long delayed, but the system will not be logically complete until Congress shall pass a retirement law providing annuities for superannuated and disabled employees. There is a strong and growing

sentiment in the House favoring such a law, and considerable progress in framing a satisfactory bill was made during the last session of the 54th Congress. No one has yet been bold enough to suggest that the government should contribute to the necessary fund; the prudent legislator, evidently believing that he attains the furthest limit of generosity when he grants the Civil Service clerk permission to insure himself against the needs of age or permanent ill-health. Of several bills for this purpose considered by the House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service in the late Congress that of Representative Tawney, of the First Minnesota District, was the best, and a sub-committee, of which Mr. Tawney was chairman, went into the subject thoroughly and held several public hearings. Much valuable information was elicited, particularly from the Civil Service Commissioners, who appeared and gave their views unofficially, and from various department officials and employees. A committee appointed by the employees of the New York custom house carefully went over the bill and forwarded some pertinent and practical suggestions. The widest latitude was permitted in the public inquiry, and it is only fair to say that a rather active and intelligent opposition was manifested by a number of department employees and a remonstrance, emanating from the Pension Bureau and bearing nearly six hundred signatures, was presented against a retirement bill.

Nothing in the way of genuine reform was to have been expected in the short last session of the Fifty-fourth Congress, and its bills died with it. On the opening of the special session of the present Congress in March Representative Brosius, of Pennsylvania, introduced a new retirement bill embodying the best suggestions which his committee received last year, and the friends of the reform had the satisfaction later of seeing him again placed at the head of the House Civil Service Committee, with Mr. Tawney next among the Republicans, and Mr. Dockery, of Missouri, heading the Democrats on the committee. For the rest the committee is rather colorless, but will not be obstructive. There will be a number of public hearings in Congress and much lay and professional opinion will be called for before any bill is reported to the House. The passage of a bill will depend almost wholly on the influence brought to bear by the employees whose interests it will directly affect. Coteries are already forming in all the departments with a view to influencing sentiment in Congress, and the measure will become a law as soon as the interested employees pretty unanimously demand it.

As it now stands the bill provides for the retention and investment by the Secretary of the Treasury of two per cent. of all monthly salaries, and four years after the first payments are made retirements will begin, with life annuities of seventy-five per cent. of the highest pay at any time received by the retiring employee while in the Civil Service. Retirement for disability after twenty years' service may be either voluntary or compulsory; it is voluntary at sixty years of age after thirty years' service, and compulsory at seventy after thirty-five years' service. The Civil Service Commissioners are to act as the retiring board and are to be allowed one twelve hundred dollar clerk, and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to designate a chief of bureau at $1,800 and three $1,200 clerks to manage the fund, out of which all expenses are to be paid. When it is remembered that there will be at the start a probable minimum of 100 applications for retirement per month, and 90,000 contributors

to the fund, the crudity of the Congressional view of this form of the protective insurance problem is manifest. The pay in the average grades of our Civil Service is so much more liberal than that given by any other government that it does not seem probable that a two per cent. assessment funded at four per cent. can yield more than a half-pay annuity with the best of management. That phase of the problem has not, however, been attacked, the statistics of pay by classes and individuals in the several departments never having been collated. The House will make a serious and honest effort to frame a workable bill, and the vote on the measure, particularly in the Senate (where Senator Lodge introduced the House bill by request), will depend on the activity and earnestness with which the friends and prospective beneficiaries of the project make their demands known.

E. BREWER.

THE SOLUTION OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CITY PROBLEM.

IN his very able and interesting book, *The New Era*, Dr. Strong, Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, conclusively proves that the future of society depends for its safety on the general acceptance and practice by the individual members of society of the teachings of Christ. The logic of *The New Era* in proof of that statement seems incontrovertible. He argues not for doctrine but for the carrying into "the daily walk and conversation" of each man and woman the great commandment, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," and of the divine injunction of the Lord Jesus, "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you."

In his article in the REVIEW for September on "The Problem of the Twentieth Century City," after showing the tremendous and almost unavoidable dangers which will confront society in such cities, he states:

"The problem of the twentieth century city, therefore, demands for its solution a higher type of citizenship, for which we must look chiefly to those who direct the education of the young. Evidently our public schools must give to the children and youth of to-day such instruction in the duties and principles of good citizenship as earlier generations did not have. Literature dealing with American citizenship, adapted to all ages, from the high school down to the kindergarten, should be absorbed by the scholars until an intelligent civic patriotism becomes a matter of course."

Every student must acquiesce in the statement that "the problem demands for its solution a higher type of citizenship." Also that our public schools should give the children and youth of to-day the best instruction in the principles of patriotism and good citizenship. The inference which must be drawn from his statement that earlier generations did not have such training as makes the best citizens, is scarcely warranted, nor will it be borne out by a study of American life from 1740 to 1840. On the contrary, a study of the home and school life of American children of that century will show that the moral and religious training of the youth was of such a kind as produced the best and safest class of men and women.

The inference which must be drawn from Dr. Strong's article, that in the education and training of the youth of the present day there is a lack in the schools of the quality of teaching which is necessary to make the best citizens out of the rising generation, is warranted, I believe, by observation and by study of our educational system. He might even have gone farther and stated that the early home life of a great majority of American children

to-day, especially in the cities, is rather more unfavorable than favorable to the development in the young mind of the best ideas of citizenship and patriotism. I feel sure that if Dr. Strong were asked the question: Can you inculcate in the youth of our land the highest ideas of good citizenship without thoroughly imbuing them with the fundamental principles of Bible truth and Christian practices? he would unhesitatingly answer no.

The passage which I have quoted from Dr. Strong's article might better have been framed in some such terms as these: "The problem of the twentieth century city, therefore, demands for its solution the highest type of citizenship, and for it we must look chiefly to those who direct the education of the young. *The children and youth of to-day must be given such instruction in the truths of the Bible and Christian precepts*, and in the duties and principles of good citizenship, *as will prevent them in mature years from swinging from their moorings and being swept into the maelstrom of social and religious depravity, which threatens to engulf the civilization of the future.* Literature dealing with American citizenship and pure, religious truths, adapted to all ages, from the high school down to the kindergarten, should be absorbed by the scholars until an intelligent civic patriotism becomes a matter of course."

I hope that Dr. Strong will pardon my correction, as I feel sure that there is no disagreement between him and myself as to the necessity of having the youth of our country as thoroughly imbued with Bible teachings and truths as possible.

Conceded that only the highest type of Christian life can save the civilization of the next century, and that there is a decline in Christian teaching and influence, then that decline must be checked, and that teaching and influence largely increased, or the present form of society and economic organization will be swept away. And what shall we have in its place?

The questions we have to solve then are these: How can the present decline in religious teaching and influence be checked; and how can such teaching and influence be increased to such a point as will preserve the great cities of the next century from depravity, degradation, and destruction?

Christian preachers of all denominations admit that the average church attendance is small and indicates a lack of due religious sentiment among adults. In some religious circles there is almost despair over that fact. There seems to be no prospect that the grown persons of the present generation will be brought under the necessary religious influence. In the minds of our youth, then, must be inculcated the proper principles of religion, citizenship and patriotism. How can our youth best be reached? If the adults of the present age are not as religious as the needs of the hour and of the future require, will the children receive the proper religious training, if they receive none except in the home circle?

I do not believe for a moment that any religious teacher will say that at present, in the average home of the land, the child receives that religious training and discipline which takes sufficient lodgment in the mind. The average parent does not take the time, nor has he the inclination, to train the mind of the child in the truths of the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, Christ's great commandment of brotherly love, and the Apostles' Creed; and unless the truths of these are firmly planted in the mind in early life their influence on the life in mature years is of necessity very limited.

The child whose only home religious training is a scant blessing and a short prayer at family worship is very apt to be but little impressed with

religious truths and duties. How many hundreds of thousands of them never even hear the scant blessing and the short prayer?

Most of the States of the American Union have now compulsory education laws, and it is very hard for a child to escape a certain amount of education up to its fourteenth year. If a part of that education were made up of teachings from the Bible, and of the instilling into the mind of the child the true meaning of Christ's great Declaration, "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you," the youth of our country would in a few years be grounded in such principles of right living that any threatened collapse of society would be averted, and in a third of a century a spirit of patriotism founded on Eternal Truth, earthly charity and justice, would be so diffused throughout the land that the preservation of society, through the great humanitarian principles of Christ's teachings, would be assured.

The principle of religious teaching in the public schools is one that meets with intense opposition on the part of the public, and is disapproved of by most teachers. I am firmly convinced that one of the greatest blunders that have been made in our country in the last half century has been the failure to educate the American youth in Bible truths and teachings, and the result of such failure may bring disaster.

The Catholic Church has insisted that it is its duty to educate the children of parents of the Catholic faith in such a way as to fix religious truths in the youthful mind. For this it has been assailed by the non-Catholic population, and Catholics have even been charged with being enemies of the liberties of the people and of the flag. Any careful observer in the city of New York can see that the only people, as a class, who are teaching the children in the way that will secure the future for the best civilization are the Catholics; and, although a Protestant of the firmest kind, I believe the time has come to recognize this fact, and for us all to lay aside religious prejudices and patriotically meet this question.

On every side is heard the statement that there must be a reorganization of society. Ten years ago the man who made that statement was considered an enemy to the public peace. To-day the statement is listened to by the people with respect, and accepted by many. Thousands of the best thinkers of the land believe in and predict a change in our economic organization. Hundreds of thousands of workingmen cast their ballots in the last Presidential election for Mr. Bryan because they believed that he stood for such a change. The line between capital and labor is commencing to be drawn at the polls more than at any other place, and if a majority of the ballots are cast in resentment and in a spirit of class hatred, then we shall have reached a situation fraught with the utmost danger to these United States of America, by the grace of God free and independent.

I repeat what I said above: "The children and youth of to-day must be given such instruction in the truths of the Bible and Christian precepts, and in the duties and principles of good citizenship, as will prevent them in mature years from swinging from their moorings and being swept into the maelstrom of social and religious depravity, which threatens to engulf the civilization of the future." Such instruction can only be given successfully by an almost entire change of policy and practice on the question of religious teaching in the public schools, and the encouragement of private schools in which sound religious teaching is given.

AMASA THORNTON.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCXCV.

FEBRUARY, 1898.

AMERICA'S INTERESTS IN CHINA.

BY GENERAL JAMES H. WILSON.

In order that the present crisis in China may be properly understood, and that our real stake—the commercial and diplomatic interests of the United States—in that far-away region may be properly considered, a glance at the country, the people, and the government seems to be necessary.

Fortunately, China has long since ceased to be a land of mystery. From the days of Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta its innermost recesses have been known to the world. In later years it has been more fully explored in all directions by Jesuits, missionaries, and scientific travellers. Its limits, its physical conformation, and its climate have been described with sufficient accuracy. Its mineral resources, which are of great variety and vast extent, but almost entirely undeveloped, have aroused the interest and excited the cupidity of foreign promoters and financiers. Full details and particulars can be had from the cyclopædias on all these points, but a more specific reference to the area and population of the Empire will perhaps serve better than anything else to arrest the attention of this country and its statesmen to the enormous importance of the events which are now taking place in the far East.

China proper and Exterior China, including the eighteen

Copyright, 1898, by The North American Review Publishing Company. All rights reserved.

densely populated provinces and the surrounding desert region, constitute what is known as the Chinese Empire. It extends from the Pacific Ocean, where it has a coast line of about 2,500 miles, to Central Asia, and covers an area of something over 5,000,000 square miles, or nearly one-tenth of the habitable globe. Its population has never been accurately enumerated, but it has been estimated variously from a fifth to a third of all the people in the world ! There may be anywhere from three hundred to four hundred millions. One guess is as good as another, but the latter has the endorsement of Sir Robert Hart, Commissioner of the Imperial Maritime Customs, and may be considered the more trustworthy.

The average condition of these people, as contrasted with those of Western nations, is one of great poverty, though it would be a mistake to assume that they are peculiarly miserable and unhappy, except at times in the region of famine, which, from climatic conditions, frequently prevails, and, owing to great distances and the lack of railroad transportation, can hardly ever be relieved or mitigated. Living almost entirely by agriculture and the accessory callings, the Chinese contribute but little per capita to international commerce. They are a remarkably homogeneous, docile, industrious, and robust people, frugal and kindly in their habits, with no indications of ever having been aggressive and warlike in temper. Belonging to the Turanian race, it is becoming the fashion to designate them as the "Yellow Peril," and to conjure up harrowing visions of a devastated and ruined world when they shall learn their power and sally forth for rapine and conquest. More than one European writer, and notably Professor Pearson, have predicted that they will yet dominate the earth by force of arms or ruin it by competition in commerce. Without recounting the arguments upon which this opinion is based, it is here sufficient to state that, so far as history shows, the Chinese race are about as much of a menace to the rest of the world as the lamb in the fable was to the wolf.

Obviously, this "Peril," be it great or small, may be dismissed for the present with the suggestion that, if the Chinese cannot defend themselves from a few thousand Japanese "*wojen*" (or dwarfs), a still smaller number of Russians, or a couple of German cruisers, they can hardly hope for several generations to be able to menace seriously the rest of the world as conquerors. When it is further considered that they have but little surplus capital and few

if any of the appliances of modern civilization, and have yet to supply themselves altogether with railroads, rolling mills, furnaces and factories, and to develop their mines of coal, iron, copper, lead and precious metals, before they can seriously think of satisfying their own demands for manufactured goods, wares, and merchandise, much less of entering into active competition with other nations, practical statesmen may well dismiss these apprehensions for the present. Yet China is awakening from the lethargy of ages, and is joining slowly but certainly in the march of modern progress. It must not be forgotten, however, that while she is moving her great examplars will advance still further. Her ancient and complete isolation which has hitherto kept her stagnant in the background, and which was primarily due to the wide expanse of desert, steppe, and mountains separating her from the civilized world on the land side and to an almost illimitable waste of waters on the ocean side, was first broken seriously in upon by the big ships of modern days. The approach and early completion of the Trans-Siberian railroad to Vladivostok, Port Arthur, and ultimately to Peking, the construction of trunk railway connections along the principal trade routes of the interior, and the multiplication of the great steamship lines which already connect her ports with all parts of the world, will surely at no distant day open her innermost recesses to the trade and influence of the more progressive nations.

It cannot be too frequently repeated that the peculiarities of civilization and government and the extraordinary conservatism of the Chinese are mainly due to that isolation which has remained unbroken from the beginning of time to within less than a half century, but fortunately may now be regarded as quite at an end forever.

If human experience is of any value, or has any application to this case, nothing can be more certain than that the Chinese must ultimately move as all other races and nations have moved. They have similar wants, similar affections, and similar interests, and must gratify them by means similar to those employed by other peoples. And so it may be safely assumed that when they do seriously set about the task of bettering their condition and improving their civilization and government they will proceed much as other people have proceeded. Their efforts will be followed by success and failures in the usual proportions. They will have the

usual amount of bright anticipations and bitter disappointments; the usual proportion of great men and small ones, and possibly an unusual proportion of dishonest men and scoundrels; but withal, they are sure, if left alone, and possibly if not left alone, by outsiders, to progress both in the arts of peace and in the arts of war, and to grow in wealth and power.

Manifestly, the new economic changes which we may count upon with absolute confidence will be such as grow out of the construction of railroads, the opening of mines, and the erection of furnaces, rolling mills, factories, and shipyards, and generally the better employment of labor; wages will rise, the scale of living and expenditure will improve, which in turn will create a demand for better food, better clothing, better furniture, and better houses. When the extent of the country and the almost infinite number of the people are considered, together with the enormous amount of work to be done in order to bring them abreast of even the poorest people of Europe and America in respect to the facilities and comforts of civilized life and to the means of national defence, it will be apparent that they will not only have all they can do at home for the next half-century at least, and possibly even for the entire century or longer, but also will be compelled to borrow heavily and to buy largely from foreign nations of the things which they cannot yet nor soon produce. Of course if they buy they will have to pay, which they can do only in the precious metals, and in the products which now constitute their principal articles of commence.

The isolation and conservatism of the Chinese had their counterpart with the Japanese, the history of whose extraordinary progress is now fully known to the world, and need not be dwelt upon here. While it is not to be denied that the circumstances which surrounded Japan were different from those which surround China, it may be fairly claimed that the difference was one of extent rather than of character. The awakening must come and progress must follow in one case as surely as it did in the other; but inasmuch as the area of the Chinese Empire is twenty-five times as great, and its population probably ten times that of the Japanese dominions, the aggregate contributions of the former to the progressive forces and movements of the age, when once fully developed, must be many times greater than any that have ever yet made themselves felt in the Asiatic world. Hence it will be

perceived that the territorial possessions and commercial prizes to be struggled for by the great powers are of supreme value, and well calculated not only to arouse their cupidity and stimulate their enterprise, but to dull their consciences as well.

When it is remembered that British and Russian conquest in Asia has already resulted in the division of all of that continent, except Turkey in the West, and China in the East, between the conquerors; that France has helped herself to Tonquin, Cochin China, and part of Siam, and is now seeking to further extend both her absolute sway and commercial influence; that Germany has, under a flimsy pretext, seized Kiao Chou Bay and forced the Chinese government to give her a long "lease of sovereignty" on the mainland and adjacent waters; that the Chinese buffer states and outlying dependencies of vast extent have been seized one after another, and above all that no conquered territory anywhere in Asia, except that which was held for a while by Russia about Kuldja in the far northwest of Chinese Tartary, has been relinquished to its rightful owner by any European power during this century, the Chinese Boards and ministers may well feel profoundly alarmed at the "glaring beasts" which now seem to threaten their country with dismemberment and destruction.

It is true that their government is a government of conquest and corruption, the history of which is for the most part the history of violence, intrigue and anarchy, with only here and there a great ruler to stay the hand of plunder and to save the country from absolute ruin. The reigning dynasty is effete and incompetent, the boards of government are cumbersome and inefficient, and the leading men generally weak or powerless. But these are misfortunes inherited from a past age. They call for reform and regeneration, which may be had with the assistance and advice of foreign nations rather than by spoliation and dismemberment.

And yet it must not be forgotten that China has made substantial progress for the last fifty years, especially since the capture of the Taku forts and Peking by the allied French and British armies in 1861, and the termination of the Taiping rebellion in 1863. The most potential influence in this movement has been the determination of the Powers to open China to the trade of the world, and it is to be noted that in enforcing this determination they have never hesitated to invoke all the resources

of war as well as those of diplomacy. Up to 1834 the English, through the East India Company, had a virtual monopoly of the China trade, and the individual merchant, no matter what was his nationality, had but a poor chance. Trade was at first closely supervised by government and Company agents, but gradually outgrew their control. Outside merchants, especially Americans, forced their way into it, and this made trouble, which was followed by treaties and trade regulations. The English insisted upon having better facilities, and upon trading where they pleased, freely and without annoying restrictions, and especially upon the right to engage in the introduction and sale of opium, to the great injury, as the Chinese officials believed, of those who consumed it. The Chinese authorities resisted, and this led to the Opium War, followed soon after by the "Lorcha" War, in both of which they suffered great loss, humiliation, and defeat, and were finally compelled not only to legalize the opium trade, and pay their assailants a heavy subsidy in money, but in addition to limit themselves to the collection of an *ad valorem* duty of only five per cent. in silver on all goods imported from foreign countries. A few years later the allied French and English forces captured the Taku forts, and marched by Tientsin and Tungchow to the imperial capital, drove the Court across the borders, looted and destroyed the Summer Palace, levied tribute sufficient to pay the entire expenses of the war, and again showed the helpless Chinese that it was impossible for them to stand up against the "Foreign Devils."

During all these operations the diplomatic representatives of the United States, although always claiming their right under the doctrine of co-operation to share in the concessions made to their colleagues, maintained an attitude of neutrality, or sought by an independent show of friendship to gain some special advantages for our own country, while our naval commander looked on with complacency, till overcome by the thought that "Blood is thicker than water," when he set to work to rescue the British sailors, whose boats had been sunk by Chinese shot. It must be confessed that the conduct of our representatives throughout that period was rather that of the jackal than of the lion, and must have been extremely puzzling to the Chinese officials.

But when it comes to the action of individuals, the story is

much more creditable to Americans. Our missionaries, after the earlier Jesuits, were almost the first in that wide field. They were generally men of great piety and learning, like Morrison, Brown, Martin, and Williams, and did all in their power as genuine men of God to show the heathen that the stranger was not necessarily a public enemy, but might be an evangel of a higher and better civilization. These men and their co-laborers have established hospitals, schools, and colleges in various cities and provinces of the Empire, which are everywhere recognized by intelligent Chinamen as centres of unmitigated blessing to the people. Millions of dollars have been spent in this beneficent work, and the result is slowly but surely spreading the conviction that foreign arts and sciences are superior to "fung shuey" and native superstition.

So, too, the Americans have been leaders in commerce, and in fair and honest dealing with the Chinese. One of the oldest and most successful foreign houses ever founded in China was that of Russell & Company, which planted agencies in all the chief maritime cities, established steamboat lines on the principal rivers, and for nearly three-quarters of a century was known throughout the world for its enterprise and its widespread commercial transactions. Many other American houses of the highest character and scarcely less distinction have been planted in the open cities from Canton to New Chwang, until now it may be said that American products and manufactured goods are known throughout the Empire for their excellent quality, and that the value and extent of the commerce controlled by Americans are second only to that of Great Britain.

Americans have exerted extraordinary influence in another field, and at a time of vital importance to the reigning dynasty and its government. The Taiping rebellion, which ended in 1863, after incredible damage and devastation, was started and carried forward against the Manchus upon the idea of "China for the Chinese." It was based upon a sort of Mormon Christianity, and seemed in a fair way of overrunning the entire country till it was met by "the ever victorious army," organized and commanded by an American sailor named Ward. According to all disinterested accounts, this extraordinary man displayed genius and power of the highest order. Operating under the sanction of the Chinese Generalissimo, Li Hung Chang, he

gathered a force of Chinamen, not exceeding five thousand in all, whom he armed with foreign rifles, placed under foreign officers, and led in person against the rebels for two years of unbroken victory. Death alone at the head of his command put an end to his career. He was succeeded in turn by Burgevine, Forrester, and Gordon, two Americans and one Englishman, but neither of them changed the organization, or added to its invincible efficiency. Gordon, who finally laid down his life for Great Britain at Khartoûm, it is true, rendered valuable services; but he was an erratic and uncertain man, and it is now generally admitted that had it not been for the work of Ward the rebellion would have been successful and the Manchu dynasty would have been expelled. The Chinese recognize the extraordinary character and influence of Ward's services at this critical epoch by the posthumous honors bestowed upon his memory, and by the stories of his courageous deeds which have spread broadcast among the people to the remotest corners of the Empire.

It was the good fortune of another American to point out the defenceless condition of China, her lack of an adequate army, the absence of a general staff and of a system of military transport and administration, nearly ten years before the Japanese invasion which ended in the utter humiliation of the Empire and has become the fruitful source of all the foreign troubles which now encompass it. How much greater the humiliation, and how much heavier the indemnity would have been, but for the sagacious counsel of a distinguished American statesman whom the Chinese had called in to assist them in their negotiations for peace, must remain for the present a matter of conjecture, although it is certain that the Japanese greatly moderated their demands in both money and territorial concessions after their terms were first submitted.

Other Americans in private life, as well as our able minister, *chargé d'affaires*, and consuls in China, have done much for the last twelve years, each in his proper sphere, to extend and strengthen the influence of the American name, till now it is safe to say that no power on earth stands so well or, independent of force, is so highly respected by the Chinese. In their aspirations for better government, and in their desire for railroads and the other appliances of a better civilization, there is every reason to believe that but for the intrigues and jealousies of the British,

French, German, and Russian diplomatists, promoters, and agents for the last decade, and especially since the close of the war with Japan, Americans would have been selected as experts to conduct and advise in all public works, and to furnish locomotives, rails, cars, machinery, and all sorts of supplies. No one knows better than the Chinese officials that the United States has no desire to despoil their country of its territorial possessions, nor to limit the sovereignty and independence of the Chinese government in any direction. But, unfortunately, the Chinese are like the rest of mankind, prone to withhold favors from their friends, in order to placate the enemies against whom they cannot defend themselves.

It has been suggested that perhaps the great powers have no intention of further dismembering the Chinese Empire, or of permanently occupying its territory and seaports, and this may be true. Nobody not in their confidence can be certain as to what may be their real policy and intentions, but it is an indisputable fact that so far no European power which has ever gained a footing in China has permanently or voluntarily relinquished it. It is certainly fair, therefore, to assume that they intend to hold on to what they have taken, and even to take more as opportunity offers. Russia cannot well help herself, for it seems to be the fate of a higher civilization and a stronger government to encroach upon a lower civilizaation and a weaker government whenever they come in close contact or have coterminous boundaries. Great Britain asserts authoritatively that she has no purpose of occupying Chinese territory or Chinese seaports, but that she intends merely to see that others do not, and that whatever privileges or extensions one power obtains shall be for the equal benefit of all. This is altruism on an imperial scale, and it must be confessed that of later years she has been fairly true to her free-trade principles, even in Asia, in her policy concerning ordinary commerce. But surely the United States would make a serious mistake if they should trust Great Britain or any other power to give their citizens a fair or even chance at any great business, such as assisting in the reorganization of government, or as contracting for railroads or for any other public works or supplies within the limits of conquered or annexed territory.

But on the general proposition as laid down by Mr. Balfour

in his late Manchester speech, and later by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, it is not to be denied that our interests are with our ancient antagonist, England, and for the first time against those of our ancient allies, France and Russia. How far we should go in an independent effort, or by open co-operation, or by an alliance expressed or implied, for safeguarding or extending these interests, is a matter for careful consideration.

As for France, her policy can hardly be in doubt. As before stated, she has seized and now holds the whole of Cochin-China, Tonquin, Anam, and a great part of Siam, and is credited with the purpose of raising her flag over Hainan at the first opportunity, and all this has been without a shadow of honest title. So far, her acts are simply acts of spoliation. Her statesmen and public journals make no disguise of their purpose to participate in what they euphemistically call the exploitation of China, and if a writer in a late number of the *Revue de Deux Mondes* can be credited with speaking the national sentiment, they will seek to draw their alliance closer with Russia for that purpose. The danger is that with the latter dominating at Peking and pressing forward from the north, the Japanese on the eastern coast, and France in the south, each eager to get a share of the spoils, and each distrusting the other, Great Britain, in spite of her benevolent declarations, may be compelled to abandon her good intentions and advance both from the frontier of Burmah in the west and from her base at Hong-Kong in the southeast to protect her vast commercial interests as well as to restrain the rapacity of rivals.

Nothwithstanding the seizure of Kiao Chou Bay, the declarations of the Emperor in his speech at Kiel, the despatch of Prince Henry with reinforcements, and the later intelligence that the Chinese have conceded a lease of sovereignty over the bay and adjoining district, it is hardly possible that Germany is to be considered as a serious factor in the Chinese question. It is true that she is credited with having actively co-operated with Russia and France in breaking the victorious grasp of the Japanese after the close of the late war, and that she has not, up to a late date, received any adequate reward for her services. It is also true that she has been most active for some years in pushing her commercial interests in both Japan and China, but inasmuch as she has no colonial dependencies anywhere in

the Far East, and cannot yet be reckoned as a first-class naval power, it is difficult to perceive how she can hope to play any great part either in the regeneration of China, or in her dismemberment, if unhappily that should be her fate. In considering Germany's part in the game, it may help to understand her position if it is remembered that after the close of the Franco-Prussian war she succeeded in getting a call to assist in organizing military schools and in drilling the Chinese troops for the Viceroy Li Hung Chang; but the utter rout of the Chinese forces and the collapse of the Chinese military administration, in the effort to resist the Japanese invasion, was a great setback to German pretensions, and in the eyes of the Chinese an absolute "loss of face" to them.

If it should turn out, however, that there is to be no further dismemberment of China, and no concert of the powers for that purpose, but merely a general scramble for influence, contracts and trade, the base at Kiao Chou may serve the Germans a useful purpose, especially after it is connected with Peking and the other interior cities by rail. For the present it is badly situated for anything but a naval depot and rendezvous.

In considering the Far-Eastern question great embarrassment has been met with for lack of exact information as to the real purposes of the Powers. Collectively it is nearly certain that they have entered into no agreement and have no concerted policy for dismemberment or spoliation. It is known that Japan was permitted to go into the war with China without allies. The Powers, one and all, kept their hands off both belligerents. The United States alone tried to keep the peace, to protect Japanese subjects in China, and as opportunity offered to act as an intermediary after war had begun. When it was over and the terms of peace were agreed upon, Russia, supported by France and Germany, intervened to limit the Japanese occupation and finally to assist China in raising the money with which to pay the first instalment of the war indemnity, after Great Britain had been asked and declined to do it. But here all certainty ceases. There have been rumors from time to time, more or less circumstantial, of understandings between Russia and Japan, Russia and France, and last between Great Britain and Japan. And, strange as it may seem, it has even been reported that Lord Salisbury has instructed the British Ambassador to sound the government at Washington as

to the feasibility of a mutual understanding for the maintenance of China's autonomy. Finally, it is reported that the money for the last instalment of the Japanese war indemnity has been offered by the British government as the best means of restoring her lost *prestige* and strengthening the Chinese government, that this has brought the Russian government forward with new offers of assistance, and that the government at Peking is again resorting to the old game of playing one European power against the other.

If all this proves but little as to the real plans and purposes of the Powers, it makes it certain that the Far-Eastern question has reached an acute stage, full of danger for China as well as for all who really desire to see her saved from destruction and made strong enough to maintain her right of national existence against the world.

In any aspect of the case the interest of the United States in it cannot be regarded with indifference. Being, as they are, China's nearest neighbor across the sea, and the only one of the great powers which has absolutely no plans hostile to the peace, integrity, and general welfare of the Chinese people, they must look with the deepest apprehension upon the events taking place in that quarter. They cannot afford to be mistaken as to the plans of the other powers, nor to depend upon even the most benevolent of them for their proper share of the commerce now in existence, and which is sure to increase rapidly hereafter if China is permitted to work out her own salvation with her possessions intact and her autonomy unimpaired.

In considering the question of duty to our neighbors, and to our own great interests, it may be fairly assumed that the government at Washington will not forget that our territory not only abuts upon the sea abreast of China for two thousand miles, and almost incloses the whole of the North Pacific in the wide sweep of its shores and islands, but that our people having practically occupied the whole of their own vacant land, and exploited all its resources except those of its forests and mines, must necessarily turn their attention more and more to the commerce of the Pacific islands and of the countries beyond. To this end the annexation of Hawaii, which is freely offered to us, as a naval station and a halfway house, would seem to be fully justified. When it is remembered in addition that the extraordinary resources of the

country tributary to Puget Sound and Columbia River in timber, and to Portland and San Francisco in wheat and fruits, are sure to make those regions and their seaports the seat and centre of a great and ever-increasing commerce with the trans-Pacific countries, the importance of maintaining unbroken relations and extending our commerce with the latter can hardly be exaggerated. It is not to be denied that the American people have many questions of national and international importance to consider, and that hitherto scarcely a doubt has arisen as to the wisdom of confining their diplomacy to the cultivation of peaceful relations with all nations, entangling alliances with none; but it is conceivable that circumstances may arise even in Asia, and a time may come when it will be the duty of our government not only to exert its own powers to their utmost, but, if need be, to accept even the co-operation of Great Britain if it can be obtained on proper terms, for the maintenance of our common interests beyond the Pacific.*

JAMES HARRISON WILSON.

* For a fuller discussion of "America's Opportunity in Asia," reference is made to the admirable article by CHARLES DENBY, JR., Secretary of the United States Legation at Peking, in the January number of this REVIEW. A more extended study of Chinese civilization and its possibilities may be found in *China, Travels and Investigations in the Middle Kingdom, etc.*, by General JAMES H. WILSON. D. Appleton & Co., Second Edition, 1894. J. H. W.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

BY FRANCES M. ABBOTT.

To argue either for or against woman suffrage would seem out of date at the present time. Everything that can be said theoretically on the subject has been said in so many ways, by persons of various degrees of culture and fairness of temper, that the topic has almost ceased to be included in the list of interesting debates. And yet the subject has staying qualities, as can be proved by the numbers of earnest advocates who cheerfully continue to besiege the State legislatures, and, what is more significant, the formation of anti-woman-suffrage societies among intelligent women.

I propose to treat the subject from the comparative point of view—that is, to consider its outcome in the light of the history of other reforms, and especially of those which relate to the status of women.

The arguments against woman suffrage, as I recall them, are, that it would be useless, expensive, detrimental to the best interests of women, inimical to marriage and otherwise destructive to the home; that women do not want it, that they are not mentally fitted for it, that it would impose upon them greater physical burdens than they could endure, that the polls are not fit places for women, that the female sex cannot perform military duty, that women are sufficiently represented as it is, that the ballot would brush the bloom of delicacy from the female temperament, that it would be subversive of the best interests of the Republic, that it is against nature.

Incidentally, it has been stated, and these indirect reproaches often have more weight than arguments, that many of the foremost advocates of the cause are not beautiful, that they are care-

less in dress, that they are old maids, that they are not church members, that they do not eat ice-cream with forks, that they are cranks, and, generally speaking, poor, unfashionable and unpopular.

I cannot see the permanent value of any of these arguments, because every one of them has been urged with equal force against the entrance of women into medicine and against the admission of women to college. It is the same with the innuendoes. It does not require a very long memory to recall when every one of the reproaches was applied to the first women physicians and to the first women graduates. Even now we occasionally hear these reproaches, because people rarely separate the cause from the coincidence.

I cannot see why suffrage for woman is not in line with every other change in her opportunities that has occurred during the last half century. I make this statement simply as a historical student. It is difficult to fix the beginnings of movements, because there are always sporadic instances before the general tendency becomes marked, but the last fifty years may be said to cover the most striking changes in woman's advance as a human being. The first Woman's Rights Convention was called in July, 1848. The subject had been occasionally discussed before, but I believe this date marks the beginning of the concerted agitation. Associated with the demands for the ballot made by this convention were demands for industrial opportunities for women, changes in the laws relating to the holding of property by wives, admission to the medical and other professions, advanced education, and general independence of thought and action. These changes have nearly all been made in precisely the order in which they were most needed. Theoretically the ballot ought to have come first, but practically it can wait till the last.

The most imperative demand is the bread-and-butter one; hence the industrial opportunities were first opened. Women had been elementary teachers and dressmakers during Colonial times, because these occupations were carried on largely under the protection of the home, and did not greatly differ from tending children and spinning and weaving under the family roof-tree. The establishment of the factory system may be said to mark woman's entrance into general industrial life. Driven by the lack of ready money in rural communities to seek sustenance

elsewhere, the farmers' daughters sought employment in factories some years before Mrs. Stanton and Lucretia Mott signed the call for the first convention. But the factories, good as they were, supplied relief only to a small and special class. The majority of adult women were married, and the atrocious pecuniary subjection in which they were held by the old English common law could not fail to secure statutory relief in a time when the whole country was torn by anti-slavery discussion and other demands for individual rights. Statutes in relation to property-holding by married women were enacted as early as 1848, and these changes have continued to the present decade till in some States the laws are even more favorable to women than to men.

The need for women in the medical profession was so apparent that they gained entrance there long before they engaged in journalism, law, the ministry or architecture. I am making a general statement and not considering individual or exceptional cases. The usefulness of the woman physician to the community seemed rather more direct than the usefulness of the college woman, whose education was presumably gained for self-culture; hence the medical diploma anteceded the diploma of liberal arts. Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell received her degree in 1849, and the first college for the liberal education of women was opened in 1865. We must remember, however, that only a few hundred women physicians were graduated before 1865, and that the higher education for women was not unknown before Vassar opened its doors. Still I think it may be fair to say that the special professional training as a movement antedated the general culture.

During and after the upheaval of the Civil War new avenues rapidly opened. Women entered the government service as clerks. They became bookkeepers in stores where they formerly had been only saleswomen. And so gradually, until the invention of the typewriter; and then, with a sudden rush, women have become clerks, secretaries, and assistants in every department of mercantile life, in railroad, newspaper, and professional offices, in banks, post-offices, and state departments. Positions requiring greater general culture, like advanced educational and library work, have been secured at a more recent date.

Increased independence in thought and action has been going on all the while. When women began to speak in the early anti-

slavery meetings, they were hooted at, not only because the opinions they uttered were considered fanatical, but because it was such an indecent thing for women to speak in public at all. We have changed all that, and the decline of the popular lecture and the rise of the special lecture before small audiences will undoubtedly make public speaking by women even more common than it is now. The church is the stronghold of conservatism, but there are few religious meetings now where the voice of woman is not heard. The marvellous growth of club life is bringing to the front those who thought they never, never could do such things. It may be well to remind some of the women who are now joining clubs as a fashionable fad that the pioneer clubs, Sorosis of New York, and the Woman's Club of Boston, both established thirty years ago, never could have existed, if their founders had not been willing to brave sneers, caricatures, and the cold shoulder of society. We do not hear the epithet "strong-minded" in these days, but the early club members were nothing else. Alice Cary was put forward as the first President of Sorosis, because, although a suffragist, it was rightly felt that her personality and influence would help to counteract the ridicule which the "unfeminine" movement was sure to meet.

The invention of the electric light has made the streets of our cities safe for women at midnight. The interest in athletics and all kinds of outdoor amusements is evolving a rational dress for women. Except for a few absurdities, for which fashion is responsible, such as the high, starched collar on the shirt waist, and the long skirt worn on the street, which the bicycle bids fair to render obsolete, the dress of women to-day is healthful. I stood not long ago on the campus of a woman's college, which has never been considered lacking in conservatism, and saw the girls play basketball in bloomers and sweaters. I could not help thinking of the days of their grandmothers, when loose skirts, pantalets, and slippers were considered the suitable attire for modest maidens, and every kind of physical exercise was denied them. I need not have gone so far for a radical change in public opinion. The alumnæ of only ten years' standing were mourning because the college in their day supplied nothing better than boarding-school calisthenics.

I cannot conceive of anything that women could do in the future that would shock the public now as the things they actu-

ally are doing would have shocked the public of thirty, twenty, or even ten years ago. Women attend the business meetings of corporations, and in some cases, notably small manufacturing or business concerns, if they have a large amount of money invested, they serve as directors, even as presidents and treasurers. They vote on school matters in the majority of the States. They have full suffrage in Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho and municipal suffrage in Kansas. Even in States where they do not vote, women are frequently seen at the polls, notably members of the W. C. T. U., who go for the purpose of distributing ballots or providing coffee in the interests of temperance.

We see the same changes in social life. Years ago a man's club was the one spot where a woman could not set her foot. It was generally supposed that the moral tone of the place was such that she would not wish to go there if she could. Customs have changed so much that women not only visit the club on "ladies' nights," but they are actually invited to the restaurant on ordinary days. Almost all the newer clubs, especially those in the country and those connected with athletic interests, make provision for women, and in some cases the club suppers are almost as domestic as family parties. Last winter I attended a meeting of a woman's society at a man's club in one of our great cities. The club men were not invited to the meeting, but the courtesy of a portion of their house was extended for the day, because the society was a noted one and the club could offer finer accommodations than any hotel. Some of the ladies, when enjoying the perfect appointments of the dressing and dining rooms, remarked that it was a pity that women should ever undertake housekeeping when men had shown that they could do it so much better.

The great obstacle to woman suffrage, acknowledged by its friends and foes, is that the majority of women do not want it; and this majority, with seeming inconsistency, seems to be as large among thinking women as among the unthinking. But I do not regard this obstacle as insuperable, for an illogical state of affairs cannot endure forever. That subtle, elusive force known as public opinion is subject to the most sudden changes, and no one can ever tell how small a thing may start it. Sometimes a mechanical invention puts an entirely new phase upon a subject which has been argued about for years. Gail Hamilton was not

altogether wrong when she said that the man who first made rubber boots for woman had done more for her advancement than all the agitators, male and female, who had ever spoken on the subject. And yet the agitators have their place. They are always extremists, people of one idea, who lash public opinion until it bestirs itself. Garrison was undoubtedly a fanatic, even an anarchist, but his statue stands to-day on the most fashionable avenue of the city through whose streets he was once dragged with a halter about his neck.

The advocates of woman suffrage can afford to be dignified at this stage. So much of what they asked, conjointly with the ballot, has been granted that the latter seems only a question of time. The other things came first because the need of them was more apparent. The advantages of the ballot for women have probably been greatly overestimated, just as the advantages of the ballot for men have. It is the way with all panaceas. Sidney Smith, ever witty, never said a wiser thing than when speaking of the Great Reform Bill in 1831: "There will be mistakes at first, as there are in all changes. Young ladies will imagine, as soon as this bill is carried, that they will be instantly married, schoolboys believe that gerunds and supines will be abolished, and that currant tarts must ultimately come down in price; the corporal and sergeant are sure of double pay; bad poets will expect a demand for their epics; fools will be disappointed, as they always are; reasonable men, who know what to expect, will find that a very serious good has been obtained."

We always expect too startling changes after an innovation, particularly if it is one to which we are opposed. I saw but a few months ago a fling in a magazine because the admission of women to medicine had produced no great specialist who had made the theory or practice very different from what they were before; also a sneer, because no towering genius had appeared among the thousands of college-bred women. But not even the writer of this article would deny that the world is somewhat different to-day because of the women physicians and the women graduates. We do not want the great specialists or the towering geniuses nearly so much as we need the quiet, faithful work of numbersof apparently commonplace people who are insensibly moulding society to better ways.

The progress of school suffrage for women is an example of

what we might reasonably expect from political suffrage. In my own State, women have voted on school matters for about twenty years, and as no tax is required, the system has had a fair chance. If I were asked what great benefits had accrued I could not honestly say that gerunds and supines had been abolished, but in regard to the currant tarts, there might be a question. The tarts may not have come down in price, but their making and other forms of cooking have been introduced into the schools, so that the tarts are more abundant than formerly. All the young women have not got married, but a goodly number of them, whether married or not, vote on the school question.

The progress of events was something like this in a representative city. At the first election only one or two women were present, and these were pronounced advocates of woman's voting. As time went by, the number slowly increased; many women thought they ought to vote, but did not quite dare, they had been taught from their childhood that it was so improper. Finally, a question came up which seemed to involve a moral principle. The town was canvassed, and women as well as men appeared in great numbers. The good won. Since then matters have settled down, and women now vote as a matter of course. If you should go to the polls at an election, you would meet precisely the same class of women there that you would see at an afternoon tea. The number of male and female voters is about equal. The total number, when no exciting question is up, is small compared with the total adult population, because most people believe in letting well enough alone; and when there are no complaints, the same members of the board of education are allowed to serve till they die or resign.

It is difficult to say just what progress is due to the women voters, because all events are intertwined. The election of women as members of the board, which has been a pronounced good, probably would not have occurred had not women first voted. Rare instances might be found, in the small villages of the State, where women held office before they had school suffrage, but the custom of electing women as members of the school committee, which is now general throughout the State, did not obtain till suffrage was granted. It is interesting to note that it was not the votes of women that elected the women, for I have

never known an instance of a woman's ticket running in opposition to a man's ticket. The election of women came about because of the gradual change in public opinion after the granting of suffrage. When women could vote, and did vote, it was absurd to say that they should not hold office; and, as fast as suitable candidates were presented, men and women voted for them as a matter of course. This is a point worth noting by the anti-suffragists, for some of them seem to think that in politics a majority of women would be on one side of every question and a majority of men on the other; and, if the women could not defend their victories by military force, there would be an end to the Republic.

Many changes have come about in the schools since women voted, such as the introduction of cooking, sewing, and manual training beside great improvements in the sanitary arrangements; but these may be partly due to the progress of the times. I am certain that the suffrage of women has had one effect. It would be impossible now to elect a candidate whose character was considered unfit for office, though such candidates have occasionally served in previous times.

At present the woman suffrage question seems in a fair way to solve itself without much help from anyone. The fact that suffrage has actually been secured in some portions of the West, and that the sun still rises and sets on those domains as of yore, shows that the movement is very likely to spread, especially as other portions of the country have become accustomed to seeing some form of woman's voting. Women at present do not want political suffrage, but some crisis might arise when they would want it very much, and then there would be a land-slide of public opinion. They do not want it now because they were not brought up that way; they do not approve of it; they do not think it nice. Such sentiments form the bulwark of conservatism in regard to our manners and customs; but people not yet beyond middle age have seen changes enough in these very manners and customs to make the Sphinx smile.

The bicycle is a case in point. A dozen years ago, when the machine had unequal wheels, one the size of a centre table and the other the size of a dinner plate, only men rode. There were probably many daring misses who wished they could emulate their brothers, and surreptitiously tried to learn. I knew of one girl

who broke her arm in an attempt of this sort. The matter was hushed up as much as possible on account of the extreme mortification of the family, but the result was privately spoken of as an awful example to young girls of conduct unseemly for their sex.

We know the result of the invention of the safety bicycle; but even this result was not instantaneous. Only nine years ago I was with a party at a mountain resort, and one of the ladies said that she was intending to get a bicycle. "You mean a tricycle, I suppose," politely said a gentleman. "No, a bicycle," was the reply, and the suppressed astonishment of the company could be felt. Even three years ago I knew many ladies who spoke in this wise: "Of course, I know there are respectable women who ride, and it is very well for working-girls, who have no other means of recreation, but I never should wish to see my daughter doing anything of the sort." The indescribable aloofness conveyed in the tone of voice was something like that I heard ten years before when a young woman was about to enter college. "Going to college?" was the unsympathetic comment, as if the person lived in another world. "Oh, fitting yourself for a teacher, I suppose?"

I have lived to see the woman who never wished her daughter to have a bicycle ride a wheel herself in company with that daughter; and when I ventured to recall her former opinions she said, with unblushing serenity: "Oh, well, everybody rides now; the most fashionable people have taken it up; there is really nothing like it," and she began to chide me because I did not own a wheel. The bishop who thought it was not necessary for women to go to college unless they expected to become teachers has united his sons in marriage to college women. The woman who thought that female physicians might do well enough in simple cases, but that they never could be really successful, because in time of peril you would always call in a man, you know, is now spending her property to graduate her daughter from a medical college. If I should say anything to any of these people about their embracing what they so recently despised, they would reply in the language of the bicycle woman: "Oh, well, everybody does it now; the most fashionable people have taken it up; there is really nothing like it."

I sometimes think that inconsistency is the most prominent

characteristic of human nature, but the most delightful example I ever knew is the action of the anti-woman-suffragists, who are petitioning legislatures, appearing before committees of men, taking part in politics, and, in brief, doing precisely the things that they beg they shall never be allowed to do. The "antis" are really gaining considerable strength among the better classes in some of the cities, and this is to me the most marked sign that woman suffrage may be nearer than we think.

I have not yet attained great age, but the world has turned around many times since I became a passenger on this planet. People who occupied front rows in the seats of the scornful and perked up their noses in disdain at the lowly have gone down on their knees to what they once considered a worm in the dust. I may not live beyond the allotted age of man, but I firmly expect before I die that some of those who now sneer at woman's rights, woman's suffrage, and the like, will come around to solicit me to subscribe for a statue to Amelia Bloomer or a monument to Susan B. Anthony.

FRANCES M. ABBOTT.

EUROPEAN EXAMPLE FOR AMERICAN FARMERS.

BY A. F. WEBER.

WITH the sudden and unexpected prosperity that has come to the agricultural interests of the United States in the last few months, there is a tendency in some quarters to forget the lessons of the presidential campaign of 1896. The farmer was crying for more money. Good crops and equally good prices have brought him more money; *ergo*, the farmer's woes are now past history. Such a course of reasoning, which is very prevalent in the East at this writing, entirely overlooks the real grievance of the farmers of the South and West. However inadequately analyzed and expressed by the farmers themselves, their grievance is real and deep-seated, and it behooves the statesmen and economists of the country to find a remedy. The free silver panacea is being abandoned by many Western leaders, although it may reappear with altered conditions in the production of the two money metals. But in giving up the free coinage idea, leading Populists like ex-Senator Peffer have merely changed their allegiance to fiat paper money. They will not cease advocating some dangerous remedy like this, until they are provided, not with more *money*, but with adequate facilities of *credit*. The Hon. Hoke Smith, ex-Secretary of the Interior, expressed a substantial truth when he said that "the people, especially in the rural districts, have a just grievance. It is due, in large part, to the narrowness of our national banking system. With the limitations now placed upon this system, no facilities are afforded to the agricultural classes for short loans upon their real estate, so much needed during planting and harvesting seasons each year. In our section they would have willingly accepted even a conditional repeal of the tax upon State banks as a substitute for free coinage of silver."

Mr. Smith's remedy for the farmer's grievance is banking reform. That extensive reforms in our national banking system are imperatively needed few economists deny. Whether any change that *might* be made would provide credit facilities in the localities where it is most needed is one question; whether any changes that *will* be made will provide such facilities is another question. At any rate, the American people are in an attitude where they will welcome help from other quarters than legislation. Projects of self-help appeal to one of the deepest traits of the American character, and from this point of view a discussion of the agricultural credit system of Germany ought to prove valuable.

On what occasions and for what purposes does the farmer need to borrow money? On the answer to this question depends the kind of credit best adapted to his needs. If he wishes to pay for his farm, which he has inherited with incumbrances or bought with a small cash payment, he needs to borrow money at a comparatively low rate of interest and for a long term of years. A loan that can be called in at short notice may, in a time of crisis or depression, seriously embarrass or even ruin him. It is also desirable that his payments should not only cover the interest on the loan, but also contribute toward the liquidation of the principal itself. An addition to the rate of interest of one-half of one per cent. annually will pay off the entire debt in about fifty-six years; an addition of one per cent. in about forty-one years. A mortgage on the property at a valuation of, say, fifty to sixty per cent. should afford the lender ample security. But all experience has shown that the three essential requirements of cheapness, long terms, and amortization payments are not adequately secured by a system of free competition among individual capitalists. The stumbling-block is the security offered. Only the large landowner can obtain money readily on real estate security. For it takes time to investigate titles and go through with other little formalities. Expert knowledge and familiarity with local conditions are also needed to set correct valuations upon the real estate. And if the debtor fails to pay, the process of obtaining redress, or possession of the land, is usually troublesome and expensive. The consequence of all these obstacles is to raise the terms upon which money can be borrowed on mortgage. Some organization of credit is therefore required, and in Germany three

forms of organization have been developed: (1.) by the State or one of its sub-divisions; (2.) by the lenders; (3.) by the borrowers Let us consider each of these, briefly, in turn.

Advances to citizens out of State funds, or by means of government banks, may be dismissed with a word as being antagonistic to the spirit of our government. There exists no good reason why, if advances are made to one industry, they should not be made to all, and nobody proposes that the government should adopt such paternalism. The experience of England in borrowing money and then loaning it to the Irish peasants to be repaid by an annuity of 5 per cent. has resulted disastrously. Owing to the fall in prices, the Irish have been unable to keep up their annuities, and the government faces the prospect of having to make its debtors a present of the money advanced to assist them in becoming proprietors, or else foreclose its mortgages and become the universal landlord. In Germany the public institutions of agricultural credit—the *Landeskreditkassen*—have been developed chiefly outside of Prussia, in which private institutions have met the needs of the farmers. The earliest *Kasse* was the ducal *Leihhaus* of Brunswick, founded in 1765. There are now about a dozen of these institutions in the smaller states of central and northwestern Germany. Their loans at the end of 1889 amounted to 433,879,540 marks (about $109,000,000).*

Very recently another public credit institution has been developed in Saxony, Bavaria, Hessen, etc., the *Landeskulturrentenbank*, which is designed exclusively to promote agricultural improvements, such as drainage and irrigation. In Prussia it has had even less success than the *Landeskreditkasse*. Its loans in 1890 amounted to 15,345,939 marks in Saxony,† and perhaps to 20,000,000 marks ($5,000,000) in all Germany.

Of the private credit organizations there are two distinct classes, associations of lenders and those of borrowers. They agree only in this important feature, that they interpose the credit of an association between borrower and lender. The company creates negotiable obligations which find a ready sale among investors, and the proceeds are advanced to farmers on mortgage. Those who buy bonds look for the payment of their interest only to the association, which takes upon itself all questions of title

* Conrad's *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Vol. IV., p. 922.
† Op. cit., IV., 926.

and security. The borrowers deal only with the association. The most famous company of lenders is the *Crédit Foncier* of France, founded in 1852, eighty years after the system had been introduced in Prussia by the formation of a union of borrowers. Associations of lenders are comparatively new in Germany, dating mostly from the period 1862–73. They are known as *Hypothekenaktien banken,* or mortgage corporations, and in 1890 had out mortgage loans amounting to more than $750,000,000,* two-thirds of which is on city real estate. But their operations differ little from those of American mortgage and trust companies; indeed, there was incorporated in New York only a few months ago a very large financial company whose methods follow very closely those of the *Crédit Foncier.*

Of more importance to the farmers than these companies of capitalists are co-operative associations of their own, like the successful German *Landschaften,* or provincial societies. They consist of the landowners of a single county or province associated for the purpose of borrowing money on their *collective* credit. When a member declares his wish to borrow a sum of money, the association issues its bonds (*Pfandbriefe*) for a certain percentage (usually one-half) of the valuation of the borrower's property, sells the bonds to investors and advances the money to the petitioner, taking as its security a mortgage on the property. The idea of thus substituting the joint guarantee of all the proprietors for that of individuals, and establishing a book in which this land stock should be registered and be transferable, and the dividends paid exactly in the same way as the public funds, originated with Büring, a Berlin merchant, and was put into effect by Frederick the Great by the foundation of the Silesian *Landschaft* in 1770 (Macleod). Since then a *Landschaft* has been established in nearly every other province of Prussia and in several other German states as well. Indeed, the system has spread to other countries like Austria, Denmark, Russia (Poland), etc., and, as we have already seen, the fundamental idea was embodied in the *Crédit Foncier* by Napoleon III. and Wolowski, both of whom had studied the German *Landschaften.*

The advantages of this system of agricultural credit must be obvious on the slightest reflection. It unites the security of a mortgage with the advantages of negotiable paper. It is the only

*Op. cit., IV., 509.

system that identifies in one person both creditor and debtor. As a borrower the individual member secures the advantages of low rates of interest, long terms, and sinking fund contribution mentioned in a preceding paragraph. But as a member of a company of lenders, the same individual will exercise the strictest caution in evaluating the property which a fellow-member offers as a security for a loan. The smaller the association the better acquaintance will each member have with the value of other members' property. On the other hand, a small association will be less able to withstand unforeseen financial trouble, and its bonds will be held in less esteem on the great exchanges. But by a union of several small associations the advantages of perfect security on the one side, and of financial strength and independence on the other, will be secured. Such a union was effected in 1873 by eight of the Prussian *Landschaften*, thus perfecting a system that had existed in parts for over a hundred years, achieved constant success, and continually widened its sphere of influence. "Their obligations have maintained through all crises—monetary, war, and revolutionary—a steadiness of value far beyond any other public securities whatever, either governmental or commercial." In 1848, when all public securities fell, the *Pfandbriefe* kept their value better than anything else. The Prussian funds fell to 69, the shares of the Bank of Prussia to 63, and the railway shares to 30 to 90 per cent., whereas the land credit bonds, producing 3½ per cent. interest, in Silesia and Pomerania stood at 93, in West Prussia at 83, and in East Prussia at 96 (Macleod). It is needless to say that the *Landschaften* are subject to government supervision—although this is probably no stricter than that over our national banks. There seems no good reason why the system should not yield equally good results in the United States, where the union of borrower and lender in one person has been successfully accomplished already by means of building and loan associations.*

The institutions that we have thus far been discussing are designed to furnish long-time loans on real estate security. While very excellent in their way, they do not pretend to meet every legitimate need of the farmer. Many farmers have no property to mortgage, being only tenants; yet they need capital to buy

* Ten years ago the loans of the seventeen Prussian *Landschaften* amounted to over $400,000,000, practically all being agricultural credit.

seed, tools, fertilizers, and pay wages for help during the period between seed time and harvest. Many other farmers own property already covered with incumbrances. This is particularly the case in the West and South. And in those regions banking facilities are so utterly inadequate that borrowing on personal security is either impossible or possible only at exorbitant rates. The greatest sufferers are probably the cotton growers of the Southern States, whose only form of short-time credit is what is known as "crop liens." Since the war the local merchant, who has superseded the large cotton factor of the ports as buyer and shipper of cotton, is the only capitalist from whom the small farmers can obtain the advances necessary to carry on agricultural operations and the means of subsistence during the raising of the crop. This system of credit is thus described by Mr. M. B. Hammond, in an article on the "Southern Farmer and Cotton" in the *Political Science Quarterly* for September.

The credit which he [the merchant] furnishes is seldom given in the form of money loans, and there are nominally no interest charges made for his advances. These usually consist of provisions, especially corn and bacon, tools, farm animals, fertilizers, cotton ties and bagging, household utensils —in fact, everything the farmer has to buy. They are almost invariably bought 'on time,' to be paid for when the crop is harvested and sold. As security for his advances the merchant secures from the farmer at the beginning of the crop season a 'crop lien,' or chattel mortgage, which is duly attested and recorded at the office of the county recorder, or judge of probate. This binds the farmer to deliver to the merchant, as soon as harvested, the crops of cotton, corn, etc., or enough of them to pay the merchant at the ruling market price of this produce for all the advances which the farmer has obtained during the raising of the crop.

"In spite of the control over the debtor which the crop-lien system gives the merchant, the risk which he runs, with the losses which he actually suffers as a result of conducting business on such a basis, necessitates extremely high prices for all merchandise sold in this way. Most advancing merchants have two schedules of prices—one for purchasers who buy for cash, the other for 'time' purchasers. Prices on a credit schedule are usually from 20 to 50 per cent. higher than those on a cash schedule. Thus, flour selling at four dollars per barrel to cash buyers sells for five dollars on a credit basis; bacon selling at ten cents a pound cash, for twelve and a half cents 'on time'; calico selling at five cents a yard cash, for seven cents, etc. As the average length of time which these debts run before payment is not more than six months, the difference between cash and credit prices is equivalent to an annual interest charge of from 40 to 100 per cent.

"The extent to which this credit system prevails varies, of course, with localities. . . . To say that three-fourths of the cotton-growers are in this sort of dependence on the advancing merchants or factors would not be an extravagant estimate."

With this authoritative statement before us, it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of making far-reaching reforms in our credit system. That the demand for free coinage, paper currency—anything that will give "more money"—will continue, cannot be doubted. But the wisest Southern statesmen realize that it is not more money so much as better credit facilities that are needed in the South. Certainly no Southern statesman since the war has made upon the Northern people a deeper impression of profound insight and clear reasoning than the late Henry W. Grady, and it was sixteen years ago that Mr. Grady, speaking of the tendency of the plantations of the merchant lenders to swallow up the little farms of debtors, maintained that "the remedy for this deplorable situation is, first of all, the establishment of a proper system of credit."*

Now it was to meet almost precisely similar conditions that the Germans, a half century ago, developed the co-operative credit societies, which have spread all over the continent of Europe. Is it not time that Americans should at least investigate their merits?

These loan associations are of two kinds, the *Kreditgenossenschaften*, founded by Schulze-Delitzsch, and the *Darlehnskassenvereine*, by Raffeisen. The fundamental idea of both is that of the *Landschaften*, namely, that a "body of men, many of whom expect to become borrowers, should furnish the capital and regulate the conditions of its lending and repayment." Small farmers find it difficult to obtain money advances, because they seek small amounts and cannot furnish the usual security. But while a single farmer finds it impossible to secure a loan of $100, ten farmers can without trouble secure $1,000, provided each pledges his property for all, and all stand together for each. Co-operative banking has been called the democratizing of credit; it aims to make every man capable of securing credit who is worthy of credit. In 1850, when the first of these societies was organized at Delitzsch, it had to charge its members 14½ per cent. on loans, which was a low rate in comparison with that which they had been paying. To-day the average rate of interest in the societies is 5½ per cent.†

Although the main object of both the Schulze and the Raf-

* *Harper's Magazine*, LXIII., 719.
† *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, vol. IV., p. 881.

feisen associations is the same—namely, by collecting a small capital to secure credit with investors and then make loans to members after a direct personal examination of the circumstances of the borrower—there are certain differences in management, method of making loans, etc., that call for attention.

The co-operative loan associations founded by Schulze, of Delitzsch, in 1850, are composed of workers in all professions and occupations, industry as well as agriculture. And this feature is regarded by the advocates of the system as one essential to its strength. At one time money will be abundant in one industry and "tight" in another, and a *general* association equalizes the supply. If the association were composed of farmers alone, it is said that they would all need credit at the same season, and many would have to be disappointed. In the second place, the loans of the Schulze societies are for a short period only, being as a rule for three months. Thirdly, the Schulze system lays stress on regular contributions and the acquirement of shares, much as do the building and loan associations of this country. Both are also alike in distributing profits among the members, or shareholders. Fourthly, the Schulze societies are more or less centralized and are managed by salaried officials.

This brief description of the principal features of the Schulze *Kreditgenossenschaften* will suffice to indicate how closely they approximate to the organization of regular banking establishments. Their business is virtually the same — making loans on personal security, discounting bills, and keeping accounts current. In fact, it might be said that the only distinction between the co-operative loan association and the bank lies in the proportion of borrowers among shareholders. If the loan association cares to utilize its opportunities, it can lend money to large capitalists (non-members) on better terms than it can secure from its own members. In that way it will increase the dividends of its members, and so the temptation is strong to enter into competition with the banks. But the "hunt for dividends" destroys the co-operative character of credit societies, for it raises the rate of interest to a height which prevents the members themselves from borrowing.*

* In the American building and loan associations about one-fourth of the members are borrowers. But the bidding for loans carries the rate so high that the real gainers are the investors who do not borrow. In this light the associations take on the character of savings rather than credit institutions.

In favor of the policy of dividing profits is urged its encouragement of saving among the members. The friends of the Schulze system, moreover, maintain that such societies as have joined the "chase for profits" are exceptions and "that the most important societies, whose business amounts to hundreds of millions, take particular pride in not denying their humble origin and in offering the same facilities to the smallest patron that they grant to a customer whose business is worth thousands of dollars." * The power of cooperative associations to transform themselves into purely banking corporations has been greatly curtailed by the enactment of a law in 1889 forbidding them to make loans to non-members.

While the Schulze societies have on the whole attained eminent success, there has been considerable complaint in Germany that they did not fully meet the needs of agriculturists, and the last quarter-century has seen the rapid development of the Raffeisen co-operative credit societies (*Darlehnskassenvereine*) among the farmers. The first society founded by Raffeisen in 1849 was not strictly a credit institution and did not become so until 1864. The second society was founded in 1872, and it is since that date that the idea has taken root in Germany. It has been held in favor by the governments, which have granted numerous subsidies to new societies. In 1890 there were over 1,000 associations.

While the objects of the Schulze societies are largely commercial, the Raffeisen associations emphasize their ethical purpose as well. Not only do they furnish credit to their members, but they encourage the organization of auxiliary co-operative societies for the purchase of fertilizers, tools, cattle, and means of subsistence, for the common use of expensive machinery, and for the sale of farm products. They do not make loans to every one who can furnish security unless they find him morally and intellectually worthy of help. Members must borrow only for a specific purpose, and as they are under the eyes of their colleagues, if the money is misapplied it can be promptly called in. So close an acquaintance with borrowers and so strict a control over the use made of loans, it is asserted, cannot be accomplished with the large, varied, and fluctuating membership of the Schulze associations. Hence, the first principle laid down by Raffeisen

**Hdwbh. der Staatswissenschaften, IV.*, 882.

was that the membership must be limited to men following a single pursuit and restricted to as narrow an area as possible. One society to a district containing an average population of 1,500 should be the ideal. The members must as far as possible be persons living under similar conditions, animated by a common spirit in both industrial and social relations, and capable of a fellow-feeling with each other's necessities.

The management under these conditions is comparatively simple, being in the hands of a directorate controlled by a council. General rules regarding, for example, the maximum credit to be granted, are promulgated by a general assembly of all members, which also elects the officers. The officials all serve without salary, with the exception of an accountant, who examines the books every four years. It is believed that such an administration will be without motives to enlarge the business of the society at the expense of members who wish to borrow at a low rate.

A further provision against the danger of transformation into regular banks is the prohibition of dividends ; surplus money is added to the reserve fund, which secures the independence of the association from the "money market," and furnishes means to further distributive co-operation in agriculture, and otherwise promote the common welfare of the members. The absence of dividends removes the temptation to secure large returns by catering to outsiders and neglecting members, or by creating within the association an artificial distinction between borrowers and investors (non-borrowers)—a distinction that may obliterate the ethical significance of the movement. The Raffeisen supporters regard the enactment of the law of 1889 forbidding co-operative societies to lend to non-members as a victory for one of their fundamental principles.

Dr. Raffeisen at first repudiated the share system, on the ground that farmers could not easily make regular contributions. Experience proved the difficulty of carrying on the association on any other basis, and the law of co-operation of 1889 prescribed some form of the share system. Every member of the Raffeisen societies must now take one share (about $6), payable by installments ; but no member may possess more than one share. Thus the shares constitute but a small proportion of the total capital, and remove the temptation to do a banking business.

The last point in which the Raffeisen societies differ from the Schulze societies is the termination of loans. Instead of giving the short three months term with possible renewals, Dr. Raffeisen, feeling that the farmers needed a longer term, provided that loans might be made for a period of from one to ten years (the usual term is one to two years). But in order to provide for sudden emergencies, it is stipulated that the association may withdraw loans on four weeks' notice. This is, perhaps, the weakest point in the Raffeisen system and has been subjected to a good deal of criticism.

The principal differences of the two systems have now been described. In other respects they pursue nearly identical methods. In both, admission is practically free to every man without regard to financial standing. In both the principle of unlimited liability generally prevails, although since 1889 it is no longer universal.* The associations of von Broich, with limited liability, have been anything but successful, not being able to procure the necessary capital. Dr. Crüger, a leading authority, regards it as probable that in the future loan associations not possessing any very large capital will be organized on the basis of unlimited liability, unless local circumstances determine them to adopt the contrary principle.†

Both associations have a central organization. Many of the Schulze societies belong to the General Association of German Co-operative Societies (*Allgemeine Verband Deutscher Erwerbs- und Wirthschaftsgenossenschaften*‡) which in 1890 consisted of 1,072 credit societies, 262 distribution societies (*Konsumvereine*), and 56 other co-operative societies. Yearly reports are published by the secretary, and yearly meetings are attended by representatives from all parts of the country.

The Raffeisen societies are bound together by three distinct central organizations.§ First, there is the Central Agricultural Bank, designed to equalize the surpluses and deficiencies of the money supply in the local societies, which are the shareholders of the bank. Secondly, there is a General Agency of the Agricultural Co-operative Societies of Germany,‖ intended to represent

* May 31, 1891, out of the 3,910 credit and loan associations reported, only 146 were based on the principle of limited liability. See *Hdwbh. der Staatswissenschaften*, IV., 881.

† Op. cit., IV., 881.

‡ Op. cit., III., 316.

§ Cf. op. cit., II., 907.

‖ *Generalanwaltschaftsverband ländlicher Genossenschaften für Deutschland.*

the societies in parliament and before the courts; to support the local societies and extend the system by founding new ones, and to supervise the solvency of the societies. Dr. Raffeisen was the General Secretary until his death in 1888, when his son succeeded him. Thirdly, the firm of Raffeisen & Co. was established as a means of supplementing the funds of societies and rendering them independent of the government subsidies. The firm manages the general printing office as well as a savings bank and life insurance company, and publishes the *Co-operative News* (*Genossenschaftsblatt*). These organizations represent the societies of Western Germany and have their seat at Neuwied on the Rhine. The local societies in Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Hanover, Silesia, etc., have independent general associations.

The growth of credit and loan associations in Germany has been very rapid in recent years. In 1892 the number known to exist was 4,791. The following statistics of the Schulze societies that reported to the central bureau in 1890 will show the extent of their operations: Number of societies reporting, 1,072; number of members, 518,003; funds derived from contributions of members, $29,270,000; reserve fund, $7,119,000; funds from other sources, $123,456,500; advances, including renewals, $410,393,500; expended for educational purposes, $10,147. What proportion of the activity benefits the farmers it is impossible to determine. In 1888, however, out of a reported membership of 411,676, only 123,833, or 30 per cent., were connected with agriculture. The associations greatly assist the farmer, but their principal service is rendered to artisans and town-dwellers.

The statistics of the Raffeisen societies are very imperfect. We know only that in 1891 the Neuwied Association embraced 735 local societies with a membership of 70,000, and did business to the extent of seven and a half million dollars.

Both forms of credit co-operation have been adopted in other continental countries, and the testimony of farmers and economists alike is very much in their favor; and the best proof of their efficiency is the opposition of the Socialists, who are anxious to force the small farmers, manufacturers, and dealers to take the short-cut to wealth. Is there not a lesson here for those Americans who, having no faith in economic panaceas, are seeking specific remedies for specific ills?

A. F. Weber.

IS OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM TOP-HEAVY?

BY ELLIOTT FLOWER.

Is the educational system of the United States top-heavy? Are we putting time, labor, and money on the superstructure at the expense of the foundations?

Statistics give an affirmative answer to these questions, but the reader cannot realize how emphatic that answer is until he has studied them. He knows that we have trouble in finding enough primary and grammar schools to go round, but he does not fully comprehend the extent of that trouble, and he does not know how much money is expended on higher education that could be used to ten times more advantage near the bottom. He knows that we have to be taxed for the support of the lower grade institutions, while we put our hands in our pockets and give freely to those that rank as colleges and universities; but he does not know that the latter are so numerous that there are thirty-eight of them in this country that have not exceeding 100 students each, and that the former are so few that it is doubtful if there is a single large city in which duplicate sessions, rented buildings, and temporary structures are not necessary to even a pretense of providing for all children of school age.

It is not the purpose of the writer to criticise the higher educational institutions or their founders and supporters, except so far as may be necessary to point out how better results might be achieved with the money now annually expended upon and by them. They are unquestionably doing meritorious work, but it is also unquestionably true that the work would be of more real value if part of it were conducted along other lines. The nation that gives a fair education to all its people must have a greater future before it than the one that gives a particularly good education to only a proportion of them, no matter how great that

proportion may be ; and, consequently, the aim of a country should be to educate all. Of course, there are bound to be inequalities in education, as there are inequalities in the mental capacities of students, but there should be no lack of room in the basement of our national educational structure. We are told that there is always room at the top ; we should see to it that there is also room at the bottom.

It is hardly necessary to discuss the need of ample primary and grammar school accommodations. No one will deny that there should be room for every child of school age, and no one will deny that the opening of every school year shows the lack of it. The extent of the shortcomings in this line, however, is another matter. Very few people realize the shifts to which school superintendents all over the country are put to avoid turning away children who apply for admission ; and as this argument must hang largely upon their troubles and experiences it is, perhaps, just as well to bring these facts home to the reader first. For this purpose the conditions that exist in five cities that pretty well cover the country, and are at least sufficient to give a good general idea of the situation, may be cited.

In New York, at the beginning of the present school year, according to John Jasper, City Superintendent of Schools, "the total number of refused admissions on September 13th and 14th (the opening days) was 6,913." Continuing, Mr. Jasper writes :

"It has been found necessary, in order to accommodate these children, to arrange for half day sessions in the more crowded districts. Temporary quarters have been engaged, and more would be if the law of the State permitted this board to engage any building that it thought suitable. The State law reads that in all large cities no building shall be used for a large assembly that is over thirty-five feet high and not equipped with fire escapes."

Even after these arrangements had been made there was difficulty in providing for all the children, and a month after school had opened the New York *Herald* stated that in the Seventh, Tenth, Thirteenth, and Seventeenth Wards there were 2,782 children on the waiting list. The police department was then called upon to help solve the problem and policemen were assigned to the duty of conducting children from the crowded districts to those where there was more room.

The conditions in Brooklyn are much the same as in New York, as the following statement from William H. Maxwell, Superintendent of Public Instruction, proves :

"I regret to say that Brooklyn has not school accommodations sufficient for all children of school age. Even with duplicate sessions in most of our schools, many children are refused admission every year."

In Chicago even more difficulty is experienced in providing for all the children, as would naturally be expected, owing to the rapid increase in population. At the beginning of the school year, Albert G. Lane, Superintendent of Education, reported that there were 10,669 pupils in rented rooms and 11,746 that had to be cared for by establishing duplicate half-day sessions in a large number of the school buildings. For the purpose of illustrating what these figures really mean to many of the children who are seeking an education in the city by the lake, the following from a recent issue of the Chicago *Times-Herald* may be quoted:

"In Blue Island avenue, between Sixteenth and Eighteenth streets, there are five divisions of the Blue Island branch school, all located in cramped, low-ceilinged, frame store-rooms. There are no means of ventilating any of them, and in some the toilet rooms are located on the same floor with the recitation rooms, the fetid atmosphere being almost nauseating to one passing from the comparatively fresh air of the street. All of the buildings in which the divisions are located are old and small. They have been used for saloons, grocery stores and the like for a score of years, until rented by the school board."

From St. Louis, Superintendent F. Louis Soldan sent the following reply to an inquiry as to the accommodations:

"In order to accommodate all the children that apply for admission we have duplicate sessions in about twenty buildings, and also have a very few rented rooms for that purpose. It is the policy of the board to replace rented buildings and duplicate sessions by new buildings in the ensuing year."

To the credit of St. Louis be it said that the outlook there is more encouraging than in any of the other cities that have been heard from. Even Denver has to hold more duplicate sessions than the Missouri city, as the following from Superintendent Grace Espy Patton demonstrates:

"Denver has not school accommodations for all children of school age, but makes provision for all who apply for entrance. The number of rented buildings is seventeen, and they furnish accommodations for about 1,200 children. Duplicate half-day sessions are held in thirty-one school rooms."

Other illustrations could be given, but these are certainly sufficient to prove the condition of affairs and to show that it is not confined to any particular part of the country. One general statement that "more room and better facilities are needed" would cover the case of every large city in the country.

Now, turn to the higher educational institutions and note the difference. While the city schools are unable to accommodate all the children who apply, or at least do it only with great difficulty, many of the universities and colleges are hardly able to secure enough students to make it worth while to remain open. Here is a list by States, as complete as it is possible to make it, of the number of institutions conferring the degree of B. A. and having not to exceed two hundred students each :

Alabama	3	Massachusetts	2	Oklahoma	1
Arkansas	2	Maryland	3	Pennsylvania	10
Arizona	1	Michigan	1	South Carolina	6
California	4	Mississippi	2	South Dakota	2
Colorado	1	Minnesota	5	Tennessee	8
Delaware	1	Missouri	10	Vermont	1
District of Columbia.	2	Montana	1	Virginia	2
Florida	2	New York	10	Washington	1
Georgia	2	New Jersey	3	West Virginia	2
Illinois	10	North Carolina	6	Wisconsin	3
Indiana	5	North Dakota	2	Wyoming	1
Iowa	7	Nebraska	1		
Kansas	5	New Mexico	1	Total	149
Kentucky	4	Ohio	9		
Louisiana	2	Oregon	5		

One hundred and forty-nine institutions, a few supported by State appropriations, but most of them deriving their income from endowment funds or private subscriptions, and not one of them has over two hundred students ! Could not some of that money be used to better advantage in providing facilities for educating those who are practically crowded out of the common schools now ? Would it not do more good if it were devoted to the establishment and support of trade schools—schools that would get nearer to many of the poor and the lower classes and give them just the amount of education that they need and want ? Does not the expenditure of so much money for the higher education of a comparatively few people, when there are so many who stand in need of just the little education that may make them self-supporting, seem almost like wanton waste ?

Really, it seems as if there could be but one answer to these questions.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to get at the exact amount of money expended on these one hundred and forty-nine institutions annually, as many of them decline to give any information as to income or endowments. Most of them unquestionably have little ; but, even so, the aggregate annual expenditures must amount to more than half a million dollars, and very likely is

nearer a million. A great deal of good could be done with that amount of money. Doubtless a great deal of good is being done with it; but is it being expended so as to bring the very best educational results to this country? Again, it seems to the writer as if there could be but one answer to the question.

Of course it may be urged that many of these minor colleges are denominational, and that religion—or rather sectarianism—gives them a valid excuse for existence. This may be conceded in a measure, but could not one-third of them do all the work and do it better and more cheaply? If a boy wants a college education it is not necessary to immediately locate a university in the next block to him; but if you want to educate the children of the slums you must locate your school where they live. Therein lies the difference. And in spite of the fact that it is of much more importance that the child should have a rudimentary education than it is that the youth should go to college, we exert ourselves much more for the latter than for the former. We trouble ourselves more about his opportunities, we boast more of the chances that lie open to him, and if we have any money to give away we spend it for his benefit. Why doesn't some educational philanthropist endow schools that are needed for the masses? What is the use of piling on higher education without giving many the opportunity to get to it? It is true that some trade schools have been founded, but they are comparatively few. Everyone wants to work at the top.

Look at it from another point of view, and the absurdity of doing so much in the tower when there is so much that is left undone in the basement becomes even more apparent. According to the College Year Book, to which publication I am indebted for a great deal of valuable information, there is one instructor for every thirteen and one-sixth students in the higher educational institutions of the country, and this in spite of the fact that in some of the larger institutions the classes are extraordinarily large. It seems as if there must be a waste of talent there somewhere. Again, if we take out the thirty institutions that have the largest attendance, there is only an average of one hundred and ninety-nine students to each of the four hundred and forty-six institutions left. The thirty institutions referred to had a total attendance last year of 55,021, while the other four hundred and forty-six had a total of 88,611.

This means that a little less than one-fifteenth of the colleges and universities of this country care for a little more than one-third of all the students. Could anything better illustrate the point I have endeavored to make?

Let me put it in another way. Could not the money used for the endowment of the University of Chicago have been used to far better advantage educationally if it had gone into some other channel? Would it not be doing more good now if it were being utilized to advance some meritorious plan a little lower in the educational scale? Was there any real necessity for the University of Chicago? This is not to be taken as a criticism of the University, which is unquestionably an excellent one. It is merely selected as an illustration, because of its magnificent endowment and comparatively recent organization. At the time it was planned there were two good universities in the suburbs of Chicago —Northwestern University at Evanston and the Lake Forest University—and half a dozen more within half a day's ride of that city. The University of Illinois at Champaign, the University of Wisconsin at Madison, and the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor are large, excellent, and prosperous universities; and in addition to these there are sixty-two other recognized institutions that confer the degree of B. A. in the States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, and Michigan, all of which did, and still do, draw students from Chicago. In view of these facts, although without any desire to criticise Mr. Rockefeller or detract from the value and credit of the institution he founded, it may be contended with some show of justice that the income of nearly two million dollars which the University of Chicago enjoys would be doing more good to-day if it were being expended in the furtherance of some plan to better educate the masses, either by improved primary and grammar school facilities or the establishment of trade schools that will teach something of practical value to the boy who doesn't want to enter a profession and isn't mentally fitted to take advantage of the opportunities for a collegiate education, even if he had the time and money.

Chicago is not selected to illustrate this point because she is exceptionally well located from an educational point of view, for she is not. New York would answer quite as well. Without going so far as Boston to the northeast, Syracuse to the northwest, and Baltimore to the southwest, one can find fifty univer-

sities and colleges of one kind or another ; and if all of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland be included the number becomes eighty-one.

From still another point of view it may be urged that it is wrong to attempt to run educational institutions on such small capital as is available to many of them. Conceding that Mr. Rockefeller could not have made a better use of his money than he did in founding the University of Chicago, what excuse is there for the existence of many of the little colleges that are endeavoring to struggle along on incomes that would hardly be sufficient for the support of a good-sized family? One college at Trenton, Mo., has 169 students and an income of $2,000 ; another at McKenzie, Tenn., 200 students and $1,500 ; another at Bowdon, Ga., 143 students and $1,500 ; another at New Berlin, Pa., 79 students and $3,000 ; a university at Canton, Mo., 71 students and $1,500, and a college at St. Joseph, Mo., 85 students and $5,040. These have been taken at random from the College Year Book, and are given merely as examples of a large number of like institutions. The writer does not wish to be understood as making an attack upon them or upon any other particular college ; but, taking these little institutions as a class, he does believe and assert that no college can be properly run on a miniature income, and that the money so expended is needed elsewhere. Yet, aside from those institutions that decline to make any statement as to their incomes, there are eighty-seven colleges in the United States that have not to exceed $10,000 per annum each, and it is probable that at least twenty of that number have only $5,000 or less.

The eighty-seven to which I have referred are located as follows :

Alabama	1	Kentucky	3	Pennsylvania	1
Arkansas	3	Louisiana	2	South Carolina	3
Arizona	1	Maryland	2	South Dakota	1
California	1	Mississippi	1	Tennessee	10
Colorado	1	Minnesota	3	Texas	1
Florida	1	Missouri	6	Washington	2
Georgia	3	New York	1	Wisconsin	3
Illinois	5	North Carolina	4		
Indiana	4	Nebraska	2	Total	87
Iowa	7	Ohio			
Kansas	6	Oregon	3		

If the figures for all the colleges were available it is probable that this total would be over a hundred, and very likely nearer one hundred and twenty-five.

What an absurdity it is to try to run colleges on so little

money! How much better it would be if some of these funds could be combined and more students cared for at less expense per capita! To my mind much more could be accomplished if we could blot out half of these institutions, combine the other half into a smaller number of larger and better equipped universities and colleges and devote the money thus saved to the kind of education most needed. Of course, this is impracticable, but at least philanthropists who are looking about for ways to spend money to the best educational advantage can refrain from establishing universities, colleges, and scholarships until those who have to fight for even the lowest common school education have been cared for. According to the best figures at hand, we are spending $8 a year to a student in the grammar schools and $109 a year to a student in the higher educational institutions, and it is all out of proportion. If it were possible to get all the figures the difference unquestionably would be much greater. In fact, the money expended in giving opportunities for higher education probably would exceed $125 a student; and this does not include the money that the students themselves pay into the institutions.

In any event, it is evident that the child has difficulty in getting its eight dollars' worth of education, while the older student is principally troubled by the fact that he has so great a selection that he is bewildered; and in view of this fact it may not be out of place to suggest to educators and philanthropists that they keep their eyes on the ground for a while. They have been watching the heavens too long.

ELLIOTT FLOWER.

THE MONETARY COMMISSION AND ITS WORK.

BY THE HON. CHAS. S. FAIRCHILD, FORMERLY SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY.

THE report of the Monetary Commission which has been recently submitted to the country is the outcome of a movement which was begun in the middle West something more than a year ago. The business men of Indianapolis conceived the idea of inviting all the business organizations of the country, such as the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York and the Board of Trade and Transportation, to send delegates to a convention to be held in Indianapolis in January a year ago, the object of such a convention being to consider the currency situation in the United States and to take measures to unite the business men of the country in an effort to improve it. The response to this invitation was very satisfactory to the gentlemen in Indianapolis who had started the movement. Something over three hundred delegates assembled and were an exceedingly intelligent body of men. After thorough discussion it was decided to ask Congress to authorize the President to appoint a commission, which should consider the whole currency question and make a report thereon to Congress. If, however, Congress should not authorize such commission then the Executive Committee of the Indianapolis Convention was authorized to appoint a commission itself, which should consider the subject and report to that Executive Committee.

President McKinley recommended Congress to give him the authority to appoint a commission. A bill to that effect was introduced and passed the House of Representatives, but failed to pass the Senate. Thereupon the condition contemplated by the Indianapolis Convention having arisen, the Executive Committee appointed a commission composed of T. G. Bush, of Alabama;

W. B. Dean, of Minnesota; George F. Edmunds, of Vermont; Charles S. Fairchild, of New York; Stuyvesant Fish, of New York; J. W. Fries, of North Carolina; Louis A. Garnet, of California; J. Laurence Laughlin, of Illinois; George E. Leighton, of Missouri; C. Stuart Patterson, of Pennsylvania, and Robert S. Taylor, of Indiana. In the early fall this Commission met in Washington and chose Mr. Edmunds as chairman and Mr. Leighton as vice-chairman. They also chose two assistants to the Commission, L. Carroll Root and H. Parker Willis, whose duty it was to examine statistics and collate information for the use of the Commission. Letters were written to business men and others in all parts of the country asking their opinion upon stated propositions concerning the currency. There was a general response to these letters, and many valuable suggestions were gathered from them by the Commission. The Commission considered the currency subject in great detail, dividing it generally into the heads of The Standard, Metallic Money, Demand Obligations of the Government, and A Bank Note System. These general heads were then subdivided into subheads, which were considered by the Commission and discussed at length, the acceptance or rejection of each proposition being decided by a call of the roll. The discussions were thorough and exhaustive. The subject was approached by each member of the Commission judicially. Every man tried to learn from his fellow-members, from the correspondence, and from recognized authorities all that he could upon the subjects considered. There was the utmost fairness and candor and openness of mind and a resolute attempt to reach a substantial agreement upon measures for the solution of the currency question. These men by no means agreed when they met. Their agreement was the result of discussion and of self-education on the part of each member of the Commission; all done with a determination to arrive at the truth. It was an agreeable occupation; every member of the Commission at the end truthfully expressed the pleasure and benefit that he had derived from the discussions and work of the Commission. It was a useful lesson as to how such subjects should be considered without passion or prejudice, and as purely scientific and business propositions. As I have stated, the effort was to agree upon the truth and upon what would be beneficial to the country if enacted in law.

The attempt to devise something which might meet the immediate approval of Congress was given up early in the life of the Commission, the members all coming to the conclusion that it was not their function to ascertain the temper and disposition of Congress. That is rather the function of the Committees of Congress.

The Commission was greatly aided by the advice and encouragement of the Executive Committee, and particularly of its Chairman, H. H. Hanna, of Indianapolis, who is showing zeal and devotion to public interest, combined with intelligence, that is very rare ; a striking example of what can be done by business men if they choose to give their time and ability to public questions.

The great service that the Indianapolis Convention can do the country will be to furnish something upon which the sound money men who think that there should be affirmative legislation can unite. Heretofore all men have called themselves sound money men who stood together in opposition to the free coinage of silver by this country alone at 16 to 1. No serious attempt has been made to secure an agreement in favor of affirmative legislation to cure existing evils in our currency system and to remove the dangers that lurk in it. This situation is a great disadvantage, because undoubtedly our currency system is seriously defective, and if those who are in favor of its improvement cannot or do not act together the country will experience from time to time the troubles that come from existing defects, and constant efforts will be made by those dissatisfied with existing conditions to produce others still more injurious. It is dangerous for the men who are opposed to free silver to stand still ; they must remedy existing defects, or some day the dissatisfied will try to cure the evils that they feel by methods which in the end will greatly aggravate them. It would be a serious reproach to the intelligence and patriotism of our business men if, either from inaction or indifference or inability to act together in promoting wise remedial measures, great disaster should come to them and their enterprises.

If the gentlemen of Indianapolis who have promoted this movement succeed in producing such unity among business men as will render their legitimate influence surely effective, they will have rendered an inestimable service to the country ; if more

unity among business men cannot be attained than in the past, then no legislation can be hoped for at Washington. Congress cannot be asked to legislate when those whose judgment ought to be governing upon such legislation cannot agree what it should be.

The Commission reported that the already existing gold standard should be maintained and that everything should be done by government to strengthen confidence in the maintenance of that standard. The gold standard, in the judgment of the Commission, is not the creation of government, but is the result of concurring habits of business men throughout the civilized world. Governments adopt standards of value: they do not create them. One who studies the history of money will be impressed with the truth of this. It will be found that the standard by which the value of property and services has been measured from time to time, whatever that standard may have been, has not been the result of laws nor even of conscious agreement among individuals, but has rather been the result of the habits of each individual concurring with those of his neighbors. Sometimes this standard has been one thing and sometimes another, but whatever it was, it has been evolved in the way described. The higher the civilization, and the greater the amount of values to be measured, the more exact has become the instrument with which the measurement is to be made, until finally in this way gold has become the standard in use for the measurement of values in all the civilized world.

Government cannot by law try to change a standard thus evolved without doing harm thereby; this is the unfailing teaching of monetary history.

Of late years governments, for the convenience of their people, have almost universally been compelled to declare that gold should be the legal standard in the various countries of the world, thus conforming law to the already established actual standard. This is a fact like other facts of nature. It is waste of time to discuss whether this should be a fact or not or whether there is a sufficiency of gold for business purposes. Mankind has determined by the irresistible forces of concurrent action that gold shall be its monetary standard. It is the duty of government, having ascertained this fact, to conform law to it. If civilized mankind shall ever find that this standard does not serve its

purpose, then it will evolve a new standard in the same way in which it has evolved standards in the past.

The Commission also provided practically for the continuance of the present coinage of subsidiary and minor coins, but distinctly provided that no more silver dollars should be coined. It also provided that the ordinary funds of the Treasury should be separated from those needed to redeem and sustain the demand obligations of the government, including silver dollars and subsidiary and minor coin, and should keep the funds for the redemption and guaranty of the bank notes to be issued under the system recommended to be established. It directed that a reserve of 25 per cent. in gold should be held in this division of the Treasury against the United States notes and Treasury notes, and a further sum equal to 5 per cent. of the amount of silver dollars, and it imposed the duty upon the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain this gold reserve in this division, and it authorized him to transfer his surplus revenue, if any there be, to this division for that purpose, and also to sell 3 per cent. bonds which shall be redeemable at the option of the government after one year. It also authorized him to issue bonds payable in from one to five years to provide for any deficiency in the ordinary revenues of the government. A special provision was incorporated to enable people to take an interest in government loans by a simple credit on the books of the government in the same way as is done in some foreign countries, thus relieving people from the necessity of taking personal charge of the securities with the danger of loss, and also enabling anybody to easily subscribe for the government obligations, it being provided that such subscriptions and payments might be made at any money order post-office.

Silver dollars are to be continued, but all paper money except silver certificates below $10 is to be cancelled as it comes in, thus making a place for the silver dollars or their certificates in performing the function of large change. If this were done there would be immediate use for all but about fifty millions of the present silver dollars. These silver dollars, however, are to be exchangeable for gold whenever the holder of them wishes the exchange, thus providing specifically for carrying out the pledge of the Sherman law, and also treating them as we treat our half dollars, quarters, and dimes in respect to their exchange.

The fear has been expressed by some that the silver dollars

under this provision would be a dangerous instrument by which gold could be extracted from the Treasury. Reflection will cause a modification of this fear, because, in the first place, they being made absolutely good by this provision, no one will have any motive to present them in exchange for gold except the desire to have gold for use in their place. This desire to obtain gold with them will be modified by the fact that their limited number will cause them to be needed everywhere for the purposes of smaller circulation. They will thus become scattered, they will be carried in the pockets of the people, they cannot accumulate anywhere in large amounts, so there will be no motive to present them especially for gold, and there will be a strong motive to retain them because of the use that they will serve, while, because of their wide diffusion it will be physically impossible to present them for gold in any large sums. It is proper and necessary that the government should at all times be ready to give the holder of the silver dollar gold for it should he so desire. This is wise, prudent, and honorable.

Provision is made that the Secretary of the Treasury may sell, in his discretion, the uncoined silver bullion; this because it will be a useless asset in the Treasury, and the government should have the benefit of the proceeds, if it can make the sale to advantage; it can use the gold received in payment for it to strengthen its reserve. The gold certificates and currency certificates are not to be reissued, because it is not thought to be the function of government to use its vaults as a warehouse. If banks wished the certificates for their convenience they could appoint a trustee of their own, as is done already in some cities. The silver certificates in denominations less than ten dollars, however, are to be continued at the option of the people. This was recommended because it was believed that more silver would be used in this way than in its coin form, and that therefore there would be less demand upon the Treasury for the redemption of silver in gold. This provision was made for the protection of the Treasury until such time as the business of the country could easily absorb all of our silver circulation. When that time comes, if it is deemed wise, the silver certificates can be retired like the gold certificates.

The next thing that was considered by the Commission was the retirement of the paper demand obligations of the govern-

ment, those that are technically called United States notes and Treasury notes, and it was provided that as fast as they were presented for redemption in gold they should be cancelled up to the amount of fifty millions of dollars; after that no more should be cancelled for five years except an amount equal to and not exceeding the increase of national bank notes issued after the cancellation of the fifty millions of the government notes. At the end of five years, one-fifth of the amount then outstanding shall be retired and cancelled as presented for redemption in gold each year, irrespective of the amount of bank notes that may be issued, and at the end of ten years all that was then outstanding shall cease to have the legal tender quality.

Every member of the Commission was pronounced and decided in the opinion that this provision should be made for the retirement of the demand obligations of the government. There was no difference of opinion whatever upon this subject. The only discussion was over the means by which this should be done in order that there might be no sudden or injurious derangement of the currency or an absence of currency tools for the transaction of business. There was some difference of opinion as to the means taken to prevent derangement by giving goverment officers power to reissue the government notes rending the completion of this plan. There was no difference as to the desirability of the final result. The Commission could find no argument in favor of the continuance of these demand obligations which seemed to them to be of substantial weight. They did find many arguments in favor of their cancellation.

The present laws leave the quality of those notes dependent on the will of the Executive ; upon the quality of those notes is based the quality of all obligations contracted in business, except those specifically payable in gold, consequently almost all of our business structure is involved in the result of elections and will be, so long as these obligations remain outstanding. Business is, as it were, a wager on elections. Then, too, it is dependent upon the balance between the revenues and expenditures of the government. If the government had no demand obligations, a deficiency of revenue would be of little importance to business ; it would be something that everyone would know could be easily cured by the increase of revenue or reduction of expenditures. Private credit would not be affected by it at all, and public credit hardly at all,

probably not at all; but now a serious deficiency in revenue produces uncertainty in all contracts and causes distress not only here but wherever our business and our obligations are distributed over the world. This is an intolerable condition, productive of vast loss at times and increased expense at all times. It perverts the notions of the people because it leads them to suppose that government, by investing something with the legal tender quality, can thereby give it value—a dangerous fallacy, pregnant with mischief but very specious. At first one supposes that the legal tender quality must give great value, for at least the thing indued with it will pay past debts, yet there have been time and again moneys invested with this quality that have become utterly worthless, while there were plenty of past debts that could be paid with them. Men at various times in history, and a large number now in our country, have believed and do believe that the legal tender quality, the fiat, is the thing which gives chief value to money, quite oblivious of the experience of other generations with fiat money. They are theorists pure and simple and refuse to look at facts, and yet if they will theorize a little further they will see that their own theory is baseless.

Out of what can the fund which will discharge past debts be accumulated? Manifestly it can only be from the profits of current transactions, and in the nature of things the proportion of past debts to current transactions must be exceedingly small. Therefore the power given to money by the legal tender quality must be exceedingly small, because that thing which will not perform the functions of money in most of the transactions of men will be of little value as money. The thing which will not give him food and shelter and clothing, in short, which will not keep him alive while his debt is accruing, is not money in any sense. The statistics of our census since 1890, which attempt to give the amount and period of the indebtedness of the country, when compared with the Clearing House transactions of a single year, show that not more than four per cent. of the transactions of that year can consist of the liquidation of debts that antedate that year, and it is well known that a large portion of the transactions of the people do not appear in the Clearing House accounts. Therefore, manifestly for both practical and theoretical reasons, it is for the benefit of the country that the demand obligations of the government should be retired and cancelled, and

that nothing should remain as legal tender which is dependent for its value upon anything but its own intrinsic value; that the government credit should not be used except distinctly as a credit in the shape of bonds, and that nothing should be made a legal tender which is dependent in any degree for its value upon credit. Credit, not legal tender, is that which gives the demand obligations of the government their whole value. From this general principle, of course, can safely be excepted those moneys which do the small change work of the people. The convenience which is promoted by these moneys far overbalances any harm that can come from using the government credit to sustain them. In this category the Commission thought that under the provisions of their proposed measure the present amount of our silver dollars in existence could be safely included.

Much is said of the importance of the quantity of money. The writer apprehends that government has very little power over the quantity of money. It has considerable power over the quality, and it can probably be stated as a maxim that the higher the quality of the circulating medium the greater will be its quantity. The circulating medium consists of money of all forms, and, in a far greater degree, of checks, credits, and even unwritten agreements between men by which property is transferred. If any portion or any one of the branches of the circulating medium becomes impaired in quality, the quantity of that branch will shrink in volume, and so will the quantity of all the other branches shrink in volume. For example: Let a business house fail. Of course that part of the circulating medium which consists of its credits shrink, but all other credits shrink to a greater or less degree, dependent upon the importance and significance of the failure. Not only that, but the amount of circulating medium in money shrinks because men hoard it. If the quality of that portion of the circulating medium composed of money is impaired in quality, the amount of money actually in circulation shrinks because men hoard the best; also that portion of the circulating medium composed of credits shrinks, for men are doubtful what their balances will be paid in and, therefore, curtail credits; so it may fairly be said that if a community wishes the maximum of quantity in circulating medium it must see to it that the maximum of quality is preserved.

The final recommendations of the Commission provide a sys-

tem for issuing bank notes which will in ten years do away entirely with the present requirement of the deposit of bonds with the government. Substituted therefor are the united resources of all the banks that shall issue notes. As to this, too, the Commission after long and careful consideration agreed unanimously without doubt or reserve. They considered the nature of the assets of the banks of the country, and were impressed by the magnitude of the fact that these assets were secured by and based upon the active business of the country, and that their goodness was based upon that which was the condition precedent of all solvency, corporate and governmental; that no disaster could occur which could affect the value of notes thus secured; that no business revulsion had ever taken place in this or any other commercial community of an extent that would have impaired the value of bank notes had they been thus secured. It is conceivable that a government may become bankrupt while the great portion of the private business of its country remains solvent; this has often occurred. It is not conceivable that the bulk of the private business of a country can become worthless and the government of that country remain solvent; this has never occurred. The banks are bound thus together not for the purpose of securing the individual noteholders but in order that by reason of the deficiency of a single bank discredit may not be thrown upon all bank notes. The object of this is to secure the efficiency of all the notes in the highest degree at all times and under all circumstances.

This thought is worthy of consideration and is useful in showing us what government should do in this regard, and that is to try and ascertain why it is that government should interfere at all between man and man as to these small demand obligations called bank notes; why it should provide any greater safeguards for them than it does for any other obligations. Obviously the primary object is not to protect the holder of the notes from loss because of the failure of the issuer of them to pay. If that was the sole object, government would grossly and unfairly discriminate between different classes of creditors. There must be some other reason which has conferred the right upon government to peculiarly guard bank notes. The right is acquired thus: Bank notes or those demand obligations have been found to serve the convenience of man in the transfer of property and services, but to serve that convenience in the highest degree the notes must have

great rapidity of movement. To have this it is necessary that they should be issued under a system provided by somebody trusted and known. Government is the best person to provide this system. The system being known, the man to whom a note is offered is not obliged to learn the responsibility of the issuer of the note to determine its value; he simply need know the system under which it is issued.

Government performs almost the same function in coining gold that it does when it provides a system whereunder notes can be issued to serve as currency and certifies that the notes are issued under that system. In neither case does it contribute any capital; that is contributed in both cases either by the party issuing the note or by the owner of the bullion. The government in neither case confers much benefit upon the issuer of the note or upon the owner of the bullion. Either of them could use his resources about as well without government action; but government in both cases confers a great benefit upon the community that wishes to use either the notes or the coins, because it saves the need in the one case of ascertaining the responsibility of the note, and in the other case it saves weighing and assaying. Thus government saves time and reduces in the one case the amount of bank notes necessary to transact business, and in the other the amount of metal necessary for that purpose; it enables a smaller amount of capital to do a greater amount of business, and thus promotes economies that benefit all persons who are engaged in business.

In order to fully comprehend the subject, it is well to consider how instruments like bank notes could be issued in a natural way without the intervention of law.

Suppose the case of a man living in a village who wished to buy the produce of the farmers in his neighborhood, he not having ready money with which to pay for the produce, but having credit with those from whom he was to purchase. He might go to the farmers, offer to purchase the butter, or cotton, or wheat, and to give his notes in payment therefor with interest, and payable, say, in three months. He would say to the farmer: "Within that time I shall have disposed of the produce that I purchase from you and be able to meet my notes." The farmer might reply: "I will be very glad to sell you my produce, but your time notes will not be convenient for me. I have my la-

borers to pay ; I have a number of small bills at the stores, and I wish something on hand with which to make certain purchases during the coming three months. I am willing to trust you, and all my laborers and the storekeeper will trust you, but we wish something with which to settle accounts between ourselves. Can you not give me your demand obligations cut up into small sums, say of one dollar, five dollars, ten dollars ? If you will do this I can at once settle my obligations to my laborers, to the store, and my laborers can settle their obligations ; the convenience of all of us will be greatly served if you will do this. You will, of course, have more trouble thus than you would if you simply give us your time obligations, and you will also have to keep a certain sum of money ready to meet a portion of these demand obligations that will be presented to you earlier than the three months. Now, to compensate you for your trouble in these various ways, we will all be glad to take these obligations of yours without interest." The buyer of the produce would probably be glad to do this, and having done so he would not only benefit himself, but he would have served the convenience of his neighbors. When his produce was sold he would be in funds to take up all of these obligations, and the whole transaction would be completed and he would be ready to go over a like process the next year when the farmers were ready to sell.

Suppose, however, that the farmers, instead of saying this to him, had said : " We do not wish to trust you ; but if you will buy some bonds, and put them in the hands of a trustee, we will then take your demand obligations." The buyer of the produce might well hesitate to do this, for, in the first place, it would take a certain amount of capital with which to buy the bonds ; he would be uncertain whether he could dispose of the bonds when the notes had returned to him, and, altogether, the transaction would be less convenient and less serviceable to the community ; but, however, he might buy the bonds and put them in trust for his notes and then let the transaction go on as before. But when the notes had all been returned to him he would then have an investment in bonds at a very low rate of interest, and his temptation would be to use these notes before the time came to buy the farmer's produce—to use them in other ways not legitimately connected with his business. Should he do this, when the next year came he would not be in a position to issue his

obligations to buy the farmer's produce because his obligations would be in use elsewhere.

Now, permitting a bank to issue its obligations without the deposit of bonds is following the natural and simple course which such transactions would take. A deposit of bonds is obviously artificial and unnatural and less conducive to the convenience of the community than the former method; and if the former method can be so safeguarded as to make the notes issued thereunder fully as safe as they would be if the bonds had been deposited in trust against them, then obviously the former method is better for all concerned. It is shown elsewhere that, under the system provided for binding the assets of all of the issuing banks together, the notes would be as safe; so reason would seem to indicate that the course should be followed.

The principles under which bank notes should be issued and their safety insured having been satisfactorily shown, as it seems to the writer, the only consideration that remains is as to the attitude of the banks toward the whole matter. The report of the Commission shows that had all of the banks of the country issued and kept issued notes equal to 80 per cent. of their capital since the formation of the national banking system, thirty-five years ago, under a plan like that proposed, the annual assessment upon them to make up loss on failed banks would have been about one-fortieth of one per cent. per annum upon their circulation. Take the worst year in the whole history of the National Banking Act, viz., 1893, not counting collections yet to be made of the assets of the banks that failed in that year—and the Comptroller reports that there will be quite large collections from that source—the assessment for the loss of that year would have been only one-eighth of one per cent. upon the circulation. It seems, therefore, that the danger of loss to the banks entering into this mutual assurance system would be so small that its consideration may be neglected.

Men apprehend, however, that under the proposed system there would be such enlarged opportunities for fraud that the danger would be much greater. Of course every safeguard should be created against fraud, and the Commission have tried to propose additional safeguards which will help, but they do not feel that that subject is exhausted in their recommendations and would approve that the most thorough and stringent measures be provided. In looking over, however, the history of the

national banking system and seeing how great the opportunity for fraud is under it now, and finding how small the losses have been from that source as distinguished from misfortune or incompetency, we are led to the conclusion that the fear of substantial loss from that cause is groundless. In a civilized country the loss from fraud is insignificant. If the disposition to fraud among business people existed in sufficient degree to cause serious loss under this system, then the community would have gone back so far toward barbarism that all business would be compelled to shrink to comparatively small proportions because of its unsafety.

The committee gave careful thought to all these probabilities and dismissed the subject with the firm belief that no bank need hesitate to enter the system because of fear of loss from any cause. The profit to banks is of course considerably enhanced ; it will inure chiefly to the benefit of country banks, for it is the customers of those banks that use bank notes in the largest proportions. This is shown by the fact that seventy-two per cent. of all the bank notes of the country now in existence are issued by banks outside of the twenty-seven reserved cities, and that the balance, eighteen per cent., is issued by the reserved cities other than New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, and that the latter two cities only issue about one-half of one per cent., while New York issues about eight per cent. But this is only fair, for the check and deposit system which is used in the great cities is far more profitable, owing to the deposit and redeposit of loans, than the note system alone ; and the latter under the present system, when money bears six per cent. interest, is not profitable at all.

The Commission recommends the removal of the tax from the notes as being an unfair distribution of the expenses of the system ; it thought that it should be assessed on capital and surplus.

The Commission believed that the fair and careful consideration of the plan proposed would lead to its general approval by business men. In this belief they returned it to the Executive Committee of the Indianapolis Convention, whose efforts to secure its substantial enactment into law they hope will receive the hearty and energetic support of all the business communities of the country whose welfare is so profoundly involved in the establishment upon a safe, practicable, and permanent basis, of our whole monetary and banking system.

CHARLES S. FAIRCHILD.

LINCOLN'S SKILL AS A LAWYER.

BY JAMES L. KING, STATE LIBRARIAN, TOPEKA, KANSAS.

THE story of Abraham Lincoln's life will not be complete so long as any man lives who was personally acquainted with that great man and has neglected to make a suitable and enduring public record of all the incidents of that acquaintance.

Judge Abram Bergen, a well-known attorney of Topeka, Kansas, was a citizen of Cass County in the State of Illinois at the time Lincoln resided in that locality, and had unusual opportunities to study his character and to observe his methods as a lawyer long before he became famous as a statesman or political leader. For this reason, and to supply some additional facts concerning disputed points in Lincoln's early career, his impressions and recollections are worth preserving.

In the year 1858 Judge Bergen was just entering upon the practice of law in one of the circuits frequently visited by Mr. Lincoln. Here it was the young attorney's privilege to meet him in the courts of five counties, and to carefully note his every word and movement in several important trials, as well as to enjoy many delightful evenings in his society at the various country taverns. This was nearly forty years ago, but he retains a vivid remembrance of all these events, and of the personal appearance and characteristics of the tall, thin, bony, and altogether ungraceful-looking man who became the head of a great party, the liberator of an enslaved race, and a central figure in history.

"I have read all the descriptions of Lincoln's remarkable face," said Judge Bergen to the writer, "and examined all his portraits as they have appeared in magazines and elsewhere, but to my mind none of them conveys a perfect idea of the irregularity of his features. Studying his face directly from the side, the lowest part of his forehead projected beyond the eyes to a greater

distance than I have ever observed in any other person. In the court room, while waiting for the celebrated Armstrong case to be called for trial, I looked at him closely for full two hours, and was so struck by this peculiarity of his profile that I remember to have estimated that his forehead protruded more than two inches, and then retreated about twenty-five degrees from the perpendicular until it reached a usual height in a straight line above his eyes.

"During the two hours referred to Lincoln sat with his head thrown back, his steady gaze apparently fixed upon one spot of the blank ceiling, entirely oblivious to what was happening about him, and without a single variation of feature or noticeable movement of any muscle of his face. But when he began to talk his eyes brightened perceptibly, and every facial movement seemed to emphasize his feeling and add expression to his thoughts. Then vanished all consciousness of his uncouth appearance, his awkward manner, or even his high-keyed, unpleasant voice, and it required an extraordinary effort of the will to divert attention to the man, so concentrated was every mind upon what he was saying."

In the opinion of the judges and practitioners with whom Lincoln was associated during his quarter of a century at the bar his most prominent characteristic was his rare faculty for detecting and disclosing the controlling point in a legal battle. But not less than this was his clear, full, orderly, and accurate statement of a case; always so fair and logical that it was often said that after Lincoln had summed up the important facts in a controversy there was but little occasion for argument on either side. He habitually employed at the bar the same care and skill in the use of words and the expression of ideas which he so often afterward exhibited when called to a higher field of labor; instances of which are seen in all his state papers, and in the changes for the better which he made in the writings of his scholarly Secretary of State, particularly in the correspondence relative to the Trent affair, which probably avoided a war with England. A fine example of the grandeur of his diction is to be found in his Gettysburg address, which has a permanent place in the literature of the world.

Many of Lincoln's biographers contend that he was slow in thinking. According to Judge Bergen's estimate this was only

seeming. He thought vigorously and thoroughly, but did not speak quickly. In reality his hesitation was only the result of his great care always to know his ground. His habit was, before speaking or acting, to deliberately look through, around, and beyond every fact, statement, or proposition involved, and subject it to his wonderful powers of perception and analysis. This required time, but it made him successful in every important undertaking. While he thought much, he could not truthfully be called a great reader. He knew thoroughly the works of Coke, Blackstone, Stephen, Chitty, Starkey, and later Greenleaf's *Evidence* and Story's *Equity*. He gave but little time to searching for precedents, or studying what is called case law. When he first engaged in legal work there were but few text-books or Supreme Court reports, and only three Illinois reports. There are now of that court alone 162 volumes, and of the Court of Appeals 62 volumes, a total of 224 Illinois reports—more than eleven times the number in existence at the time he quit the practice of law.

On the circuit Lincoln cited but few authorities in the argument of a legal proposition. The old maxim, "he knows not the law who knows not the reason for the law," did not apply to him. He stated the rule clearly, fully, and logically, giving the reason as forcibly as it appears in the writings of the masters of jurisprudence; and, without having seen a decision on the disputed point, generally reached the same correct conclusion as the Supreme Courts that sat near large libraries, having the help of elaborate briefs, and with ample time to examine other and similar cases. Avoiding deception in fact, argument, or law, with his clear vision and accurate reasoning powers, and fairness and thoroughness of statement, he had the respectful confidence of the judges to a remarkable degree. It was easily seen and felt on the circuit that Lincoln did not need to produce opinions as authority, but the presumption was that the Court would be inclined to agree with him on nearly every proposition he made, unless his opponent should produce a case directly in point against him. Even then the remark was not unusual from the bench that if the question had been original in that court the decision might have been different.

By a small class of habitual litigants, and by some political opponents, Mr. Lincoln was often referred to as a third-rate law-

yer. It is not an uncommon impression that a perfect lawyer ought to be able to win any case, good or bad; and a lawyer's skill is not infrequently measured by his success in defending the wrong. But in all the books and articles that have treated of Lincoln it has never been suggested that he ever lost a just cause where any lawyer ought to have succeeded. Where he could he made a very careful examination before going into trial, or even before agreeing to go into trial. If from such preliminary investigation he saw that the law or facts placed his client at a disadvantage, a settlement was recommended. If this were impossible, Lincoln usually managed to get out of the trial by turning the case over to his partner, Judge Stephen T. Logan, or afterward to William H. Herndon, who could be equally as skillful, intense, eloquent, pathetic, and vehement on the wrong side as the right. If, however, by a misrepresentation of the facts or otherwise Mr. Lincoln got into the trial of a cause wherein he became satisfied his client was in the wrong, he appeared very weak, spiritless, and destitute of resources. But if convinced of the justice and righteousness of his side of the controversy, and with time for mature thought, he went into and through the trial with a buoyant, unflinching courage and matchless power.

Lincoln's tact was remarkable. He carefully studied and thought out the best way of saying everything, as well as the substance of what he should say. Every important thing he said or did was the result of great deliberation, although the casual observer might have gained the impression that many things were entirely *impromptu*. This was especially true in jury trials, in all of which he managed at some time to say or do some very peculiar thing, or some common thing in a very peculiar manner. While the jury might have thought this to have come to him on the spur of the moment, usually it came at the critical point of his case, directing attention to that which he desired should be most prominent, and impressing it on every mind. Other lawyers always expected such a feature, and were afraid of it. They felt sure it would appear in every case, but never could tell beforehand just where it would strike. Sometimes he seemed to take a delight in expressly conceding to his opponent every proposition and fact which his own client or the spectators thought to be in his favor, and then, to the surprise of all, taking some un-

expected but firm and impregnable position which controlled and won the case.

An interesting personal and court reminiscence is thus stated by Judge Bergen: "The first time I saw Lincoln as a lawyer was in the old Morgan County Court-House, at Jacksonville, when he was defending Colonel Dunlap, a wealthy, aristocratic Democrat, in an action for $10,000 damages, brought against him by the editor of what was then called the abolition paper. The action grew out of a deliberately-planned and severe cowhiding administered by the Colonel to the editor, on a bright Saturday afternoon, in the public square, in the presence of hundreds of the town and country people whom the Colonel desired to witness that novel and exciting performance. Besides local counsel, the editor had employed Ben. Edwards, who was the most noted for eloquence of all the Democratic lawyers in the State. Colonel Dunlap retained Lincoln as one of his lawyers for the defence.

"I ran off from my recitations for the sole purpose of hearing Lincoln. Edwards used all the arts of the orator and advocate. He pictured, until it could almost be felt, the odium and disgrace to the editor, which he declared were worse than death. He wept, and made the jury and spectators weep. The feelings of those in the court-house was roused to the highest pitch of indignation against the perpetrator of such an outrage. It was felt that all the Colonel's fortune could not compensate for the lawless indignity, and that the editor would in all probability recover the full $10,000. No possible defence or palliation existed.

"Before all eyes were dried, it was Lincoln's turn to speak. He dragged his feet off the table, on the top of which they had been resting, set them on the floor, gradually lifted up and straightened out his great length of legs and body, and took off his coat. While removing his coat it was noticed by all present that his eyes were intently fixed upon something on the table before him. He picked up the object, a paper, scrutinized it closely, and, without uttering a word, indulged in a long, loud laugh, accompanied by his most wonderfully grotesque facial expression. There was never anything like the laugh or the expression. It was magnetic. The whole audience grinned. Then he laid the paper down slowly, took off his cravat, again picked up the paper, re-examined it, and repeated the laugh. It was

contagious. He then deliberately removed his vest, showing his one yarn suspender, took up the paper, again looked at it curiously, and again indulged in his peculiar laugh. Its effect was absolutely irresistible. The usually solemn and dignified Judge Woodson, members of the jury, and the whole audience joined in the merriment, and all this before Lincoln had spoken a single word.

"When the laughter had subsided, he apologized to the Court for his seemingly rude behavior and explained that the amount of damages claimed by the editor was at first written $1,000. He supposed the plaintiff afterwards had taken a second look at the Colonel's pile, and concluded that the wounds to his honor were worth an additional $9,000, The result was to at once destroy the effect of Edwards's tears, pathos, towering indignation and high-wrought eloquence, and to render improbable a verdict for more than $1,000. Lincoln immediately and fully admitted that the plaintiff was entitled to a judgment for some amount, argued in mitigation of damages, told a funny story applicable to the peculiar nature of the case, and specially urged the jury to agree upon some amount. The verdict was for a few hundred dollars, and was entirely satisfactory to Lincoln's client."

It is the judgment of every man who has written or spoken of Lincoln that the most pervading and dominant element of his character was his love of truth ; not merely the moral avoidance of a falsehood, but truth in its most comprehensive sense ; correctness and accuracy in fact, in science, in law, in business, in personal intercourse, and in every field. All his biographers attribute this quality to him, and it is in this connection that Judge Bergen contributes a new chapter to the volumes of contemporaneous testimony intended to faithfully chronicle his life and work.

In the index to the American edition of an English law book is found this line: "Lincoln, President, Abraham, how he procured an acquittal by a fraud, 269 n." The text of the note referred to is as follows:

"In Lamon's life of Abraham Lincoln, p. 327, an account is given of Mr. Lincoln's defence of a man named Armstrong, under indictment for murder. The evidence against the prisoner was very strong. But, says the biographer, 'the witness whose testimony bore hardest upon Armstrong swore that the crime was committed about eleven o'clock at night, and that he saw the blow struck by the light of a moon nearly full.' Here Mr. Lincoln

saw his opportunity. 'He handed to an officer of the court an almanac, and told him to give it back to him when he should call for it in the presence of the jury. It was an almanac of the year previous to the murder.' Mr. Lincoln made the closing argument for the defence, and in the words of Mr. Lamon, 'in due time he called for the almanac, and easily proved by it that at the time the main witness declared the moon was shining in great splendor, there was in fact no moon at all, but black darkness over the whole scene. In the roar of laughter and undisguised astonishment succeeding this apparent demonstration, court, jury, and counsel forgot to examine that seemingly conclusive almanac, and let it pass without question concerning its genuineness.'"

This story Judge Bergen pronounced to be absolutely untrue, and gives a full account of all the circumstances of the trial in which the almanac incident occurred. Although the case awakened intense local interest, as every murder case does, it became widely celebrated only through the fact that a man so distinguished as Lincoln appeared in it as an advocate. All the larger biographies refer to it: Lamon, Arnold, Herndon, Hay and Nicolay, and recently Miss Tarbell in *McClure's Magazine*. Mr. Edward Eggleston in his novel, "The Grayson's," most effectively makes the use by Mr. Lincoln of an almanac the climax of his story. In the St. Louis *Globe Democrat* of September 15, 1895, a correspondent writing from the town of Virginia, Ill., to which the county-seat of Cass County had then been removed, said: "The old court-house in Beardstown still stands. It was in this edifice that Lincoln used a doctored almanac in defense of Duff Armstrong for murder." This was republished in the Virginia *Gazette*, and widely copied in the country press.

The homicide took place in Mason County, in the purlieus of a camp meeting, where the rowdy elements from country and town for forty miles around had established their headquarters for gambling, horse-racing, whiskey-selling, cock-fighting and other associate vices. The religious camp-meeting people and the rough element, who together then constituted a majority of the inhabitants of that region, determined that every person suspected of connection with the crime should be punished; the former in order that their good name might be preserved, and the latter that the death of a leader of their party should be avenged. One man had been convicted and sent to the penitentiary for complicity in the crime. Armstrong, jointly indicted with him, obtained a change of venue to Cass County.

"The trial," continues Judge Bergen, "occurred at the first

term of court which I attended after my admission to the bar. I had an intense desire to learn how good lawyers examined witnesses, and especially to see and hear all of a trial conducted by counsel so eminent. Particularly was my closest attention directed to Mr. Lincoln and to every word and movement of his from the time he entered the court room until he took his departure. During the entire trial I was seated in the bar behind the attorneys for the State and those for the defendant, not more than four feet from any one of them, and noticed everything with the deepest interest, as any young lawyer naturally would.

"During the introduction of the evidence Mr. Lincoln remarked to the judge that he supposed the court would take judicial notice of the almanac; but in order that there might be no question on that point he offered it as a part of the evidence for the defence, the court accepting it and remarking that any one might use the almanac in the progress of the argument. Lincoln, with his usual care, had brought with him from Springfield the almanac then regarded as the standard in that region. At a recess of the court he took it from his capacious hat and gave it to the sheriff, Dick, with the request that it should be returned to him when he called for it. In the succeeding campaign the Democrats induced Sheriff Dick to make an affidavit that he did not notice the year covered by the almanac, and this is taken by some as conclusive evidence that Lincoln intended to deceive. The only object was to break the monotony of his argument, and to fix the attention and memory of the jury on the fact proved.

"When Lincoln finally called for the almanac he exhibited it to the opposing lawyers, read from it, and then caused it to be handed to members of the jury for their inspection. I heard two of the attorneys for the State, in whispered consultation, raise the question as to the correctness of the almanac, and they ended the conference by sending to the office of the clerk of the court for another. The messenger soon returned with the statement that there was no almanac of 1857 in the office. (It will be remembered that the trial occurred in 1858 for a transaction in 1857.) In the Presidential campaign soon following it was even charged that Lincoln must have gone around and purloined all the almanacs in the court-house. However, I well remember that another almanac was procured from the office of Probate Judge Arenz, in the same building. It was brought

to the prosecuting attorneys, who examined it, compared it with the one introduced by Mr. Lincoln, and found that they substantially agreed, although it was at first intimated by the State's attorneys that they had found some slight difference.

All this I personally saw and heard, and it is as distinct in my memory as if it had occurred but yesterday. No intimation was made, so far as I knew, that there was any fraud in the use of the almanac, until two years afterward, when Lincoln was the nominee of the Republican party for the Presidency. In that year, 1860, while in the mountains of Southern Oregon, I saw in a Democratic newspaper, published at St. Louis, an article personally abusive of Mr. Lincoln, stating that he was no statesman, and only a third-rate lawyer; and to prove the deceptive and dishonest nature of the candidate the same paper printed an indefinite affidavit of one of the jurors who had helped to acquit Armstrong. to the effect that Mr. Lincoln had made fraudulent use of the almanac on the trial. For some inexplicable reason he failed to call this pretended knowledge to the attention of the other jurors at the time of the trial, but very promptly joined in the verdict of acquittal, and waited two years before giving publicity to what would at the proper time have been a very important piece of information.

"Soon after this I saw an affidavit made by Milton Logan, the foreman of the jury, that he personally examined the almanac when it was delivered to the jury, and particularly noticed that it was for the year 1857, the year of the homicide. I had a better opportunity than any of the jurors to see and hear all that was publicly and privately done and said by the attorneys on both sides, and know that the almanacs of 1857 now preserved in historical and other public libraries sustain and prove to the minute all that was claimed by Mr. Lincoln on that trial as to the rising and setting of the moon, although my best recollection is that the hour of the crime was claimed to be about midnight instead of eleven o'clock, as stated in many of the books. I do not know that this calumny was ever called to Mr. Lincoln's attention, or if it was that he ever took the trouble to contradict it. He might well have pursued his regular habit of ignoring such things. If his public and private conduct and his reputation as a citizen and lawyer were not sufficient to refute the charge, his personal denial would have been of little more avail.

"'Ram on Facts' and other books which publish what they pretend to be the truth as to this incident do not give the newspaper accounts as their authority, but all are based on a communication by J. Henry Shaw, a lawyer of Beardstown, a political opponent of Lincoln's, who was one of the prosecuting attorneys in the Armstrong case. His letter is printed in Lamon and in Arnold; and all other writers who have referred to the case cite that as their authority. Mr. Shaw says there were two almanacs at the trial, and that he believes 'Mr. Lincoln was entirely innocent of any deception in the matter.' He further states that the prevailing belief in Cass County was that the almanac was prepared for the occasion; and that Mr. Carter, a lawyer of Beardstown who was present at but not engaged in the Armstrong case, says he is satisfied that the almanac was of the year previous and thinks he examined it at the time.

"This man Carter, who was Buchanan's village postmaster, had one case for jury trial at that term. Mr. Lincoln, for a $5 fee, had run Carter's worthless, litigious client out of court on a motion for security for costs. Of course, it was easy to satisfy Carter that Mr. Lincoln would do or had done almost anything diabolical, as it also was the maddened, unthinking camp-meeting people and the wicked, rough element, who alike had already condemned the accused, and who craved the rare spectacle of a hanging.

"Other features of the Armstrong case were more interesting and more difficult of determination than this episode of the almanac. They called out the mental powers not only of Mr. Lincoln, but of his shrewd antagonists. In their solution Lincoln showed that he had mastered some technical questions in anatomy. The main witness testified that he saw Armstrong strike the deceased on the forehead with a slung-shot. The physicians testified that the blow on the forehead was inflicted by a man's fist. They further testified that death was caused by a blow with a club on the back of the head, which other evidence showed had been given by the man then in the penitentiary; and this evidence failed to prove that Armstrong was acting in concert with him. Lincoln's principal medical witness was Dr. Benjamin F. Stephenson, of Petersburg, Illinois, who afterward attained celebrity and honor as the founder and first organizer of the Grand Army of the Republic."

JAMES L. KING.

THE CRISIS OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

BY H. T. NEWCOMB.

At the close of the war for the preservation of the Union, the question of the limitation or abolition of slavery, over which there had been sectional and partisan controversy for sixty years, being permanently settled, thoughtful and patriotic citizens saw in fiscal and administrative reforms the greatest opportunity for advancing the public welfare, and as one phase of this movement both of the great parties were impelled to adopt in their national conventions of 1872 strong declarations in favor of reform in the civil service. The Republican platform upon which General Grant was elected the second time favored laws which would "abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public position," and at the same time declared that "any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing." The joint platform of the Democrats and Liberal Republicans expressed the belief that "honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment," and that Federal officers should no longer be selected under a system of "arbitrary favoritism and patronage."

The persistence of the demand for the elimination of partisanship from the selection of minor officials which was thus recognized is shown by the fact that, at every national convention held by the Republican party, the principle of civil service reform which was first enunciated in 1872 has been reiterated with constantly increasing emphasis, and that it was not until 1896, when forces which had been previously subordinate in the Democratic party became ascendant, that the latter ceased to declare its adherence to the merit system and withdrew its endorse-

ment from the civil service law which, sustained by Republican and Democratic Presidents alike, had become, in the minds of many, a settled portion of the national polity. The declaration in regard to the Federal civil service adopted by the Democratic National Convention which met at Chicago during July, 1896, was regarded by many individuals whose opposition to independent, free-coinage of silver at double its commercial valuation by the United States was by no means nominal, as the most unsatisfactory plank in the remarkable platform there adopted. Opposition to tenure during good behavior—for it was necessary so to translate the term "life-tenure" in order to give it any practical meaning—and approval of an extension of the system of fixed terms, which, when applied to minor ministerial offices, has always borne evil fruit, were no doubt correctly construed to mask but imperfectly a general attack upon the system which bases appointment upon established fitness, and continuance and advancement in office upon the degree of ability and fidelity displayed in the service. On the other hand, the declaration adopted by the Republican party in national convention at St. Louis was definitely satisfactory to reformers. It promised thorough and honest enforcement of the law, recognized the existence of opportunities for its extension, and promised that it should be applied whenever practicable. The candidate of the party, whose long public service differentiated him from many, if not most, of his predecessors of both parties, in that his record on no important public question was merely negative, had spoken and voted for the civil service law while a member of the House of Representatives, and again, in his letter accepting the nomination, reiterated in forcible words his adherence to the principles of the merit system. One has only to examine the record of Republican pledges and performance to ascertain, beyond peradventure, that no taint of sympathy with or responsibility for the present unfortunate and untimely attack upon the policy of reform attaches either to President McKinley or to the other real leaders of his party. In fact, in the face of the most persistent solicitation from those who desire a relaxation of the rules which exclude from office the incapable and unfit, the President has, thus early in his term of office, extended the merit system to many places hitherto unprotected from the spoilsmen, and has also established a most wise and beneficent

rule which removes from faithful, capable, and efficient employees the menace of unjust dismissal.

That the repeated and emphatic pledges of the party, and the earnest purpose to sustain and extend the merit system manifested by the President, have not been sufficient to prevent an attack upon that system from sources claimed to be Republican, is not so surprising as it would be were it not perfectly evident that it derives its inspiration and support solely from a small clique of bosses and machine politicians. It is one of the unfortunate incidents of the system of party government, which must, at least temporarily, be borne for the sake of overbalancing benefits, that persons whose relation to any party is invariably selfish and frequently mercenary, and who represent no intelligent or honest constituency, are, nevertheless, too often able, by reason of their experience and skill in political trickery, and their absolute independence of conscientious restraint, sufficiently to dominate local conventions, when no important principles are known to be at stake, to secure the adoption of resolutions of almost any character in relation to subjects not popularly regarded as among the issues of current political controversy. Such persons are opposed to any system which makes fitness a prerequisite of appointment, because it excludes them, together with their most useful adherents, from public office, and makes it impossible to impose upon taxpayers the double burden of maintaining an extravagant and wasteful service, and of supporting the partisan machinery to which such inefficiency and extravagance are due. With this incentive and under these conditions it has been possible to secure during the current year the adoption by a few Republican State conventions, and by the National League of Republican Clubs, of resolutions which appear to represent a desire for the reversal of the policy of the President in regard to civil service reform, but which are easily determined to be merely indicative of a spurious public sentiment, the only real existence of which is in the minds of a few professional politicians. These resolutions exhibit little unity of purpose other than a general disposition to criticise, disingenuously, the existing system, their most striking similarity being that none of them contains an endorsement of the principles of civil service reform, and that they differ from the Republican national platforms of 1884, 1888, 1892, and 1896, that is from

every platform adopted by that party since the inauguration of the reform during the administration of President Arthur, in that they fail to claim for the Republican party the honor and credit of having created and continued the merit system.

The Republicans of Kentucky declared in State convention their opposition to "a system of civil service that builds up an official class of practically life tenure," and demanded "that the civil service be so modified as to limit the terms of service to four years, with the privilege of reappointment or promotion." In Ohio, the Republican State convention contented itself with denouncing "the violation of the civil service act by President Cleveland in those orders which extended its operation beyond its purpose and interest," and demanding "such revocation of orders or modification of the law as will accomplish its manifest purpose;" while their brethren in Pennsylvania, after denouncing President Cleveland for making an "unjust extension," declared that "the offices of the federal government have been filled with representatives of a single party," and that "the standard of efficiency has been degraded." The leading Republican newspaper of the State of Pennsylvania said editorially on the day subsequent to the adoption of this platform :

"On the civil service question the platform is lame, uninformed, self-stultifying, and heretical. Its crude language betrays a misunderstanding . . . of the true nature of the reform. . . . Running through it all is an unconcealed hostility to the essence of the reform, and in this it is at war with the National Republican platform, and with the general Republican sentiment."

The National League of Republican Clubs, after listening to an address in which its president declared that "the Republican party will take no backward steps as to the civil service reform—it has repeatedly declared in favor of it"—and that "the mere fact that a man who fills an office is a Democrat is *prima facie* evidence of the other fact that an investigation ought to be made as to his ability to fill it," adopted a platform which described the extension of the merit system by President Cleveland as "a sham, and a fraud, and a subversion of the civil service law," and favored "a modification of the rules and provisions of said law for the benefit of the public service and to remedy the gross injustice thus perpetrated."

The League of Republican State Clubs, an organization composed of residents of the various States, who, as public officials

or for other purposes, are temporarily located at the National capital, has forwarded to President McKinley a petition from which the following is an excerpt:

"Your petitioners understand that the civil service law was enacted to secure an improvement of the civil service, but during the past four years its administration has resulted in marked deterioration, loss of efficiency and economy in the service as compared with the merit system existing at the time of the passage of the law."

There has also been recently formed at Washington an organization which, though admitting citizens of all shades of political belief, has adopted the name "National Republican Anti-Civil Service League" and has for its ultimate object the repeal of the civil service law. The president of this association, in a letter written for publication, said:

"An issue has been forced upon the American people by what is known as civil service reform, and the struggle is to come between the devotees of that political contrivance and the common sense of the American people. . . . It is not of American parentage, but is the twin sister offree trade, and is not adapted to our government, for it subverts the policies established by the founders of this government, and does not consist with the genius and spirit of American institutions. It is a useless and expensive luxury."

Happily it is impossible to regard these declarations as in any way indicative of true Republican sentiment. That party is no more pledged to its policy of compensating for the extra labor cost of American manufactures by means of duties on imported goods, than to the support of the civil service law now on the statute-book, and the greatest practicable extension of its application; nor is there any reason to believe that its ablest and most trusted leaders or the mass of its voters are more heartily in favor of the former than of the latter. The President elected by that party, after it had been excluded from office for a period of four years, during which the number of places covered by the rules was doubled, has declared that "reform in the civil service must go on. . . . The best interests of the country demand this, and the people heartily approve the law."

The national platform of 1896 said:

"The civil service law was placed on the statute-book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable."

And, in accepting the nomination, President McKinley pro-

nounced this declaration "in keeping with the position of the party for the past twenty-four years." Among many declarations of fidelity to the reform, it is interesting to recall the rebuke which the Republican National Convention of 1888 administered to certain prominent civil service reformers. It reads:

"The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884, and continue to adhere to the Democratic party, have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but *especially* have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service."

One who respects the history and the intelligence of the Republican party, and who believes that politics is something higher than a struggle for spoils, will not readily consent to believe that these clear and solemn utterances are overruled by the later pseudo-Republican declarations that have been quoted. The comment of the Philadelphia *Press* upon the platform adopted in Pennsylvania has been given. In commenting, editorially, at the time, on President Cleveland's orders, which made the much-debated extensions of the application of the civil service law, the New York *Tribune* said:

"If all the offices in the country, except those the occupants of which have to do with fixing policies, were taken from the domain of politics, both parties would be stronger, would more perfectly fulfil the purpose of their existence, and give the country a better government."

And subsequently:

"That final extension was neither a midnight order nor was it taken on the eve of election. It was made on May 6, 1896, and met with the general commendation of the press of both parties."

In an editorial published on July 15, 1897, the same paper said:

"The merit system will not be modified in favor of spoilsmen. . . . Their attack is on the merit system in general and their demands, though taking the form of complaint against Democrats and prayers to a Republican administration, are in reality appeals for a reversal of consistent Republican policy. . . . The extension of the merit system is a Republican policy, and spoilsmen might as well reconcile themselves to the fact. The party is hurt rather than helped by patronage. Men who cry for the correction of abuses by the substitution of new ones are entitled to no consideration. The test of merit is the only substitute which Republican principles and Republican pledges permit."

If apology for the frequent allusion to a particular party is required, it is only necessary to direct attention to the fact that the immediate, and quite possibly the ultimate, future of civil service reform rests with the party which now controls the exec-

utive branch of government, and, with a large majority in the popular branch of Congress, is able practically to dominate legislation.

Let the Philadelphia *Ledger* speak for good citizens regardless of party :

"It is useless to reason with a party worker who is 'after a job,' and impossible to convince him that party service is not the all-important qualification for the procuring of a government office, but the overwhelming majority of American citizens, who are neither office-seekers nor office-holders, whatever their partisan proclivities may be, are interested in an honest, faithful performance of duty on the part of their public servants. They are opposed to any modification of the civil service rules which will be a step backward in the direction of the spoils system, with its profligacy and its wanton waste of the public funds."

Those who are responsible for the present attack on civil service reform seek, first, to prevent further extensions of the merit system ; second, to secure the revocation of the orders by which President Cleveland added about 30,000 places to the number classified ; and, finally, to secure the actual repeal of the civil service law. Recent expressions point to a complete abandonment on their part of any hope they may have formerly entertained that the President could be induced to violate his pledges, and indicate that efforts are to be concentrated in an attempt to secure from the present Congress a modification of the law, or, failing that, to so manipulate district conventions as to secure a majority for repeal in 1898. A leader in the attack has outlined this plan of campaign with some clearness. The following is from a speech printed in the *Congressional Record* of August 11, 1897 :

"It is said that the President ought to modify and change the orders of Mr. Cleveland. It must be borne in mind in this connection that President McKinley has always favored a civil service system. . . . This system and its outrages have all been born of Congressional action. They are all based upon the statute known as the civil service enactment. . . . I for one, deeply as I feel the wrongs, will not ask the President of the United States, even though my voice might be heeded, to incur the responsibility of reversing the action of his predecessors beyond that which to his own good sense and good judgment may be commended ; but I will ask the Congress of the United States to modify this law, and I say right here, Mr. Speaker, without any menace, that this voice, this demand of the people, this shout of denunciation, has got to be recognized on this floor. . . . If this Congress fails to act the elections of 1898 will be close at hand and the people of the country will be heard from "

Evidently, then, the dangers now to be feared are : First, that

the present Congress may be induced to take some action amounting to a retrogression, or that secret manipulation of the nominating conventions may secure a majority unfavorable to the law in the Fifty-Sixth Congress. As neither of these results can be accomplished unless the honest and intelligent masses of the people can be kept in ignorance of what is taking place, the cause of good government may be somewhat served by a rapid recapitulation of the present status of the reform of the civil service, and an enumeration of some of the benefits already achieved.

The rapid expansion of the system under two Republican and two Democratic administrations previous to that of President McKinley has left little opportunity for extension except by the slow natural growth of the portions of the service already classified, and the inclusion of fourth-class postmasters and United States consuls. The inclusion of the latter must be preceded by legislation, while with regard to both postmasters and consuls there are serious practical obstacles to immediate classification.

The final extensions of the system by the executive orders of May 6, 1896, which have been the subject of recent animadversion, brought within the classified service nearly every civil position not subject to confirmation by the Senate, including those of messengers, watchmen, chiefs of division, chief clerks, and disbursing officers, and, if the rule governing removals recently promulgated be excepted, constituted the greatest advance since the enactment of the civil service law. It must be remembered also in considering the present crisis of the reform that the only proposition now advanced by its opponents that is at all likely to be successful under any circumstances is that for the revocation of these orders. Though projects for the actual repeal of the law have come forward from time to time, after substantially regular intervals ever since its passage, and will undoubtedly continue, as on the present occasion, to have a few blatant and noisy adherents, no one really anticipates their success.

There are three things which, according to the extent of its application, the merit system has accomplished for the betterment of the civil service. It has removed positions of minor importance from the sphere of partisan conflict, and, in consequence, has notably purified political methods by making it impossible to use those positions as rewards for partisan activity. Nothing short of the total abolition of the patronage system will

effectually and permanently eliminate from political contests the debasing influence of "spoils," and the return of any of the positions now included to the category of excepted places would make them immediately available for rewarding partisan zeal and activity. A second result of the merit system has been to open the door to employment in the public service to all citizens, regardless of party affiliations or personal or political services in behalf of persons holding influential positions. Equality of opportunity, "the right," as it was expressed in the Republican national platform of 1876, "of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country," which was effectively denied prior to 1883 by the practical limitation of appointments to office to the friends of those composing the ascendant faction of the party in power, was accorded to every citizen so far as entrance to the civil service is concerned by the reform law of that year and the regulations promulgated by the commission which it created. Under its operation no individual, however destitute of political connections, is excluded, provided he possesses the intelligence, industry, and pluck necessary to qualify himself to become a desirable public servant. But opportunity to enter the public service is of little value to those who must be considered, from the practical standpoint of efficiency, best equipped therefor, unless it includes a possibility of growth and development therein that will enable those entering in the lowest grades to aspire, not without reasonable hope, to the positions of higher honor, responsibility and emolument.

To those who have observed at close range the methods of work in the executive departments at Washington, both prior and subsequent to the inauguration of the reform, the most apparent achievement of the merit system has been in the increased efficiency of the official machinery. This has resulted not only from the marked improvement in the qualifications of new employees, but also from the relief afforded the higher officials from the necessity they were formerly under of spending a large portion of their time in hearing appeals for office and weighing the conflicting claims of rival applicants; the possibility of organizing the clerical force with regard solely to its efficiency, and the increased incentive to industry and fidelity under a system in which advancement is made the reward of meritorious service. Under the spoils system the interference of persons having polit-

ical influence in the internal affairs of the executive departments was most common. Designations for particular duties supposed to be desirable, opportunities for travelling at public expense, extraordinary leaves of absence with compensation, and similar favors were sought by senators and representatives on behalf of their favorites, and weak-kneed officials not infrequently believed themselves under the necessity of yielding in spite of the fact that the quality of the service was seriously impaired by their complaisance. As evidence that the smallest details of office management were not considered by some of the people's representatives too insignificant to occupy their time, the writer may be allowed to mention an instance within his personal knowledge in which Congressional interference extended to the location of the desk of a subordinate in one of the offices at Washington. Only those who have engaged in the effort to secure satisfactory results in spite of such hindrances and annoyances, can realize the full extent of their injury to the public service and their cost to the taxpaying public.

The incentive to diligence in the performance of duties is in direct correspondence with the degree of confidence on the part of employees that their future in the service is dependent upon the quality of their services and the sufficiency of the rewards the industrious and capable may reasonably anticipate. The revocation of the recent extensions will remove in a large degree the strong incentive to industrious application now existing, and while it is true that the alternative, fear of immediate dismissal, can be used as a whip, the latter besides being an unkind and brutal substitute is also unsatisfactory because it produces a class of unwilling and disaffected employees.

There is a rapidly growing belief that the development of the merit system will soon make an honorable profession of the civil service, as similar methods have already done in the most enlightened countries of Europe. There are many positions the pecuniary emoluments of which are small, yet which, from the opportunities they offer for original investigation and research under most satisfactory conditions, are exceedingly attractive to young men of scientific attainments and aspirations. Not only is this true, but subordinates in these offices are receiving the very kind of training which will best fit them for holding the higher places, and the hope that they may do so in the fulness of time

is a strong inducement to earnest work and unceasing application to duty. Young men of education and ability would refuse to enter a service from the higher places of which they were arbitrarily excluded.

Competition for places in the civil service would be limited to those who were conscious of inability to excel anywhere; who had already failed in private business, or who felt the need of temporary shelter while awaiting a favorable opportunity to begin a career elsewhere. It is perfectly obvious that the most efficient and satisfactory employees cannot be drawn from any or all of these classes, and that a system which thus limits the desire to enter public service must be extravagant and costly.

H. T. NEWCOMB.

RAILROADS VERSUS CANALS.

BY J. A. LATCHA.

THE collapse of industry and commerce in the United States during the past five years has been due primarily to commercial war. That warfare has raged among men with varying intensity from the days of primitive man, when organized forays were made upon hostile tribes, and men, women and children were murdered or stolen, together with their goods and chattels. Modern methods are somewhat different, but the results are practically the same. The commercial depredations of one nation upon the accumulated wealth of others are to-day almost as ferocious and destructive as in the dawn of man's history.

The yeomanry of Great Britain have been for centuries the pride of that powerful Empire, and have been the theme of her bards for generations. Yet to-day the yeomanry class of the British Isles is almost extinct, and the wealth and power of England rest upon the delvers of her mines and the toilers at her furnaces, not classes to incite or enjoy epics, and especially not classes usually inspired with a passionate love of country, without which no nation long can continue a masterful people. It must be clear that the decadence of the agricultural interests of Great Britain has been almost entirely due to the enormous growth of our cereal interests. In the brief period of a quarter of a century our husbandmen seized the wealth of Europe, entailing bankruptcy upon the rustic population of Great Britain, Germany and other Continental countries. In the fulness of time India, Argentina, and Australia pressed to the front, contending with us for wealth and power, pouring their grain upon manufacturing Europe to our commercial undoing. Argentina, among the youngest and most vigorous of our opponents in the grain markets of the world, has become bank-

rupt in the struggle, and to meet interest on her debt must sell her products at a loss, if necessary, to meet the exactions of her taskmasters. Under the stress of this necessity her pauper labor groans and agonizes, and our freemen suffer with their fellow-men of the antipodes. But, destructive to the agricultural interests of the United States as has been the competition of the foreign countries named, a more powerful and a more dangerous opponent for us is pushing to the front, and we must prepare to meet this competition or be relegated to the rear.

The vast empire of Siberia is now girdled by a government railroad from the Ural Mountains to the Amoor River, and before 1905 that railroad will be completed to the Pacific Ocean. But more important to us is the fact that a government railroad is now building to connect that Siberian railroad at Perm in Russia with the Dwina River, giving access to Archangel on the White Sea for the wheat from Western and Central Siberia. The country thus open to northern Europe, and especially to Great Britain and Germany, is similar to the Dakotas and Minnesota both in soil and climate. The short distance from Archangel to London and to Bremen and Hamburg renders this threatened competition of prime interest to us.

Thirty years ago the writer assisted in surveying one of our pioneer trans-continental railroads from Kansas City, then a frontier town, through Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona to California, investigating routes to San Diego, Los Angeles, and across the Sierra Nevada Mountains at Tehachapi Pass, thence through Tulare and San Joaquin valleys to San Francisco. Much of the territory traversed by those exploring parties never until then had been trod by white men. Having crossed the continent, the western half of which was then a virgin world, the writer had not the faintest conception of the mighty changes the construction of the Pacific railroads would cause, not only in our own growth and commerce, but in the commercial relations of the entire world, nor, it is believed, did others forecast the future greatness of our nation. But in the light of the history of the last thirty years we can foresee how far reaching and equally astounding will be the revolution in the commerce of the world caused by the opening of Siberia by railroad, resulting undoubtedly in Russian control of the trade of the Chinese Empire.

The course of commerce in the ages past marked the limits of empire. Caravans for centuries traversed the gardens of well-watered valleys and sterile wastes lying between China and India in the Orient, and Phœnicia, Egypt, Rome and Carthage, the then Occident. That commerce created the mighty cities of Babylonia, of Assyria, of Persia and of Syria.

The opening of the commercial route by water between the East and Western Europe, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, gave the death blow to the trade of Venice and other cities on the Mediterranean Sea, and Poverty spread her tattered mantle over the wealthy and voluptuous Republics of Italy. The opening of that water route by the hardy and fearless seamen of Portugal transferred for a brief period to that nation the seat of wealth and commercial empire. The military disasters of Portugal enabled the Dutch to seize the trade of the Orient, and for years the wealth of the Far East flowed in upon Holland, making that the most opulent of nations. The passing of William and Mary from the Netherlands to Great Britain carried the heirship of the mastery of the commercial world to the British Islands, where it still remains.

Great as have been the changes in modern times in the commercial domination of the world by various nations, this generation has seen mightier changes in the channels of commerce than centuries witnessed in the ages past, but greater and swifter changes perhaps may be seen by living men. The Suez Canal was built notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Great Britain, restoring the flood of commerce to the channels opened by the kingly Egyptian Pammetichus, thousands of years ago. Again the waves of the Mediterranean Sea lave the argosies, carrying the wealth of "Ind and far Cathay." The cities of Britain and of Southern France, peopled by virile nations, are clothing themselves in purple and fine linen, the trophies of that traffic. Perhaps again wealth and luxury, pomp and power, may crowd and beautify the ancient cities of Italy as in their regal days.

The Mediterranean Sea for thousands of years witnessed the ebb and flow of the commerce of the world, but the Pacific railroads opened a new world for supplying food for the nations. The trade of the mysterious and hoary East issuing from the dim ages ; the trade Alexander looted, yet did not check in its steady, indolent flow *westward,* has started for the first time in six thou-

sand years, on its *eastward* way to the new world. Will it continue on this new route ?

This is the question of the age; how shall we answer it ? What must we do to meet the efforts of Australia, of Argentina, and especially of Russia and Siberia to control the markets of the world ? What must we do to retain and increase the stream of commerce to our shores from Japan, from China, and from the musty, languorous, and jewelled East. That trade has goldened the sceptre and gemmed the crown of the rulers of the world for ages untold. It has flown westward since historic times, and will so continue unless we can force it eastward over our continent from Portland, from San Francisco, and from Los Angeles to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other Atlantic ports.

We are told we must build ship canals to meet the contending forces battling for the control of the commerce of the world. Canals for the work of the twentieth century ! The most important works of the character proposed are a ship canal through New York State from Albany to Buffalo; another along the route of the Chicago Drainage Canal to the Mississippi River, and a third the Nicaragua Canal.

In an article on "Cheap Transportation in the United States," published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for May, 1897, facts and figures are given clearly showing that traffic could be carried by railroad from Chicago to New York City at a total cost of $2\frac{75}{100}$ mills per ton mile, and that grain could be hauled from Chicago to New York Harbor for three cents per bushel, and that this cost would be less than by ship canal between the same points. Hence it is not necessary in this article to consider all details touching the New York State canal. There are, however, a few facts which should be explained, that the folly of depending in any way upon such a canal may be apparent.

It is not denied but is asserted that a ship canal, if built of the width and depth of the Baltic Canal, whether by New York State or by the St. Lawrence River, would greatly benefit portions of the Northwest. But it is all important to know what portions of the Northwest would thus be benefited and what would be the result of building that canal to our nation at large. To determine this we must go to the foundation of the question at once. If Canada and the British Northwest belonged to us, and by their revenues aided in bearing the burdens imposed

upon us in maintaining our nationality, this question would be greatly simplified. From Manitoba to the Rocky Mountains lies the finest wheat country on our continent. That territory is nine hundred miles long by two hundred and fifty miles wide. It has few if any "bad lands," such as are in Dakota. Its soil is generally deep loam; its climate is severe in winter, as in Dakota and Minnesota, but the summers, though short, are very warm, insuring certain crops. More than one-third of that vast territory is arable, and when thoroughly developed would produce annually from 500,000,000 to 750,000,000 bushels of wheat, while the wheat crop of the entire United States does not now average more than 500,000,000 bushels annually. The Dominion government a few years ago expended thousands of dollars in transportation and supplies to aid settlers upon those lands. The serious decline in prices of all grains rendered it impossible for the Canadian Pacific Railroad to transport the crops from that territory to market at a rate which would leave income sufficient to support the producer. The result was the settlers who were able to leave deserted the country. With a ship canal, however, which would permit the largest ocean steamers to go to and from the west end of Lake Superior, wheat could be grown in that vast region and be marketed in Europe at prices which would utterly destroy the wheat and corn markets of the United States; for nothing can be more evident than that if the British Northwest produce millions of bushels of wheat in excess of that now grown in the United States, the price of that cereal would fall and corn would accompany it in its downward course. But that wheat would not seek Duluth for market, much less would it seek Chicago. The Canadian Pacific Railroad would extend branches throughout that territory and control the carriage of the grain to water, and their water port would be Port Arthur. That grain would not seek New York City for a market, but would traverse the natural water route to Montreal, which would be the great financial centre controlling that commerce, destroying the grain export business of New York City.

When the writer was building the Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic Railway, the Dominion government began the construction of its ship canal around Sault Ste. Marie on its own territory. At that time, it was repeatedly stated, a principal reason for building that canal was to prepare for diverting the milling business

of the Northwest to the Dominion side of the Sault Ste. Marie. The vast power which could be developed at that point must be apparent. While our wheat supply comes from Dakota and Minnesota, Minneapolis can control that business. But the day a great ship canal is built from the ocean to the British Northwest will see the milling interests removed to the Canadian side of the river, destroying the Minneapolis milling business just as certainly as that of Rochester was destroyed by the development of our Western wheat fields.

When the British Northwest can raise and ship by canal 100,000,000 bushels of wheat, British capital will build the Georgian Bay Ship Canal, and every ton of traffic from the Lake Superior regions to the ocean will traverse British territory, leaving Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, and Buffalo hundreds of miles from the direct route to the ocean. The bulk of the traffic of the great Northwest will be carried on British vessels, manned by British seamen, and destined largely for British ports. The truth of this must be obvious, because it is well known that but one distinctively American steamship line is engaged in carrying the world's commerce between the United States and Europe, while a dozen such lines are operated by British, German, French, and other European companies. With free access for British vessels to our great lakes, American shipping would be drawn from those waters; the low wages paid seamen by Great Britain would drive our seamen from our inland seas; the shipbuilding industries at Detroit, Cleveland, and other lake cities would be seriously crippled or destroyed. But more disastrous than all these, the agriculturist in the United States would be hopelessly impoverished. Our Canadian neighbors are able diplomats and keen business men; they know precisely what they want, and hope and believe they can induce us to bear the cost of satisfying their wants. Thus far their waterway conventions at Toronto, Cleveland, and elsewhere have amply met their most sanguine wishes. But should we build that canal before the British Possessions become part of our territory we would perpetrate the monumental folly of all ages, a folly only exceeded by the Trojan's theft of the Grecian Horse.

The Chicago Drainage Canal is lauded by some enthusiasts as the initiative of our emancipation from all ills, commercial, financial, and industrial. The Drainage Canal certainly is a great work and its managers are worthy of praise for the ability dis-

played in its administration. We must note, however, that the Drainage Canal is not finished; it is still unfortunately in the probationary period of "estimates," the bane of all great and new enterprises. The man of experience knows that on a final settlement thousands of trifles are apt to swell the estimates to reprobated totals far in excess of all belief. Let us await the final completion of the Drainage Canal; let us see it used for a ship canal instead of for drainage purposes alone; let us see the navies of the world sailing down the Illinois River to St. Louis and returning in safety to Chicago, the centre of commercial activity at the heart of our continent. We then will know infinitely more about ship canal transportation than we are apt to learn from canal enthusiasts.

A few simple, perhaps homely, facts are suggested for the consideration of those not subject to the ship canal mania. The Father of Waters flows on to the ocean placidly, as for nameless centuries; his broad bosom cheerfully will bear the commerce of the world if it desires to seek his course. The Gulf of Mexico and the ocean offer boundless accommodations for the sails of every nation, and yet the traffic to and from the Central and Western States has its course upon the railroad thoroughfares connecting St. Louis and New York City. If the open waterway of the Mississippi River from St. Louis, which seldom is frozen and which is not impeded by locks, cannot attract the traffic *via* the ocean to New York City, can it be possible that traffic from the south and west of St. Louis will seek the Illinois River, with its dams and locks; will traverse the Drainage Canal, with its obstructions and odors; will go north three hundred miles to the Straits of Mackinaw and return to Detroit, thence to Buffalo, thence by canal, passing lock after lock, to Albany, thence down the Hudson River to New York City, frozen as this entire route is during four months of the year? It is worse than folly to propose canals as a means of relief to the Central, Western, and Southern States.

If the traffic of the Central States will not go by the Drainage Canal and thence by the Great Lakes, will the dream of other canal advocates be realized, that ocean steamers will be laden at the docks of Chicago, thence sail among the cornfields of Illinois to St. Louis, thence to New Orleans, then to Europe and the uttermost parts of the earth? No one familiar with the shifting

sandbars of the Mississippi River will heedlessly pledge the revenues of the United States to opening and maintaining a ship canal along the channel of that mighty river. That dream is utterly impracticable. All the revenues of our government would not accomplish it. Mr. Jay Gould, one of the ablest business men our country ever produced, made strenuous efforts to divert the business of the far West down the Mississippi River to New Orleans, and thence by ocean to New York and to Europe, and he abandoned the effort as hopeless. Before we succeed in diverting the traffic of the West down the Mississippi River, a greater than Mr. Gould must arise to shame his fruitless efforts.

Perhaps the most remarkable canal infatuation of history is that of certain of our citizens for building the Nicaragua Canal to enable the people of the United States to dominate the commercial world and, collaterally, to restore prosperity, wealth, and power to our nation. What interest have we in Nicaragua? Must we expatriate millions of our people to Central America that we may control the traffic of the world? Cannot we furnish support to our people within the borders of the United States and dominate commercial affairs? Has it come to pass that we, like other nations, not only are unable to furnish asylum to the oppressed of earth, but are unable to furnish support to our sons? If so, surely our glory has departed. We desire the trade of Peru and Chile, but this we can secure and yet not endanger the control of the trade of the Orient now seeking our shores. That commerce created empires; the loss of it destroyed them.

If we build the Nicaragua Canal the commerce of Japan, of China, and of India would seek that channel and would be carried upon European vessels, by European seamen, for European benefit. Not a ton of that old world trade would pass the ports of Portland, of San Francisco, or of Los Angeles for our Atlantic coast or for Europe. The semi-tropical fruits of California would be crowded out of the markets by those from Nicaragua and other Central American countries adjacent to the pathway of the ocean vessels passing that canal. Our Pacific coast trade would be blighted and destroyed as was that of the cities of the Mediterranean when the world's commerce was diverted around Good Hope, and we would not have developed sufficiently in the commercial struggle of the world to leave even respectable ruins to posterity.

The struggle for commercial supremacy to-day lies between Great Britain, Germany, and Russia and the United States. Germany is to-day a greater factor in manufacturing than Great Britain, and this fact in a few years will be fully realized throughout the commercial world. The leading trade journals of England are complaining bitterly that German ironmasters are underselling their manufacturers to English railroad companies, and are even heatedly demanding *protection* from this outrage! Protection in England! Marvellous times are upon the world when this cry is raised there. Russia, with its vast resources in Siberia ready for development and furnishing food supplies to Germany, and Germany underselling Great Britain in her home markets, is the situation before us. If commercial treaties now existing between Russia and Germany continue close and satisfactory for twenty-five years men now living may see the British Empire so crippled commercially and financially as to change the entire political aspect of Europe. These facts must be patent to all close observers of commercial war.

We cannot open the Nicaragua Canal without becoming involved in the diplomatic quarrels, the growth of centuries, in Europe. Are we strong enough as a naval power to enter the lists, not only against Great Britain, but against Germany and Russia?

Can we dictate the policy of the Nicaragua Canal if we build it? Can we defend it against the world if our interests demand it? If not, we dare not build it? Our commercial salvation at this time demands that we stake our all on the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine. We must delay the opening of the Nicaragua Canal by every diplomatic device to the latest date possible. But when it is opened we must own and operate it solely for the purpose of forcing all traffic crossing the limits of the American continent into channels within the borders of the United States. To accomplish this result, we must make such improvements upon our great railroad system as would enable us to carry the world's commerce at vastly less cost than now governs, and in doing this we would increase the tonnage carried on our lines of transportation. This action is essential for our self-preservation, and must be had before Russia opens the Trans-Siberian Railroad and perfects its outlet to the White Sea.

The failure of the wheat crop throughout the world, other than the United States, in the years 1896 and 1897, has been one of the remarkable incidents of modern times. Time and opportunity thus have been given our nation to fortify itself against the mighty shock to our industrial, commercial, and financial stability certain to fall upon us if there are bounteous wheat crops in Russia, Siberia, India, Argentina, and Australia in 1898.

The building of our Pacific railways was the work of giants. But the boundless advantages flowing from the opening of these highways across our continent must not satisfy our ambition nor paralyze our energy. Continued activity is essential if we are to advance in wealth and power. We must perfect a short, low-grade railroad from Chicago to New York Harbor upon which the agricultural product of the far West can be carried at a cost so low that we can deliver our breadstuffs in Europe at a price no other nation can meet. It is entirely practicable for our trunk lines by united action to assure the completion of such a thoroughfare and at a trifling cost, measured by the advantages which would accrue to the commerce of the United States, and collaterally as well to the railways. Measures must be taken to create a new era of commercial activity from the Mississippi River to the Pacific coast. The building of the pioneer Pacific railways, opening the vast resources of our country in the western half of our continent, stimulated industrial activity in every portion of the United States from Maine to Lake Superior and the Gulf. The reduction of cost of transportation from the Missouri River to San Francisco inaugurated in 1868 by opening our Pacific railways was primarily the cause of our stupendous growth in population, wealth, and power. We again can start a revival of business activity by like methods. Let our statesmen and business men emulate the wisdom, fearlessness, and energy of those remarkable men who inaugurated and carried to successful completion the building of the Pacific railways.

No greater mistake under existing industrial and commercial conditions could be made by the government than to take possession of the Pacific railways, merely for the purpose of enabling the state to realize its claims, by selling those properties to the highest bidders. The close of the century should be marked by the adoption of a broad and wise policy in adjusting the Pacific railway questions. Those railways should be owned abso-

lutely by the people. Heretofore, the government has been merely a creditor of the Pacific railway corporations, powerless to direct the policy of those great commercial thoroughfares. It is unquestionably true that to-day the majority of voters are averse to direct government operation of railroads. Nevertheless, there is a powerful, active, and growing minority bitterly opposed to the sale or cession of those railways to any private corporations, and should they be disposed of absolutely to private companies there would be a perpetual cause of complaint against capital throughout the West and South, which would grow in bitterness if our industrial condition does not decidedly and speedily improve. The wise course for all interests, doubtless, would be for the government to assume direct and absolute ownership of the Pacific railways and create by national legislation such operating companies, as may be found judicious, to administer the affairs of those properties. The objections to government operation of railroads would thus be avoided, and yet every practical advantage possible to the people would be assured by the creation of private operating companies, acting solely as agents of the State under stringent agreement, the violation of any portion of which could be checked instantly by the heavy hand of the government, vested with autocratic power to direct the management of those roads within the lines and limitations of the charters granted. This method of operating the Pacific railways would be advisable even in the interests of private capital, for unless measures are taken to prevent the continuous and disastrous shrinkage of accrued values in the United States the distress among the people will increase, and demands will be made for the practical confiscation of railroads in the erroneous belief that such desperate measures would relieve the pressure of hard times.

For a quarter of a century the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific railways have been operated on a radically antagonistic basis. If reorganized independently, that suicidal policy would be continued indefinitely by these companies. If united as one through line, the interests of the entire United States would be served, and that this should be done is absolutely essential for the welfare of the railroads as well as of the people.

If the Pacific railways are owned by the government and are operated by private corporations under the control of the State,

it would soon be made clear to the majority of the voters that our great railroad properties are operated economically, judiciously, and legitimately by our private citizens. That fact demonstrated, the demagogic cry for confiscation of private railroads for public use would cease. Then private capital would be safe, and with safety would come confidence, and with confidence enlarged and active use of money in the development of our unlimited resources. Then would dawn a new era of prosperity to bless our country.

It must be evident the future development of the United States is largely dependent upon the improvement of our railroad system. In the East, such improvement would enable us to control the food supply of the world, as we could reduce the cost of carriage on wheat and corn from Chicago to New York at least eight or nine cents per bushel. With that reduction we could undersell Russia in Europe even on the grain exported by the White Sea, and the Dakota and Minnesota wheat growers would flourish as they have not for a decade, while the Dominion Northwest would still linger in Cimmerian darkness.

The Pacific railways under government ownership could be greatly improved in gradients and alignment to meet the necessities of the times. These results could be attained at relatively trifling outlay of money, and when these traffic avenues were thus improved and freely open to the use of all the granger and trunk line railroads, gradually but surely the flood of commerce would traverse their tracks. This would stimulate the Oriental business across our continent, and the revival of business throughout California would cause the growth of the entire Pacific Coast to surpass that of any period of our history! As the trans-continental tonnage increased, the freight charges on lines between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast would be decreased gradually to the same level as governs east of St. Louis and Chicago, repeating the known history of the growth and development of the trunk line railroads during the past twenty years.

Those who advocate the building of the Nicaragua Canal as a commercial enterprise for the people of the United States certainly cannot realize what that implies. It is well known that half of the wealth and industrial and commercial activity in the United States lies in a territory five hundred miles wide, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with the centre line of that

territory extending in a straight line from New York City to San Francisco, Chicago being the commercial centre of that territory. Good judgment should teach us to serve the interests of the 70,000,000 of our citizens within the United States. This can be accomplished only by ceaseless efforts to develop the traffic avenues where our industrial and commercial establishments are now in full activity, insuring the stream of commerce through the heart of our continent where our people dwell and where our wealth and interests lie. Any other course commercially would be suicidal.

If we have ordinary business acumen we will endeavor to render available and remunerative the $200,000,000 invested in the Pacific railways between San Francisco and Omaha and Kansas City. To invest another $100,000,000 and more likely $150,000,000 in the Nicaragua Canal would render it utterly impossible for us to earn income on the money the government and our citizens now have invested in the trans-continental railroads from the Missouri River to the Pacific. Instead of spending $100,000,000 to $150,000,000 opening an artificial waterway thousands of miles from our people and our property, which the combined navies of Europe could dominate, it would be wise to spend $100,000,000 on our navy and in erecting military defences for our great cities, thus insuring our national safety; and then to construct such additions and improvements to our system of trans-continental railroads as would enable us to carry the commerce reaching our Pacific Coast cities from the Orient, through the heart of the United States to New York City and thence to Europe, at no greater cost than the same traffic could be transported from the Orient to Nicaragua, thence through the canal, paying tolls on that costly work, and thence to Europe.

The 80,000,000 population of France, Italy, and Spain are largely supported by income received from the United States for products which can be raised successfully in California. If the lands in that State were fully irrigated and under cultivation, California could support 20,000,000 population, while to-day it has but 1,500,000. Three-quarters of the wines now made in California are comparatively worthless, but one-quarter is far superior to much of the so-called wine imported from Europe, demonstrating that the soil and climate of certain portions of the State are peculiarly adapted for producing the finest quality of

pure grape wine, infinitely preferable to and cheaper than the drugs imported from Europe. Oranges, lemons, prunes, raisins, and other like products can be raised to perfection and in profusion in California. Sugar can be manufactured in that State in sufficient quantity to supply the United States and of a quality equal if not superior to that imported from Germany. It is primarily a question of cost of inland railroad transportation whether the products of our own soil shall supply the people of Maine, New England, and the Central States with these articles, replacing those imported from Europe. With cheap railroad transportation from the Pacific Coast we could retain within our borders millions of gold now annually exported to foreign countries. If California is ever to become a great, populous, and wealthy State, it must be by means of cheap access by rail to the 70,000,000 Americans east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. A dozen Nicaraguan canals would not people the Golden State or develop its resources.

The trans-continental railroads have already been of incalculable advantage to the Pacific Coast. If these railroads are improved by cutting down the grades and straightening the alignment, and if the most perfect modern appliances for carrying traffic at low cost be introduced on those thoroughfares, not only would infinitely greater advantages result to the Pacific slope, but these benefits would extend to every portion of our country. With perfect transportation facilities by rail we could carry wheat from the interior States to San Francisco and Puget Sound ports and deliver millions of bushels of wheat in China. But this will be possible only by waging a constant and relentless commercial war against Russia, which will, in a very few years, be pouring its Siberian wheat into China over its Chinese branch, that certainly will be completed within five or six years.

The Central Pacific Railway has a grade extending 120 feet per mile, crossing the Sierra Nevada Mountains eastward. That grade could be reduced to 75 feet per mile for a trifling expenditure, measured by the advantages to accrue in cheapening cost of transportation across our continent. Other improvements could be inaugurated on that railway which, in five years after perfecting the same and the opening of its tracks to the free use of all the granger and trunk line railroads, would reduce the cost of transportation between San Francisco and Ogden to a maxi-

mum of five mills per ton mile, and through tonnage from Asia and from California, when made up in full trainloads, could be hauled to Chicago at $1\frac{75}{100}$ mills per ton mile. The Union Pacific Railway has needlessly heavy grades west of Cheyenne, yet coal for motive power can be secured so near its tracks, through Wyoming and Utah, that with the Central Pacific Railway open freely for its use, and of the trunk lines, it would be enabled to increase its tonnage, and therefore to reduce its operating expenses until that line also could certainly be operated for five mills and could carry through business in trainloads between San Francisco and Chicago at $1\frac{75}{100}$ mills. Like conditions would govern on the main lines of the granger roads between Chicago and Omaha. Through tonnage could be hauled in trainloads from Chicago to New York on a short, low-grade road for $1\frac{25}{100}$ mills, and that traffic could be carried from San Francisco to New York City, under the conditions described, for a total average cost of $1\frac{50}{100}$ mills. Details can be given clearly demonstrating the correctness of these statements.

If general traffic from the Orient and fruits and like products of California could be carried from San Francisco to Chicago and New York by railroad at a cost as low as would be charged on like commerce between the same points by the Nicaragua Canal, it must be evident there would be no pretext for building that canal. A few figures will demonstrate that our railroads could carry trans-continental commerce between San Francisco, and Chicago, and New York, at practically as low cost as could a canal, if the grades and alignments are improved on our railroads, as explained herein. The distances from San Francisco to Chicago and New York by the proposed low grade, short line railroad would be as follows:

San Francisco to Chicago	2,357 miles.
Chicago to New York	850 "
Total San Francisco to New York	3,207 miles.

The distances from San Francisco to Chicago and New York by the Nicaragua Canal route would be as follows:

San Francisco to New Orleans, about	4,250 miles.
New Orleans to Chicago, by railroad	923 "
Total distance from San Francisco to Chicago *via* New Orleans	5,173 miles.
San Francisco to New York direct, about	5,000 "

Oriental business by canal would require no transfers for Chicago, except at New Orleans, nor for New York City except for warehousing and again for loading on cars for inland distribution.

California business would require transfer at docks in San Francisco Harbor for canal, but would require no such transfer at San Francisco for shipment by rail direct to Chicago and New York City. That traffic would be already loaded on cars for distribution to consumers at eastern points.

The transfer charges at San Francisco would average at least twenty cents per ton each for loading and for unloading all tonnage passing docks and warehouses, making a total charge for transfers of forty cents per ton. Like charges would rule at New Orleans on all business carried by canal to the latter point destined to Chicago or for inland distribution. The port charges at New York are notably greater than at any port in the United States. But in order to make the best showing for canal traffic the charge for transfer at New York will be fixed at the common cost of forty cents per ton.

It is well known to railroad and commercial men that the earnings from through business of the Pennsylvania Railroad has never exceeded 10 per cent. of all its tonnage. Judging from this well-known commercial fact, the business to and from California would certainly be five or six times as great as that to and from the Orient, even when the interchange of commerce with India, China, and Japan should reach an enormous volume. Hence the importance of shaping our efforts to serve the growing business interests of the Pacific Coast States of California, Oregon, and Washington.

The cost for fuel on the Pacific would utterly preclude carrying commerce by the Nicaragua Canal at as low rates as between New York and Liverpool. Nevertheless, that the most favorable showing shall be made in case of canal traffic, the ocean charge by that canal will be fixed at $\frac{5}{10}\frac{5}{0}$ mill per ton per mile. The extra expense of navigation through the canal, together with tolls on cost of that waterway, certainly would equal, and for many years unquestionably would greatly exceed, the present charge on the Baltic Canal, simply because ten vessels now use the latter canal to one that would use the Nicaragua Canal if in operation to-day. But using the operations of the Baltic Canal

as a basis of measurement, the toll and extra cost of operation of the Nicaragua Canal would average one dollar per ton.

The charge on the railroad from New Orleans to Chicago will also be made the same as on the trans-continental line, although unquestionably the gross amount of tonnage on the North and South lines never would equal the East and West tonnage, and the amount of tonnage on any given line of railroad, other things being equal, usually regulates cost of operation.

With the explanations made, the relative cost of transportation from San Francisco to Chicago and New York City would be as follows:

On Oriental business from San Francisco to Chicago and New York:

Chicago Business *via* Ogden.	
Transfer at San Francisco	$0.40
2,357 miles rail haul, at $1\frac{75}{100}$ mills	4.12
Total cost per ton	$4.52

New York Business *via* Ogden.	
Transfer at San Francisco	$0.40
3,207 miles rail haul, at $1\frac{50}{100}$ mills	4 81
Total cost per ton	$5 21

Chicago Business *via* Nicaragua.	
4,250 miles to New Orleans, at $\frac{55}{100}$ mills	$2.45
Tolls and extra cost of operation through canal	1.00
Transfer at New Orleans	.40
Railroad transportation New Orleans to Chicago, 923 miles, at $1\frac{75}{100}$ mills	1.62
Total cost per ton	$5.47

New York Business *via* Nicaragua.	
5,000 miles to New York, at $\frac{55}{100}$ mills	$2.75
Tolls and extra cost of operation through canal	1.00
Transfer from vessel to cars ready for distribution	.40
Total cost per ton	$4.15

On California business from San Francisco to Chicago and New York:

Chicago Business *via* Ogden.	
2,357 miles railroad haul, at $1\frac{75}{100}$ mills	$4.12
Total cost per ton	$4.12

New York Business *via* Ogden.	
3,207 miles railroad haul, at $1\frac{52}{100}$ mills	$4.81
Total cost per ton	$4.81

Chicago Business *via* Nicaragua.	
Transfer at San Francisco	$0.40
4,250 miles to New Orleans, at $\frac{55}{100}$ mills	2.45
Tolls, etc	1.00
Transfer at New Orleans	0.40
Railway transportation, New Orleans to Chicago, 923 miles, at $1\frac{75}{100}$ mills	1.62
Total cost per ton	$5.87

New York Business *via* Nicaragua.	
Transfer at San Francisco	$0.40
5,000 miles to New York	2.75
Tolls, etc	1.00
Transfer at New York	.40
Total cost per ton	$4.55

It would require five days to transport through freight by fast express trains from San Francisco to Chicago, and seven days from San Francisco to New York. It would require at least

twenty days to transport that traffic by Nicaragua either to Chicago or New York. The interest charge on value of commodities transported via Nicaragua would in every case add greatly to the cost of canal carriage, compared with that by rail. Hence while cost of transportation from San Francisco to New York by canal would be less than by railroad, yet as the tonnage to Chicago, the great central distributing point of the United States, would be much greater than to New York, the average cost of carrying traffic from San Francisco to Eastern points would be much less by rail than by water. As the tonnage originating in California would even be many times greater than that seeking the United States from the Orient, it must be evident that it is especially important that we improve our trans-continental railways if we hope for commercial growth between our Pacific and Atlantic coasts. This is of first importance if the widely separated States of our Union, with antagonistic interests, are to be kept together by common purposes and common devotion to our flag.

Not 20 per cent. of our material resources are developed to-day. Those resources can be made available only by cheap inland railroad transportation. This fact is absolutely undeniable, and the people of the United States should ever have that fact in mind when they are asked to build canals in the antipodes. The perfecting of a great railroad thoroughfare from the Pacific Coast to the Missouri River, operated under the direct control of the United States government, is to-day an absolute necessity, if we are to inaugurate another period of development and prosperity in our country. With such a thoroughfare it would be possible to reduce cost of transportation, which would enable us to develop our resources and cause such a steady rush of population to Colorado, Utah, Nevada, California, and other far Western States, as would exceed that of the palmiest days of our nation. The local business created in that vast territory by active, energetic Americans, would surpass our wildest dreams. That business would mingle with the Oriental commerce we would attract to our ports, and could be carried across our continent at a cost enabling us to control the wealth of the world.

Either the United States or Russia and Siberia are destined within the next quarter of a century to be the industrial and commercial wonder of all ages of the world. If the United States are to seize the scepter of Commercial Empire, we must act

immediately. But that action must not be in the mistaken line of canal building, and emphatically not in Nicaragua.

It is impossible, in the light of history, to conceive of the merchant princes of Venice, when that republic was at the height of its power and glory, and in control of the commerce of the world, deliberately destroying their wealth, prestige, and power, and even their national life. For all know that would have been the result had the Venetians built, equipped, and manned vessels for the Portuguese to inaugurate and complete their explorations for opening the water route by Good Hope to India, China, and Japan. Can Americans perpetrate the stupendous folly of building and equipping the Nicaragua Canal for the commercial navies of Great Britain, Germany, France, and other European nations, insuring a diversion of the Old World commerce which will leave the United States hundreds of miles from the line of inter-continental commerce? If so, we will dig the grave of our own greatness, and throughout time "American" will be the synonym of all that is supremely foolish.

If, however, the policy of developing our system of railroads, by the use of every modern appliance for lessening cost of operation, be made the chief object of our efforts, we can in the near future deliver our breadstuffs and other commodities in Europe and Asia at prices enabling us to undersell the civilized world; we can cause the trade of China, of Japan, and of the ancient East to seek our shores and cross our continent, dropping on its way riches among our people. Thus can we create an empire rivalling in opulence and splendor the greatest the world has ever known.

J. A. LATCHA.

THE CHINAMAN IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

BY CHARLES FREDERICK HOLDER.

IT is the prevailing opinion that politics as a profession is unknown to the Chinese, but nothing could be farther from the truth. As a race they are astute politicians, and, singularly, one of the most active fields for the demonstration of their skill is found, not in China, but on the American continent and among the American people, where without a vote or even a desire for citizenship the Chinese political bosses succeed in defeating justice, retarding the passage of laws, and adding materially to the financial burden of the American citizen and tax payer. According to the last census there are in round numbers 106,000 Chinamen in America, but there is substantial reason to believe that this estimate is far below the actual number. Since the enactment of the restriction law of 1882, 48,000 Chinamen have returned to China, yet the census does not show the depletion, and, in all probability, twice that number have been smuggled into the country, many agencies for the purpose being operative along the Pacific coast and on the Canadian and Mexican frontiers.

The Chinese are not the simple and childlike folk generally supposed. As a nation they are impotent in the sense of physical courage, and are steeped in the accumulated ignorance of centuries of seclusion ; but, on the other hand, they have traits of cunning and diplomacy of a peculiar type. We have in this country a Chinese population of, in all probability, 130,000. The political significance of this compact body of aliens is not generally appreciated, but so complete is its organization, so thoroughly are its individual members controlled and dominated by its bosses, that the writer has no hesitation in saying that the political influence of this Chinese 130,000, or 106,000, according to the census, is more effective without the ballot than that of

the entire Afro-American contingent, amounting in 1890 to nearly twelve per cent. of the total population, or nearly 8,000,000 souls. This could be well illustrated by presenting the attempts of Afro-Americans, aided by philanthropic whites, to secure favorable legislation during the past two decades, reinforced by the divine rights of citizenship, with a corresponding presentation of the successful efforts of the Chinese in America in rendering inoperative laws and enactments which were offensive to their political code, or threatened to affect their business interests.

The Chinaman, with a few exceptions, does not vote, neither does he desire the rights of citizenship, yet he is free to compete with Americans in trade without the accompanying responsibilities. On the Pacific slope, where the Chinese mostly congregate, they are so serious a menace to labor that the successful white truck farmer is almost an unknown quantity. They have usurped the business, driven the white man out, and had it not been for the law restricting Chinese immigration they would either have driven the white labor from the coast and adjacent territory or have precipitated a race war of extermination. We persistently buy from China and send our bullion to the Orient, even the greater part of the savings of the Chinese being religiously transmitted to the region about Canton for investment. Our imports from China for the year 1892 amounted to $20,488,291, while they purchased from us coal, oil, and other commodities amounting to the very inconsiderable sum of about six million dollars. In one year we ship to China $34,000,000 more in coin and bullion than we receive from her. In short, China is, so far as our commercial relations at present are concerned, of little value to us, while the compact body of aliens find in this country a productive field for their peculiar enterprises, and during the past thirty years have firmly intrenched themselves, reaping a rich and remunerative harvest.

To protect these interests and their various ramifications, to insure laws favorable to them, to facilitate the removal of obstacles of all kinds and enable them to check offensive legislation, it has been necessary for the Chinaman, by proxy, to enter politics, and to-day, and for many years, he has operated against conflicting American interests a political machine so powerful and well equipped that, with a following of less than one hundred

thousand workers, active and dormant, it has, without the right or power of suffrage, been able to render inoperative the legislative acts of the great political parties representing the majority in this country and a nominal force of over 15,000,000 or 20,000,000 of voters.

Every question that has threatened to affect Chinese-American interests in this country during the past twenty years has been fought by a power more subtle than the ballot. The Chinaman with his peculiar ideas would consider it a waste of time to cast his individual vote against a threatening legal enactment. He divines a better method; he discovers a flaw in the bill and by the use of a powerful combination or machine fights it in the courts.

The internal workings of this political machine are but little known or understood. To the world it is the Six Companies, and is, apparently, an innocent and inoffensive institution, but the truth is that their many-headed tribunal is a perfectly organized political body, having its corps of workers who are graded from the astute statesman of the red button to the coolie thug or debased briber or go-between. As an illustration of how the game of Chinese politics is manipulated in America, the case of the Geary Act of 1892 may be cited. Long before the bill was presented to the House and Senate it was discussed in the star chamber of the Chinese companies in San Francisco, and the political machinery was in full play when our statesmen in Washington were endeavoring, in 1880, to obtain a new treaty with China.

When the act passed, the plan of operation of its Chinese opponents was so perfected that its effects were at once appreciable. The agents of the Six Companies were sent to every city in the East, especially to New England, to arouse a favorable sentiment among the religious societies. Educated Chinese political workers presented the side of the Chinaman to philanthropic societies all over the country, and the framers of the exclusion bill and its friends were amazed at the opposition which arose in the cultivated and educated portions of the East. Other agents visited every Chinese settlement in the country, explaining to the coolies that unless they rallied around the common cause they would all be deported. In this way over one dollar per capita was raised, or nearly $200,000, a sum which the Six Companies

held as a working capital or campaign fund to fight the common enemy, the American law.

That money was necessary was soon evident. The Companies issued an edict to the effect that its supporters must refuse to comply with the law which made registration mandatory, and the information was quietly circulated that the Companies would respond to the defence of all Chinamen who were arrested in carrying out its instructions. This simple notification by word of mouth through the political agents of the society effectually clogged the wheels of the governmental act for the time being, and cost this government an enormous sum, as nine-tenths of the Chinamen refused to register, relying upon the Six Companies to protect them, which it did, employing the best legal talent available. Every attempt was made to invalidate the enactment, and the spectacle was witnessed of American jurists employed by this Chinese political machine, fighting a law which meant virtual freedom to 100,000 coolie slaves, and a livelihood to the American farmer and laborer on the Pacific slope.

It would be interesting to follow the workings of this political body in its attacks against the efforts of the people through their representatives at Washington, a fight of 130,000 aliens against 64,000,000 Americans, and when it is known that the machine prevented unfavorable legislation for years, successfully fought the passage and operation of restrictory legislation for over a decade, putting the government to an expense that can only be represented by large sums, some conception of its resources and power can be realized. No political body in the United States ever fought a campaign with more diplomacy, more astuteness and with so little regard for the principles of honor which, at least in pretence, hold among civilized nations. But the Six Companies were not embarrassed either with the code of morals of Confucius or that of the powers of to-day; they looked upon honorable usage, the consideration of the rights of a case from the standpoint of morality, equity and justice as an element of weakness and simplicity in the American character, and fought the law with the weapons of the lowest political heeler. The law of exclusion was obstructed by the creation of a false sentiment by bribery, and finally we had the spectacle of the Six Companies fighting it in the Supreme Court, where they were defeated after a hard struggle.

But this did not discourage the leaders of the Chinese machine. They virtually defeated the intention of the law by issuing forged certificates in China, by which hordes of laborers gained entrance to the country. In 1884–1888 other enactments were made, but it may be said that this Chinese political machine so successfully opposed them that they were rendered almost wholly inoperative. In 1892 the Six Companies were confronted with an act which had for its primary object the identification of the Chinamen already here. Each Chinaman was obliged to have his photograph taken and to register. The agents of the Companies immediately raised a hue and cry, and scores of influential American papers took the ground (innocently), which the Six Companies promulgated, that such an act dishonored every Chinaman photographed, while quietly they informed the ignorant coolies that the camera was an infernal machine designed by the "American devils" to injure them.

In this and other ways they defeated the intention of this bill, and it is only by exerting the greatest care, and by the expenditure of a large amount annually, that the present law can be carried out and the Six Companies successfully fought. If the truth were known, there is little doubt but that the Six Companies are still importing cheap labor.

As a suggestion of how this can be accomplished with comparative ease, the writer some months ago landed from a yacht on the west coast of the island of San Clemente, about forty miles off the coast of Southern California. The landing was made with difficulty through the surf; in the little open bay was found a junk and behind the sand dunes a tent. As we approached, Chinamen, who had evidently been watching from the hills, ran toward the tent from every direction, and were apparently much disturbed by the presence of white men. They pretended to be abalone hunters, but it was suspected that it was an off-shore station of the Six Companies, and that the coolies had just been brought in from Mexico, about one hundred miles distant.

As a political organization thinly disguised under a commercial veneer, the Six Companies present an interesting spectacle, and something regarding their history may be germane to the subject. Ostensibly the organization is a human importing company, its business being to introduce coolie labor into the United States, and by controlling the coolies strengthen the other vast busi-

ness interests which they may have Originally the Six Companies were six agencies in six districts of Canton, who were engaged in promoting coolie immigration. About the year 1850 the business promised to grow to such proportions that the agencies were removed to San Francisco, where they took the name of the Six Companies, the individual names being the Hop Wo, the Yan Wo, the Kong Chow, Wing Yeong, Sam Yup and Yeong Wo. The Companies have agencies in all large cities in the East, and representatives in every country in the world where labor is in demand. They began by importing coolies on a system that soon made them very wealthy, so that the organization to-day, that has its headquarters in San Francisco, has resources at its control so vast that it is enabled to accomplish all that might be expected from a well-equipped monopoly. The Companies select the most highly educated men for their presidents, some of whom have been famous statesmen and shining lights in their own circles; men who are not embarrassed by the code of civilized methods, and who use all and any means to accomplish their ends. Their names are carefully withheld from the general public, while an air of mystery surrounds all the movements of the great organization.

The various Companies differ in size and power. Thus the Sam Yup is the largest, and by its means at least 75,000 coolies have been introduced into this country.

The Six Companies have been one of the greatest monopolies in the world. They have derived a vast income from their serfs, and established under the eyes of the people of this country almost as complete a system of slavery as that which existed here previous to the war between the North and the South. Their method of operation has been and is as follows. The wages of a Chinaman in Amoy are $5 a month, which is 10 per cent. above the average wages that prevail in China. This they contrast with the wages to be obtained in America, and, as a result, have in the past secured more emigrants than the Companies could handle. These coolies were promised transportation to America, employment, care when sick, legal advice, and a general superintendence. On their side they signed a paper binding them to pay back the money at a rate agreed upon, and 2½ per cent. of all money received by them during their stay in America. Under this arrangement the Six Companies have imported almost every Chinaman now in this country, and it being their salvation to

prevent their deportation and continue the importation explains the evolution of the original immigration company into a vast political and lobbying federation to fight American laws of to-day.

The Geary exclusion act was a blow struck at its life and income, and at once drew the fire of the combined Companies, as will every act devised by the American people conflicting with its interests. Whenever a measure comes up that is likely to affect the finances of the Chinese of this body, solemn-visaged Chinamen will be seen wending their way to 825 Dupont street, San Francisco, where they are admitted by the doorkeeper upon recognition. The room where American affairs of state are discussed and modes of attack determined upon is a large, oblong apartment with a polished floor, its walls and panels covered with rich silk hangings, large, handsome lanterns being suspended from the ceiling. Around the room are heavy teak-wood chairs inlaid with pearl and ivory, and at one end stands an altar-like arrangement, bearing tapers and rich ornaments, which might be considered a private shrine, but is the emblem or personification and signature of the Emperor, who is theoretically supposed to be present at all meetings. In the center of the room is a small mahogany table at which are seated the presidents, while around the room in the teak chairs sit the members of the Companies, who join in the discussion of the various questions brought up by the presidents.

The subject for discussion may be the election of a senator or representative, and the remarkable spectacle is seen of a voteless body of aliens deciding whether to support the candidate or oppose him. If he has incurred their displeasure by the advocacy of measures antagonistic to the interests of the Companies, a unanimous vote for opposition will be cast. On the books of the organization are the names of every Chinaman in America, and they are so systematized and the owners so completely dominated that a fund can be raised, if necessary—a sum that, in the terse and succinct language of a past figure in politics, is "placed where it will do the most good."

The methods by which this Chinese influence is made operative are ingenious. The go-between is always an American, and it would be extremely difficult to associate his work with the Six Companies, who remain discreetly in the background, the members never, in any way, appearing to have the slightest interest

in American politics. Skillfully do they dissemble, that even in San Francisco, which has been a prolific field for their work, the general public is not aware that Chinatown is a factor in almost every election. Judges who have decided against them, Congressional aspirants who are anti-Chinese, and all candidates who have aroused their enmity, are liable to feel the effects of this influence always in the direction of corruption.

To the stranger in San Francisco, Chinatown appears to be an isolated section of Canton, separate and distinct from the city on whose face it is a blemish; yet these ingenuous people of joss-houses and dragon are as well posted on American affairs as the Americans themselves, and no national committee-man of the great American parties is better equipped for immediate action along the line of defence than this hydra-headed organization which represents the Chinese.

The Six Companies are essentially secret societies, and in no civilized country to day is there a more influential organization in proportion to its size than that which discusses American affairs and boldly fights American laws on the shores of the Golden Gate.

CHARLES FREDERICK HOLDER.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR.

BY SIR WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL, LL.D., SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF "THE TIMES" (LONDON).

EARLY in February, 1861, I was asked by Mr. Delane, the editor of *The Times*, if I could make arrangements to proceed immediately to the United States to act as the special correspondent of that paper in observing the rupture between the Southern States and the rest of the Union, consequent upon the election of Mr. Lincoln and the advent of the Republicans to power. The letters of Mr. Bancroft Davis, *The Times'* correspondent at New York, were not in accord with the views of Printing House Square. He was an uncompromising Abolitionist; his correspondence was in direct antagonism to *The Times'* leaders. "The South," wrote Mr. Delane, "threatens to secede, but that has been held up as a menace for a long time, and the quarrel will be patched up; for the North cannot live without the South, and lives, indeed, a good deal on and by it," and so for four closely written pages of notepaper. I had many reasons for declining the mission. My wife was in delicate health, my children were growing up, and since 1854 I had been constantly in exile in the Crimea, Russia, India, and Italy. My life was at that time very pleasant. The Garrick Club then afforded the most agreeable society I could wish, for Thackeray, Dickens, Shirley Brooks, Millais, Trollope, Reade, and other delightful people less known to fame, as well as many of the soldiers I had met in the Crimea and India, were familiar friends there. But I was urged by the editor, to whom I was bound by a hundred good offices, to make a sacrifice and to put on harness once more for his sake. I felt I had few qualifications for the post. I was almost entirely ignorant of the nature of the crisis and of the issues at stake, though I had read *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, had attended aboli-

tion meetings at Stafford House, and read extracts from fiery speeches of Calhoun and other Southern orators in the London papers. I had a vague idea that the Southern States insisted on their right to break away from the Federal Union and set up on their own account if they liked, and that was all I knew. Mr. John Henry Dillon, an acquaintance of Mr. Mowbray Morris, the manager of *The Times*, and of Mr. Delane, to whom I was referred for further information, was an ardent partisan of the South. Mr. Dillon astounded me by arguments to prove that the authors of the Union had provided for its disintegration by the machinery of States Rights; and, finally, he confided to me, as a precious arsenal containing arms for the destruction of Abolitionists and Republicans, an immense volume of articles, neatly pasted in order, from the New York *Herald*.

I find in my diary under February 19, 1861: "After breakfast rode from Aldershot to Ascot, and called on Morris to talk over conditions, terms, etc. . . . Returned to town very uncertain and dined at Garrick, where I exposed the situation to Thackeray. He was most decided—'You must go. It will be a great opportunity! As to waiting till you understand the political questions, you will never do it here! You must go out and see them at work on the spot.' We drove out together to Onslow Square, he urging me all the time to go at once, promising letters, etc."

Before the week was over I resolved to go. Then came partings—farewell visits to boys at school, and to wife and children at Bath.

On Sunday, the 3d of March, I embarked at Queenstown in the Cunard steamer "Arabia." "March 6. There were not many passengers—several Americans, mostly Southerners; one, a Secretary of the United States Legation at St. Petersburg, had resigned and was going home to his State to help her; 'a Sovereign State before Heaven and on earth! She would go out—that was sure.' 'But can she do so unless the United States government has made a breach of contract with her?' 'That's what has been done, or will be, sir, by this time. The Rail Splitter has split up the Union.' 'Suppose South Carolina is attacked by some power, what would you do?' 'Defend ourselves, sir.' 'But if a native of South Carolina were exposed to some outrage in a foreign country, would you look to South

Carolina or to the Federal government for redress?' 'Federal government! No, sir! I would sooner be cut to pieces.'"

There was on board one very interesting personage who attracted my attention—tall, thin, erect, with a glittering black eye, and fine Quixotic face, full of resolution—a Colonel Garnett, of Virginia, who was returning from some remote corner of Europe to place his services at the disposal of his State, the most thorough-going pro-slavery man. "A Divine institution—an Abolitionist opposes the laws of God himself! There is no power I would not sooner see rule in my State than these—Yankees! I would die a hundred times to keep them out." (And he did die, for very early in the Civil War he fell in an engagement in Western Virginia with McClellan, which first brought the name of "the Young Napoleon of the North" into notice.)

On the evening of March 16, after a stormy passage, the "Arabia" arrived in New York, and I was installed that night in the Clarendon Hotel under the wing of my old friend Colonel Rowan, R. A. The proprietor, Mynheer Kerner, an old Hollander, had served under Wellington at Waterloo. Next day I was invited to see a parade of the Sixty-ninth New York Militia, and bidden to the St. Patrick's dinner. The regiment, a fine-looking body of men—all Irish, under Colonel Corcoran—wore green uniforms with yellow facings, green colors with a crownless harp. It was no harm to look at them, but unfortunately I made a speech at the dinner. For there never was an occasion on which one in my place should have more religiously remembered that silence is golden.

I dined next day at Mr. Butler Duncan's, the other guests including Mr. Tilden, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Barlow, Gov. Seymour, and Mr. Fish. The views expressed after dinner by some of the guests were astonishing to me. I had met on board the steamer ladies who were quite prepared to wipe up the New England States or to introduce martial law in the South; but here, men like Gov. Seymour asserted with conviction that the Washington government would not be justified in relieving Fort Sumter by force. Then it was argued that, though Fort Sumter was a national fortress, the State of South Carolina, having seceded, was entitled to starve out the garrison if they did not surrender. There was no power given to the government by the Constitution to prevent

secession. To me all these principles were absolutely novel, and the arguments incomprehensible. I began to wonder where the United States joined. An innocent question of mine, "What church does Mr. Lincoln belong to?" created surprise. No one knew for certain—the subject had never given them any concern.

But guides were soon vouchsafed to me, and my paths were illuminated by party lights which sometimes confused the way.

One night in the summer of 1860, I think, I was sitting alone in my study, when I heard a ring at the front door, and as it was past 10 o'clock, and I was not expecting visitors, I said to the servant, "Not at home." But the door was already open, and a voice I loved dearly cried: "Only five minutes, William; I have brought an American friend who desires above all things to see and know you!" It was Thackeray who spoke, and he was always welcome. Taking my hand and putting it into the palm of his companions, he said: "This is Mr. Sam Ward, of New York, nominally a citizen of the world—the rest you will find out for yourself." It was near 2 o'clock in the morning ere the visitors left.

Thackeray met Sam Ward somewhere abroad driving a coach and four on a pleasure tour. They foregathered when the former went over to lecture in the States; but "Uncle Sam" had not then achieved the success in London and in English society which he enjoyed some ten years later. Now he came to do me service in New York, and told me Thackeray had written to him about it. He took me first to a convivial society, called "The Lambs," a club like "The Fielding," a combination of the Beefsteak and Evans, very pleasant and very late, and introduced me to many friends. I had, however, work to do. New York would not serve as my headquarters. Visitors were upon me morning, day, and night. Seymour, Barlow, Olmsted, Dana, Raymond, Thurlow Weed, E. O'Flaherty (known as Stuart), Ducartier, editor of the *Courier des Etats Unis*, Sandford, and last, but certainly not least, Horace Greeley.

A tall, lean, care-worn old man, with wan face and unkempt grey hair tumbled anyway on his head, keen eyes and mobile lips, dressed in an ill-fitting seedy suit of black, a twisted neck cloth with the ends hanging anyhow over a crumpled shirt, called on

me early in the day at the Clarendon and plunged *in medias res* by asking me whether I had "grasped all the facts of the great victory achieved in Mr. Lincoln's election; that is, sir, if the President knows how to use it. There is the victory! What are the fruits of it to be?" I candidly confessed that I was like a man groping his way through a wood in the dark. "There is no darkness, sir! It is all light to those who open their eyes and wish to see." Then and there he bound me to come over and breakfast with him next morning. "I will let you see the light and know the truth! I shall have papers ready for you—you can give me a couple of hours, I suppose?" I kept my tryst, found my way to his room by the aid of his "help." Opening his door, I beheld piles of newspapers, books, and pamphlets on the chairs, on the floor, on the table at which he sat with proofs laid out, something like a shipwrecked mariner on a reef drying his clothes in the sun; but the confusion of the scene and the want of comfort in the look of the place and of the man were speedily forgotten. After a few words of courteous welcome, Horace Greeley proceeded to expound his doctrines concerning "chattel slavery," which, he was careful to remind me, had first been introduced by Englishmen into America. He spoke with earnestness which commanded attention, now and then reading a passage from a book or a pamphlet, occasionally digressing to heave rhetorical bricks against Mr. Buchanan and Southerners whose names I was not familiar with. An hour passed and still he went on. I was hungry, and heard no clink of cups and saucers. After another hour I looked at my watch. "Bear with me a little longer! I wish you to understand clearly the villainous machinations by which these scoundrels mastered the people, blinded them, destroyed their moral sense, degraded the Legislature, and corrupted the administration of the law," etc. For another hour and ten minutes I sat, and still the flood poured on. Mr. Greeley had forgotten all about breakfast. I had not. Besides, I had engagements to keep. As he was rising to the height of his great argument, with many apologies for the interruption, I said I must go. "But you will come back again? I have some more important matters to explain to you, and I was only just breaking ground." I never saw Horace Greeley again. I went to Washington next day. I was moved by his sincerity and enthusiasm. He made me understand John Brown.

"Arrived at Willard's Hotel, Washington, on the 26th March." In a maelstrom! Every room full, every corridor crowded and currents of nervous, anxious men flowing down and struggling up the staircases, groups on the landings, in the hall, the reading-room and barber's shop, the writing-room, on the hotel steps—these were the seekers after office—"the place hunters." "Two thousand five hundred patriots dined here, sir, a few days before you came! I guess you could not well equal that in your city," said the clerk at the office desk. "Every one wants a place and it must be found, or he'll know the reason why he's not in Abraham's bosom." The clerk was, as I discovered later, a gentleman "of Southern proclivities." I dined with Mr. Sandford, who was going out as Minister to Brussels, and was introduced to Mr. Truman Smith, a large, solid-headed citizen; Mr. Foster, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Keen, Mr. Anthony, Mr. Seward, and some others whose names I forget—a very interesting evening. Mr. Seward, in face and figure, put me in mind of Douglas Jerrold, when in a serious mood; small and meagre rather; with nervous face, fine brow, and head well thatched with snowy hair; subtle and quick—not a wit, but a *raconteur* given to talk at large. Mr. Anthony was the most pleasant of the company; Mr. Foster, who did not usurp much of our time, made a very agreeable impression; but other batteries generally were silenced by Mr. Seward, who was well worth listening to. Some one mentioned "an extra session." Mr. Seward said "No! No extra session! Neither the President nor I want it! Kings who call parliaments sometimes lose their heads." He treated secession lightly. "Why, I, and all my brothers and sisters seceded in early life. But we all returned home. So will the Southern States. The masses there are ignorant; they think they can rule the North first and the world after. The style of life there is that which prevailed in New York a hundred years ago." As to the Tariff, which Mr. Anthony and Mr. Foster did not like, he was certain there would be no inconvenience from it. "The rumor that orders had been given to evacuate Fort Sumter, was false—it belongs to the Union, not to South Carolina." One story, told rather late in the evening, was, I suppose, a little decorated. Mr. Seward, who had been received with great respect in Russia, came to England, and naturally desired to go to Court. He was

to be presented at the levee, by the United States Minister, as a Senator of the United States. He drove off to the palace, but he was stopped in the corridor by a gentleman in uniform, who said he could not pass. "Why so? Here are my cards and those of my Minister, who is to present me." "You are not properly dressed, sir." "I was in full evening dress, black dress coat, vest and trousers, and a white cravat, but it would not do. The gentleman explained that I must have knee breeches, shoes and stockings—that was absolutely necessary. An idea struck me. There was a nice old man about my size, the porter of the hotel I was staying at, who sat in a box in the hall, and off I drove. Immense success! The porter had a beautiful new pair of knee breeches, and black silk stockings, and dress shoes. A few dollars for the loan was all that was needed. I was speedily equipped and drove back to the palace. I was passed on to the room where the Minister was awaiting me, and finally had the pleasure of making my bow in the hotel porter's clothes to the Majesty of England!" Now all that is changed, and American citizens attend European courts in plain evening dress.

Next day I called on Mr. Seward and walked with him to the White House to be presented to President Lincoln. Many of the gentlemen I had seen at Willard's were in the ante-room. The hall porter, a burly old Irishman, was amusing them with social and political anecdotes of Daniel Webster. The porter had seen six or seven Presidents enter and leave the White House. "I am," said he, "the most ancient institution in Washington." Presently Mr. Seward, who had left me for a few minutes, returned. I followed him into a room, plainly but handsomely furnished, and thence into a smaller one, in the centre of which stood the President. I do not suppose that the appearance of any man, not even that of Prince Bismarck, is better known to the world; but I have never seen any likeness which conveyed the melancholy tender expression of Mr. Lincoln's eyes—soft, full, and bright—all the rest of the large-featured, dark skinned, deeply seamed face, almost morose in the cast of the square jaws, firm mouth and hollow cheek. Tall, over six feet certainly, loose limbed, with long arms and large flapping hands, dressed in a shining new black cloth suit, he balanced himself uneasily on his feet. As he took a step to meet me with outstretched hand, there

came a most pleasant expression and a kindly honest look into his eyes. "You are welcome." What a squeeze that was! My fingers tingled afterwards. But I was avenged at the first reception, when a many-handed monster—2,000 at least—had as many shakes out of the President's hand.

I cannot remember all he said. At the very moment when he was enforcing on my attention the fact that he was, above all things, bound to uphold the Constitution of the United States, Mr. Seward came in with two foreign gentlemen, one with a few orders, in evening dress—the Chevalier or Cavaliero Bertinatti, Minister of the King of Piedmont, the other his secretary. The former presented his letter of credence with a polite speech to which Mr. Lincoln made a prepared reply; when they had retired Mr. Lincoln expressed his satisfaction that a great English newspaper like *The Times* had taken such a just view of the crisis, as was presented in the letters of their New York correspondent.

In the evening I dined with Mr. Seward—only Miss Seward, her brother, Mr. Sandford and one other gentleman at table, secretary of the Brussels Legation.

As I was leaving, Mr. Seward said to me: "You are invited to dine with the President to-morrow. It is an occasion. It is his first dinner with his cabinet ministers, and you will meet them all—no one else but ourselves! When I called next day on Lord Lyons and excused myself from dining with him that evening at the Legation, because I was invited to the White House, he looked surprised. "That is a great honor they do you." All the same the honor rather troubled me, for the secession controversy was not intelligible to me, and to these keen practised politicians it would appear very presumptuous in me to write about them. I was uneasy. Sam Ward called in the morning. "You will find them ordinary people—good honest folk most of them. Chase is a remarkable man and worth talking to. He won't praise all his colleagues. Cameron is as 'cute as any Yankee alive or dead. Smith and Co. are just respectable people."

Senator Sumner, a large man with a fine presence and imposing manner, also favored me with a visit and talked a good deal about opinion in England. He broke out with an emphatic "Never!" when I spoke of the possibilities of armed conflict between the seceding States and the Government. "Never!

They are too crafty! Bullies! Braggarts! They would be assassins some of them if they dared—but fair fight, never!"

Dinner at the White House was at 5:30, and I went there about ten minutes before the time. The hall porter was surprised to see me. "Are you quite sure it's to-day?" he asked, when I showed him Mr. Seward's memorandum. "Well, let me take care of your hat and coat for you. The company wouldn't take them, but when the citizens come later on, I've known it hard to recover property if it's left outside."

A very earnest and animated conversation, in which men and measures, the infamous Democrats, the recognition of the cotton States, Buchanan's treasons, money, the tariff, Fort Sumter, the attitude of Europe, the coming of the Southern Commissioners, were discussed, lasted throughout dinner.

After the company left the table, the President beckoned to me and continued his conversation with Mr. Smith, the Home Secretary. "'And so you think I have done wrong in appointing Judge Brown, do you? Now do you know I am of opinion he's quite a fit man for the place, and he did me a good turn many a year ago. I will tell you what it was. I was marching along to ——— Court house with my books and no briefs in my bag, on a bad corduroy road, when the Judge overtakes me in his coach. 'Are you going to Court, Mr. Lincoln?' says he. 'I am, sir', says I. 'Then take a seat,' says he, and I did. He went on reading his book till presently the coach bumped against a snag, and the Judge and I knocked our heads together. 'Are you hurt, Mr. Lincoln?' says he. 'No, Judge,' says I, 'and I hope you're not either.'" In five minutes more there was a terrible shock and our skulls rattled like dried pumpkins. 'This has happened several times before you came in, Mr. Lincoln,' said the Judge, 'but there was only one head in the coach! What can it be?'" I looked out and saw the coachman had been dealing in the spirit line, and I intimated my belief to the Judge. He is a fiery man, you know, Smith, and so he shouts out, 'You are drunk, you scoundrel! How dare you! You are drunk!' The coachman turned his head—he was a countryman of yours, Mr. Russell—and says, with a wink, 'Judge! I am! You've hit it off! And begorra! It's the first rightful decision you've delivered this

twelvemonth.'" Under the cover of the laughter which followed the anecdote the President stalked off to talk to another Secretary.

In the seething caldron of Willard's Hotel there was no repose. Out of it there was not much either. I had one lucid interval; a day at the Smithsonian with Professor Henry and Professor Baird. The former treated slavery as a geological question; the latter connected it with climate and the Valley of the Mississippi. One day I breakfasted with Olmsted, an ardent enemy of slavery and author of *A Visit to the Southern States*, which was more powerful and convincing than *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Another morning I lunched with Mr. Corcoran, almost an avowed rebel to the Federal Government. I frequently dined at the Legation, where diplomatists were to be found—M. Stoeckl, the Russian, with a very charming American wife, M. Geoffroi, the French, and Tessara, the Spanish minister; Roost Van Limbourg (Holland), and the *personnel* of the Legation, Brodie, Jenner, Warre, Anderson. One day I spent with Mr. Seward at the State Department; dining with Senator Douglass, to meet Senator Chase, Mr. Smith, Minister of the Interior, Mr. Forsyth, one of the Southern, or as the abolition papers called them, "Rebel Commissioners," in the evening. The same evening I had a note from Mr. Seward to call upon him, and from 9 o'clock p. m. till 1.30 a. m., I sat and listened to a long despatch to Mr. Adams in London, instructing him to resist the recognition of the Confederate States to the very uttermost. It would constitute an interference in a domestic quarrel and be a *casus belli*. In arguing against recognition he was not to attack the South or its institutions or make any reference to slavery and he was to treat the tariff question as unimportant.

Events were crowding on each other, gathering momentum every day. To my eye they all tended to war. Mr. Seward quite approved of my resolve to visit the Southern States and to see things as they were there for myself.

Lord Lyons coincided in the opinion that it would be well if I could visit the South where they were all on fire, arming and drilling. On the last day of March, I visited the navy yard and spent some time going over it with Commodore Dahlgren, who was very proud of his huge soda-water-bottle guns, throwing 350 pounds hollow shot. He told me in confidence he was doing his best to provide a respectable force for blockading pur-

poses. "We can't do much that way at present." He spoke bitterly of the naval officers who had thrown up their commissions and gone over to the South. Lord Lyons, to whom I mentioned the point, remarked that he could not say it was proper that Southern officers imbued with States rights principles should secede with their States, but that it was natural. Senator Sumner, who was dining at the Legation, condemned them as "traitors." "They entered the service of the United States, not of any one State."

The most difficult of the politicians, of whom I met many every day, was Senator Douglass, not that he was ambiguous in speech, but that he was so subtle and overflowing. A small man with a large head and flashing eyes full of energy—"the Little Giant" as he was called. Just returned from a political tour, he was full of his theories—*totus in illis*—but he was an all-round man and one of the finest speakers in America. Hearing I was going to Mount Vernon, he exclaimed: "Visiting our Mecca! But how much greater than Mahomet was George Washington! The work he did is not to perish, sir, as long as the world lasts."

On April 11th I dined with General Scott. He was warming some bottles of claret—excellent it proved to be—when I arrived. Mr. Seward, Mr. Bates, and Colonel Cullum dropped in. As we sat down to dinner a regiment of U. S. Cavalry, the 6th, Colonel Emory, passed before our windows, then a military band took up a position in the street outside and played "Hail Columbia," "The Star Spangled Banner," and other patriotic airs.

The conversation was very interesting. The general told us how he had made the acquaintance of two members of the House of Lords. The State of Virginia, in 1812, had forbidden the supply of the British fleet in Chesapeake Bay with fresh meat and vegetables just before the war was declared. Scott, in command of a small body of State cavalry, pounced down one night on some country carts delivering the forbidden articles to a British man-of-war's launch. He took the crew prisoners before they could pull off, but the young officer in command made a vigorous resistance, and Scott, who had ridden into the water, had to seize him by the collar and force him out of the boat. He took his captives to Richmond, but instead of being praised he was severely censured and ordered to repair on board the flagship of the British Admiral to surrender

the prisoners and make an apology for exceeding his duty, which was to prevent the victualling of the fleet from the shore. When war was declared Scott was ordered to join the American forces which had invaded Canada. At the battle of Lundy's Lane he saw a young officer of the Guards standing with his back to a wall, badly wounded, and warding off the bayonets of some American soldiers, who were calling on him to surrender. "I will," said he, "to an officer; not to you!" He gave up his sword to Scott, who had his wound attended to, and looked after him till he was released at the end of the war. The prisoner was Lord Gifford, afterward the Marquis of Tweeddale. Scott, when he visited England many years afterward, renewed his acquaintance. One night, at dinner with his quondam captive, a gentleman regarded him intently, and at last said, "May I ask, sir, if you are the young Virginian who charged my boat and took me and the crew prisoners in 1812?" It was Lord Tweeddale's brother, Admiral Lord John Hay. General Scott told us he had frequent letters from the Marquis of Tweeddale about the operations of the United States army in case of actual hostilities with the South, and that his lordship particularly insisted on the importance of getting the command of the Mississippi, "a name," said the General, "which his lordship never could spell quite correctly."

Mr. Seward told me General Scott aimed at being a poet as well as a soldier, and in a letter to the *National Intelligencer* he quoted Paley and Shakespeare to show that President Buchanan should have fortified the United States ports, "but he was a grand old fellow in the field. He is the only General I know of whose orders of the day in the morning would serve in the afternoon as records of work done."

He was interrupted by an orderly with a despatch, which he read with evident emotion. It was from the President on Cabinet business. He handed the despatch to Mr. Seward, who looked inquiringly at General Scott, who only shook his head. Then the paper was passed on to Mr. Bates, who, starting as he read it, handed the document across to General Scott, who, on some remark from Mr. Seward, after reading it twice over, crumpled it up and threw it into the fire. It was, in effect, I believe, a despatch to the President to announce that the Charleston batteries were about to open fire on Fort Sumter if the United States officer, Major Anderson, did not surrender it, and that they had fired on a

vessel under the United States flag which tried to enter the harbor.

That night, as we were sitting in General Scott's modest room, the curtain was raised on the first scene of the grand drama of infinite anxiety, misery, and bloodshed, which was to endure for three long years, with all the world as spectators.

Next day Washington was in the wildest excitement. The newsboys were shouting out: "Bombardment of Fort Sumter!" The news was not true, but there was no doubt of the determination to open fire if the garrison did not surrender. That evening, April 12, I left the capital and arrived at Baltimore at 8 o'clock. There I heard that the Charleston batteries had actually opened fire on the Federal fort.

I had already made preparations for my journey South without any knowledge of the exceeding gravity of the issue to be decided by the action of the State authorities of South Carolina, and the news in the daily papers indicated that there was no time to be lost in setting out on my journey.

In that connection a curious circumstance occurred. A young fellow of insinuating manners and pleasing appearance waited on me one day, and asked if he might travel South with me as an artist to illustrate my journey. "But how do you know I am going South?" "I guess you are bound to do it." "*The Times* does not publish illustrations." "But other papers do." Then he told me he was an artist for an illustrated weekly paper of New York, and unguardedly I said that if I went South I would allow him to accompany me. "Only one favor more. It need not be mentioned that I am an artist for a particular paper, I hope?" "Certainly not," said I. So it was that when I entered the Confederate States I was shielding, *à mon insu*, the correspondent, as Mr. Davis was, of a strong abolition journal, for he followed and overtook me on the way to Charleston.

The news of the bombardment, to my utter astonishment, seemed to give the utmost satisfaction at the Eutaw House. Next day, at 4 p. m., I hurried on board the steamer for Norfolk, and arrived early next morning and put up at the Atlantic Hotel. "Yes, sir! Fort Sumter has surrendered! The Yankees are prisoners! Have a drink?" Telegram after telegram—a rush from every room as each was put up. There was one man in the coffee-room next morning, at breakfast. I sat at the same table

and exchanged some remarks with him, but he was not inclined to talk with a stranger about events of such import. It was only when I saw his portrait later on that I knew it was General Robert Lee!

The mere political turmoil I had left behind me at Washington had, in the course of a few hours, hardened before my eyes into the stern resistance of great States of the Union to the government of the United States by armed force, and the people around me were in a delirium of exultation at the success of the rebellious bombardment of a fortress under the national flag.

I had seen that Sabbath day the vessels of the United States Navy—the huge three-decker "Pennsylvania," the "Merrimac," the "Cumberland," and others lying placidly moored in the stream off the great range of building sheds and dockyard stores of the Gosport Navy Yard, and I had been confidentially informed that the river was so blocked seaward that the ships never could get away "to the d——d Yankees." There seemed not to be the least evidence or trace of power or authority on the part of the national government. The United States flag hung, indeed, from the flagstaffs of the men-of-war and on the public buildings and government stores of Portsmouth and Gosport, but I had seen a crowd of uncouth "citizens" on the quay pelting the crew of a man-of-war's boat with oyster shells, and I had heard them jeering at the "cussed old flag."

The faces of the people, white, black, and brown, beamed with joy. Bands of men and boys yelling "Bully for Charleston" made the night hideous. It was a saturnalia. What would the President do? How would the people of the North assert themselves? Was Fort Sumter a Bastile? Had the federal government gone down before a revolution like a Bourbon or an Orleans dynasty? At all events there was apparently a great drama opening in a grand theatre, and I was bound to see what I could of the play.

That night at the Atlantic Hotel made an indent on my memory never to be beaten out by the hammer of Sam Ward's "dreadful auctioneer," who counts the moments one by one, "going! gone! going! gone!" For the full conception of the business at hand came upon me quite suddenly.

With the dawn I was up and moving, and in good faith, the mosquitoes and less volatile but not less sanguinary insects in the

Atlantic Hotel had not given me leave to oversleep myself. I took the first ferryboat to Portsmouth, and was accommodated by Mr. Robinson, the superintendent, with a seat in the engine-car of a train on the Roanoke Railway. I have a vivid recollection of my journey through "the Dismal Swamp" over which the train made its way, miraculously upheld on creaking trestles, piled in tiers over black lakes, bordered by forests of cypress and pine, hung with strands of Spanish moss, the tops of which were below the line. Often my heart was in my mouth as I saw the whole fabric shake, heard its dreadful lamentations and gazed into the depths below. The country was "a remnant of the old world at its exit from the flood." We came out at last, passing an awful Slough of Despond, called Lake Drummond, on a miserable land. No more alligators or turtles were visible, but wretched looking people, exceeding pale and tall, "thin and ribbed like the sea sand," were gathered at the stations in riotous spirits. There were myriads of very frisky pigs everywhere, often on the line. "These pigs are very thin," said I to the engineer. "Don't *you* know that it takes three North Carolina hogs to make a shadow?" quoth he. That engineer was a rabid secessionist—also an ardent sportsman. He wanted to "draw a bead" on "Abe," Sumner, and the lot of them, and he imparted to me at intervals curious information about wild turkeys, deer, and bear, to which I paid indifferent attention, as I was anxious he should not neglect his driving. At Blackwater Station some thirty or forty men in various uniforms, fine fighting material to look at, the "Jeff Davis Guards," were going on to Glory and Richmond, and preparing for the journey by copious libations. And so on, though North Carolina had not seceded, there were militia or volunteers on the warpath at every station. "We're bound to go! Hurrah for Jeff Davis!"

At every station the crowds were all cheering—men, women, and children, black and white. Some were drunk, all noisy and jubilant. Many carried shotguns, old rifles, and revolvers. The men boarded the train and exchanged "news," mostly fabulous, with the passengers. They were going to take Forts Macon and Caswell, and "drive the Yankees to ——. That's sure!" But I was told by a fellow-traveller that those forts had no garrison in them.

At the first of the "wooding-up" halting places I saw my

first Confederate flag. Thenceforward for weeks I saw no other.

As the train progressed southwards the country and the people improved in appearance. The enthusiasm for "Jeff Davis" was unbounded, especially among the women, who waved Confederate flags from the log houses in the little villages.

At Goldsborough the insurrectionary furor was at its height. North Carolina was arraying her forces to seize the Federal forts on her coast—an armed mob, bands playing "Dixie's Land," followed by yelling crowds, filled the streets. Flags—"the Stars and Bars"—waved on all sides ; women held them aloft from windows and doorways, and threw garlands of flowers to the warriors. I was seriously advised at Griswold's Hotel, where the passengers dined, to go out and listen to an oration from a States Rights man ; but I was hungry and preferred to eat my dinner, which was carved and served by two black damsels, worth, I was informed, "a thousand dollars each."

I hope I am not wearying my reader with these details of a short railway journey, but it was through a country strange to me, filled with a population as possessed by revolutionary passion as the sections of the Parisian Jacobins—as the mobs of 1793, 1830, 1848. The end of the long day and evening was welcome in a vile shed at Wilmington Station. As I stepped out on the platform I saw lights gleaming and heard cheers and yells and the sound of drums and many voices in the town. I sent off a telegram to London by Mr. Davis, the artist I have mentioned. He came back pale and trembling ; he had been pounced upon by a Vigilance Committee, closely examined as to his business and mine, and finally told that they would not let the telegram go, but that they would call round and see me.

The great cities of the North were on fire. The challenge of the South had been taken up ! President Lincoln had issued a proclamation calling on the Governors of the States of the Union to furnish *pro rata* 75,000 volunteers to serve for three months "to suppress insurrection." The Western and New England and Northern States were in a blaze of angry determination to crush secession. *Alea jacta est.* But who is the Cæsar and where is the Rubicon ?

W. H. Russell.

(*To be Continued.*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE CONSUMERS' LABEL.

MR. STARR HOYT NICHOLS, in his article, "Another View of the Union Label,"* strikes a note which must appeal with force to those consumers who desire to aid in every effort which would tend to up-lift wage-earners, but who have not felt justified in endorsing the "Union Label"; for, unintentionally, he suggests how the advantages of the label may be secured without its disadvantages.

While it is true that "to support producers in fine style has never been the professed purpose of buyers," still there is a large contingent of the buying public that desire to buy only goods which have been made under wholesome conditions, and have been fairly paid for.

It is a fact that the mass of shoppers are selfish, are thoughtless, are eager only to obtain the greatest bargains at the least cost to themselves; yet there are many who recognize the fact that the lowest-priced goods are not always the cheapest in the end, and that disease or death is the real cost in many instances, not only to producers but to purchasers as well.

There are many conscientious, thoughtful people who would prefer to buy goods that bore some distinguishing mark as a guarantee that they were made under sanitary conditions, and that they did not represent the "sweated" toil of hard-pressed workers, who had been forced to accept starvation wages.

Among these conscientious buyers would naturally be classed the large number of shoppers who have joined The Consumers' League. This League was organized some seven years ago for the purpose of "ameliorating the condition of women and children in mercantile establishments." After the passage of the mercantile law its scope of work was extended and one of its present purposes is to endeavor to form a public opinion which will lead consumers to recognize their responsibilities for all the conditions under which goods are made as well as sold.†

The advocates of the Union Label claim that their method is the best way to advance the interests of consumers and producers. Mr. Nichols very justly contends, however, that the Union Label primarily stands for increasing the power of Trades Unions, and that, although the workers are required to belong to unions, and must not accept less than the established minimum wage, no test is required of the quality of the work, nor is the label a guarantee that it has been done outside of tenement houses.

* Published in the October number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

† Similar organizations have been formed in Philadelphia and Brooklyn, and are about to be formed in Boston, Baltimore, and Chicago.

What we need, therefore, is a label which will not arbitrarily exact that the workers should belong to labor organizations, but which would insure to the purchaser: 1st. Sanitary conditions in the production; 2d. A living wage to the producer; 3d. Good workmanship; 4th. The indorsement of the Factory Inspector; and 5th, the option of its use by all manufacturers who can prove that they fulfil the necessary conditions.

Such a label would be an advantage to the producer, to the buyer, to the merchant, and to the manufacturer. Moreover, this label could rightfully be called the "Consumers' Label" (to distinguish it from the "Union Label"), and, if adopted by the leading merchants of any one city, it would soon force its way into universal use. All merchants would have to adopt it, or lose their custom as soon as the purchasing public understood its nature.

In the commercial rivalry between the great cities of the country, the conditions under which merchandise is manufactured must, of necessity, command more and more attention, and may, indeed. prove a deciding factor in the struggle for business. Massachusetts claims to have no sweat-shop work done within her borders, owing to her stringent laws and the proper enforcement of them. Massachusetts' inspectors also have the authority to examine goods sent for sale from other States. Boston merchants have already shown a disposition to co-operate with consumers by ascertaining under what conditions goods are made. A well-known Philadelphia firm has advertised recently that the underwear sold over its counters was made in farmhouses "under pure, healthful conditions, and *not* in sweat-shops." This is a sign of the times, a sign that the public is being educated to demand how its garments are manufactured, just as it has been taught to demand how its meat is inspected and slaughtered, and under what conditions its bread is made in the bakeshops.

As a proof that the subject of sweat-shop goods is considered an important problem, and one that concerns the commerce of cities, let me state that a short time ago a letter was received by The Consumers' League from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Vienna, Austria, asking for a report of the League's work, and mentioning that the members had heard of the efforts of the League to induce merchants not to sell goods made in sweat-shops, and that this action against the sweating system was a most interesting one to the members of that body.

If the buyers of the Merchants' Association of New York pursue their policy of getting goods at the lowest prices possible, regardless of conditions of production, disease germs may be spread all over the country.

Mr. John Franey, Assistant State Factory Inspector, testified in 1896, before the Reinhard Committee, that there were between 5,000 and 6,000 sweat-shops in New York, and that it was impossible for the Factory Inspectors to visit all these places as often as they ought to be visited. In one year 4,200 sweat-shops were inspected, and of these about 1,200 were re-inspections. One hundred and sixty sweaters were arrested and fined in this county, and the sum of $2,400 in fines was paid.

Mr. Franey also stated that there are about 385 wholesale clothing manufacturers, and not more than about 15 make the clothing exclusively in their own shops. When contracts are made between contractors or "sweaters" and the employees or "sweated," no sanitary conditions are mentioned. In one instance, scarlet fever was found to have been in the rooms where clothing was being made. The Factory Inspector notified the Board of Health to fumigate, but had no power to seize the goods and have

them fumigated without delay. Before the Board of Health could attend to the matter, and in spite of precautionary measures being taken, the goods were sent out to the wholesale merchant and could not then be distinguished. I quote verbatim from some further testimony given by Mr. Franey:

Q. Mr. Mayer: As a matter of fact, one of the great dangers of the sweating system is that goods go out of the shops, or dwelling-houses where they are made and where there may be infectious diseases?

A. Mr Franey: Yes, sir, that is the great danger; that is the danger that the people at large suffer under the system; the dangers of the people employed, I think, are equal in the same direction, in addition to these other abuses which are in the system.

Q. But the general public is under that constant danger, namely, that goods go out of houses, or shops, where there are infectious diseases.

A. Yes, sir; that has hurt the business in the city of New York to some extent.

Q. What business?

A. The clothing business. At one time there was a good deal of alarm created through rumors of diseases, which hurt the manufacturers of clothing, and the business was transferred to other cities. I think it would be profitable for the manufacturers of clothing in this city to advertise that they do not have their goods made in anything but good wholesome buildings.

If the only stipulation be that goods must be procured at low prices, then manufacturers, in their keen competition to undersell their neighbors, will naturally crush down the wages of the workers, and make the present bad conditions even worse.

Of what use is it to "build up commerce" if the standard of living and the welfare of the wage-earners are not to be built up too?

The following is a list of some of the prices paid in New York at the present time for sweat-shop work:

Cambric dresses, waists, lined and trimmed, $1 20 a dozen; nightgowns, with embroidery and tucked yokes—thread furnished and embroidery cut out by maker—$1.00 a dozen; silk waists, 98 cents a dozen; women's wrappers, 49 cents a dozen; shirts, 30 cents a dozen; aprons, 22 cents a dozen; neckties, $1.25 a gross; knee-pants, 59 to 75 cents a dozen; vests, $1.00 to $3.00 a dozen; trousers, 12½ cents to 75 cents per pair; coats, 32 cents to $1.50 each; percentage off for Boss sweaters and deduction for cost of cartage.

These are not "living wages" under present conditions, they are *dying wages*, and the purchaser of such goods is responsible for them. It is a well-established economic fact that purchasers create what they purchase. Their desires create the economic demands. Therefore, when we purchase the product of sweat shops we help to maintain them.

The manager of one of New York's leading stores and two members of Boston firms have stated that they could ascertain a great deal about the conditions under which their goods are manufactured, if their customers showed any desire to obtain such information. Therefore, if buyers are conscientious and persistent, they will insist that merchants give to them a guarantee of the wholesomeness of the goods that they sell, and merchants will then insist that manufacturers provide them with such a guarantee.

Notwithstanding its name, consumers would not be responsible for the proposed label. It would be awarded by the Factory Inspector, and would serve as the crest of noble manufacturers, each of whom would zealously guard it, so that none who did not deserve it could use it.

The State provides factory inspectors who are instructed to look into the sanitary conditions under which goods are made. When inspectors find that goods are made in violation of the provisions of the factory act, they are required to place a tag on such goods, bearing the words "tenement made." These tags can be removed by the local board of health after the garments have been disinfected.

At present the State does not concern itself with the wages of producers, nor does it make any effort to procure good workmanship.

But the problem of "the living wage" will be solved only when work is no longer unskilled. It will be the duty of the State to demand a high standard of workmanship when it provides for the training of the workingman.

Where the experiment has been made it has been found that it is a more economical and better policy for the government to provide training schools for manual labor than to support prisons and workhouses.

Dr. H. H. Belfield, in a report to the United States Commission of Labor, stated that officers of manual training schools all over the country testify to the good effects of training upon the character. "It develops judgment, earnestness, readiness, independence, self-respect, enthusiasm, accuracy, steadiness, persistence. The will is disciplined, the mind is broadened and made more logical, with a tendency to original investigation, and habits of industry are formed. Above all, it teaches the nobility of labor and inculcates a love for it."

The State of New Jersey duplicates any sum under $5,000 per annum which may be given to found or maintain any manual training school.

In advancing the claims of the "Consumers' Label," I believe I have met all the objections summed up by Mr. Nichols against the "Union Label."

Mr Nichols may be right when he says that we must wait many years for a label in which "there would be no profit for any special class, no money for its promoters, no power for its advocates, but only general benevolence and fair play for all." All reforms take time and involve the education of the public and the growth of popular sentiment before they can be realized; but the time will come when consumers will recoguize their moral responsibility, and will no mcre purchase goods without feeling reasonably confident that they have been made under conditions which are beneficial to both the producer and the consumer, than they would now be willing to purchase goods which they know to be stolen.

It is a hopeful sign that institutions which stand for education and progress have evinced a deep interest in the work of The Consumers' League. Colleges, women's clubs, ethical societies and church associations have shown a spirit of sympathy and co-operation.

The public is being aroused from its lethargy, and when it is thoroughly awakened to its responsibilities, buyers will consider it quite as important to ask for wholesome goods as for cheap goods.

The labor organizations have done much for the cause of the workingman. They have raised the standard of living of the wage-earner, reduced the number of hours in the working day, secured legislation to limit child labor, and have corrected many other abuses and evils. These reforms without organized effort could never have been accomplished.

The entire economy of industrial labor has been uplifted, has received an impetus, has been endowed with a dignity, has had breathed into it a

spirit of hope and cheer as a result of the persistent and unwearying efforts of the intelligent workingmen who stand at the head of their federations.

It remains for conscientious consumers to assist unorganized labor, labor too weak and unskilled to organize and help itself, by guiding it out of the slough of despond and despair where the indifferent, the careless buyers have been content to leave it.

MAUD NATHAN.

NARCOTIC INEBRIETY IN AMERICA.

NARCOTIC inebriety in America is on the wane. In this fact—of which I have convincing proof—is the cause for profound gratulation to every well-wisher of his kind.

Before the advent of sub-cutaneous medication this disease was comparatively unknown. Prior to the sixth decade of this century opium was mainly used among the lower classes, who, from tradition or craving for stimulants peculiar to some people, made use of the crude drug, or its tincture. But, with the coming of the hypodermatic syringe, and the widespread popularity of this mode of treatment, coupled with ignorance of its seductive power and pernicious consequences, it took on a steady growth that, for more than forty years, involved a host of victims, and brought more of sorrow to soul and body than the world will ever know.

Soon after the advent of this remedial device came our war, which gave beyond question an immense impetus to the growth of this disease. What with the vast amount of suffering from wounds and illness incident to that four years' conflict, and its remote sequence of broken health, and, above all, a general failure to realize the risk of untoward effect from increasingly prevalent hypodermic morphia medication, little wonder that, sparing neither sex, state nor condition, it numbered its victims by hundreds of thousands, and became a grave menace to private and public weal.

In 1869 a new form of this toxic neurosis was added—chloralism. Early reports of the non-inebrial effect of this hypnotic, which is without a peer for certain purposes, were found fallacious, for chemical records soon presented many cases of chronic poisoning due to its over use.

Sixteen years later came cocaine, which, though a blessing along certain remedial lines, in time brought a bane, the ravages of which on brain and brawn, especially the former—for its fascinating seductiveness is unique, its destructive energy appalling—gave it indisputable rank as the greatest wrecker of mind and body known.

These three—morphine, chloral, cocaine, mainly morphine—are the triple factors in the great wave of narcotic inebriety that has rolled over this land the last forty years.

The point of greatest import in this paper is the fact that the ebb of the toxic tide has begun. Various causes have tended to this glad end. Concerning cocaine, the most potent has been an appreciation by the profession of the mistaken statements of some writers as to its specific value in certain ills and its non-noxious power in all, and a realization of the risk attending its incautious use. That the unwarranted assertions made by prominent physicians as to the harmlessness of this drug had much to do with the rise and growth of cocaine inebriety in this country is beyond question. The full measure of that harm can never be known, and we may well felicitate ourselves that this dreadful disease is, increasingly, a thing of the past.

Regarding chloral inebriety, the larger use of less snareful hypnotics—notably trional—has led, most of all, to its decline.

Respecting opium inebriety three causes have conduced to its lessened growth. First, morphine, as an anodyne, has been largely supplanted by codeine. which, while effective as a pain reliever, lacks almost wholly that subtle power which makes morphia so likely to enslave. Second, by the coal tar products, notably phenacetine, the value of which in this regard is beyond dispute; and by the use of electricity. Touching the latter, we wish to lay special stress on the galvanic current as a power against pain and to express a belief that it is not appreciated and made use of by medical men in general to an extent at all equal to what its merit deserves. Third, the use of morphine subcutaneously is much less common these later years. Syringes once ready are now rusty. The import of this change for the better will best be appreciated by realizing the fact that this mode of morphia medication is the most riskful as regards inebriety. "Facile but fatal" often may truly be said of it.

In this reform—much needed and most hopeful—the fathers of our fraternity have led. Out of their experience has been evolved an improvement along this line, to the furtherance of which junior members of the profession may well attend. The well being—present and future—of many is in their keeping. May they discharge that trust as will best conserve the interests confided to their care. J. B. MATTISON.

AN APPEAL TO WOMANHOOD.

THE world unconsciously loves and reverences womanhood. Why should this be so? Is it not because woman is indeed blessed when she can become a mother, and through the beauty of heaven-born laws be brought heart to heart with her Creator as she learns the mystery and the wonder of the gift of life? Oh, mothers! as you hold your little ones to your breast—those little lives which have taught you what life can be in the thrilling, overpowering might of its joy, would you not be shocked if the world called you cruel inflicters of agony, guilty of wanton thoughtlessness, and wicked destroyers of life?

Do not let us be too careful of words. The women of our country have a question to answer. Let them hear facts, and then let us pray that they will give their decision with true nobility of character and in womanliness of soul.

This is the message:

In one year 5,000,000 birds were slaughtered to bedeck women's bonnets, 1,000,000 bobolinks were bereft of life, 70,000 song birds' notes were stilled that their plumage might be used for millinery purposes.

If every woman could realize that a hat trimmed with aigrettes was ornamented at the expense of a little mother life, would she still wish their adornment? Aigrettes are obtained in the breeding season, when the mother bird—anxious to protect her young—will not hover far from the nest, and thus is an easy mark for the sportsman. Then when the proud, happy mother is gone, killed in the moment of her terror, the cries of the hungry baby birds are left for the echoes of the woods to soothe until death, at last, hushes them into stillness.

Women laugh in their thoughtlessness at sentiments akin to these, calling them the foolish exaggerations of one of nature's enthusiasts. They

cannot see the necessity of going without the wings and aigrettes which make their headgear more stylish and becoming. "What are a few among many?" they say. "These ornaments are in the shops. We did not kill the birds."

Pardon me: you are as much a murderer, at least, as the hunter sent at your demands to bring those bird lives for sacrifice to the altar of your love for fashion. You will wear the evidence of a cruelty, and smile and be merry under the burden of your guilt.

Words can go but a short way, can mean so little. I would that they could bring to the understanding of all those who read this magazine that the question which these facts present is no small matter, not the clamoring of a few alarmists, but a menacing evil, a terrible possibility which is threatening our land.

Our vegetation would suffer more than can be estimated from the countless number of destroying insects, were it not for the birds who consume them. Aside from this, what would it be without the little heralds of dawn, who have so much brightness in their hearts that they know the coming of light before it has fairly crept into the blue of the sky?

What would nature do if the sunshine of the world were not put to music in the trees? Think of a Spring without the love calls of the birds! Can we get along without our songsters in the land? Then how can we stop their destruction? Only by women, in one great body and in the love of humanity, standing up for the right; lifting their voices in one mighty chorus of determination against this awful devastation of life and song, this sacrifice of joyous existence to vain desire for ornament.

It is only by individuals resolving not to wear the evidences of bird destruction that an army can be raised to save the glad songsters' lives.

The shops are again this year displaying countless birds' wings and aigrettes for winter wear. Fashion magazines are once more informing their readers that bird ornaments will continue to be exceedingly fashionable.

Can humanity's pleadings be heard above fashion's clamor?

Let us trust that women will answer as becomes their womanhood.

EDITH ROBERTS.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCXCVI.

MARCH, 1898.

IS THE CONSTITUTION OUTWORN?

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL.D.

AN apology is always due from a foreigner who ventures to speak on national institutions. But the American Republic is a universal study, and the foreigner, if, compared with the citizen, he fails in knowledge, has some advantage in his point of view.

Americans generally seem to feel that this is an anxious time. Bryanism seems to have been an insurrection of all the elements of discontent against the American commonwealth. Bi-metallism was probably the least part of it. Its silverism was not a monetary theory, but a movement of socialistic redistribution, as any one who listened attentively to one of Mr. Bryan's lectures must have perceived. The socialistic element in it was directly subversive of the principle of self-help and freedom of acquisition on which American institutions are founded. It polled a formidably large vote. It is deemed likely to do the same in 1900, and in the meantime the case for the commonwealth is hardly being improved.

Nor was Bryanism the only revolt. Do not tell us that all the enthusiasm manifested by a wealthy class on the occasion of the Jubilee was pure worship of the negative virtues which alone can be displayed by the occupant of a constitutional throne. Before the Jubilee, had not the multimillionaires been buying

Copyright, 1898, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

aristocratic alliances for their daughters? Would they not gladly buy coronets for themselves? Do they not buy their way into the courts and aristocratic circles of Europe? Would they not prefer monarchy and aristocracy to the Republic?

"Surely," says Bacon, "every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator, and if time, of course, alter all things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end?" The time since the framing of the American Constitution has been full of rapid, various, and momentous change in the world at large and in the United States. The territory of the United States has extended over the continent, taken in Louisiana, taken in California, embraced new conditions, geographical, climatic, and commercial. Population has multiplied twenty-fold; its character has been profoundly modified. Instead of being British it has become largely foreign; instead of being wholly a community of freehold farmers and small merchants it has become largely a community of capitalists and wage-earners, part of the wage-earners being alien by race and political training; instead of being marked by a general equality of condition, it presents the dangerous contrast of multi-millionaires at the top of the social scale with masses of poverty and not a little of destitution at the other. Revolutionary movements such as socialism or anarchism—which is socialism in a state of frenzy—have spread to it from Europe. Sexual revolution and political feminism have invaded it from the same quarter. It has shared with Europe, though perhaps in a less degree, the disintegration of religious belief and the consequent withdrawal of the laws on which political and social as well as personal morality has hitherto largely reposed. A revolutionary writer paints American society as made up of two extremes—the luxurious passengers who sit at their ease on the top of the coach, and the miserable cattle who draw it. He is now read with sympathy. At the time when the Constitution was framed he would have been laughed to scorn.

The framers of the Constitution were too wise not to feel the truth of Bacon's maxim or to fancy that their work could last forever without change. They provided two modes of amendment; but the difficulty of either mode is so great as to amount practically to an impossibility, at least so long as party retains its

sway. State constitutions have been freely amended. But of the Federal Constitution there was no amendment for sixty years. The March day of Mr. Cleveland's inauguration was a day of snow, sleet, and rain, through which the hapless procession trudged for hours, while the new President stood reviewing it at some risk of catching his death. Everybody said that instead of being in March the inauguration ought to be in April, when the weather at Washington is fine. But so simple a change was deemed impossible because it would require an amendment of the Constitution in which the date is imbedded by the additional article of 1804, and the operation could hardly have been performed without making the difference of a month's Presidency between one party and the other. Momentous amendments were indeed made at the close of the Civil War, but these were the effects of an earthquake, of which they bear the trace. Stability is a virtue, reverence for the Constitution is salutary, especially when there are democratic forces and impulses to be controlled. But absolute immobility contravenes Bacon's warning, and is likely to lead to revolution in the end. There seems to be a great body of opinion in favor of lengthening the presidential term and abolishing the power of re-election. Yet no one thinks of proposing the amendment.

In one important respect the plan of the founders has distinctly failed, and the result has been as different as possible from their intentions. They meant the President to be elected, calmly and without disturbance of the commonwealth, by a small delegation of select citizens. They did not foresee that this election would become a mandate. The result is a monarchical election, something like that which once distracted Poland every four years, by manhood suffrage. Strong Presidents have no doubt exercised a salutary power as representatives of the national will apart from Congress and its factions. Something may be said in favor of the election as an education of the public mind, which on the question of silver it seems certainly to have been, though in general the atmosphere is so heated and the discussion is so factious that reason has little sway. Spectators have been impressed with the majestic sight of so many millions of citizens choosing their chief, albeit there is little of majesty in the operations of the "Boss" or in the means by which to a large extent votes are obtained. On the other hand, the Re-

public is thrown every four years into a struggle for the elective monarchy, with the vast patronage annexed to it, which entails not a little of the political and moral evil of a civil war. Commerce and industry are seriously disturbed. Dangerous questions are raised for the purposes of the election and all questions are brought to a dangerous head. The election of Lincoln precipitated the Civil War with its enormous waste of life and money, its havoc, its pension list, its carpet-bagging governments, and the present negro problem. The question, no doubt, was desperately difficult of solution. Yet it is hard to believe that had it not been precipitated by the presidential election statesmanship would have certainly failed to find a way. The presidential election of 1900 seems likely to bring on a crisis inferior in violence and danger only to that of 1861.

It can hardly be said that the present system is sure to put the best citizen at the head of the Republic. The conditions of availability, negative as well as positive, local as well as political, are so complicated that, in fact, there is not very much to choose between the chances of nomination and the chances of hereditary succession. Lincoln was the paragon. But Lincoln, after all, was a happy accident. He was nominated, not because it was foreseen that he would turn out as he did, but because he was the favorite son of Illinois, and the nominating convention was held at Chicago. The most distinguished man of the party, Seward, was passed over in his favor. If we can trust Mr. Morse's *Life of Lincoln*, a good deal, after all, was done by yelling. There cannot be said to be any assurance that even in a great crisis of the state a thoroughly second-rate availability will not be put at the head of the Republic.

There are complaints of the encroachment of Congress, particularly of the Senate, on the authority of the President. It would certainly seem that what was called the courtesy of the Senate, giving individual Senators a veto on appointments, was open to that imputation. It is hardly conceivable that the working of a hundred years should not have revealed practical defects or ambiguities in the distribution of powers against which the fathers, had they foreseen them, would have guarded.

It can scarcely be denied that the Senate, after so long being the sheet-anchor, has of late been losing public respect and confidence. Instead of being the conservative, it has now become

the revolutionary House, and in cold blood, without any of those paroxysms or pressures by which breaches of legislative morality are sometimes excused, has passed by a large majority a resolution in favor of paying the public creditor in base coin. This may be partly owing to sinister influence in elections, against which no constitutional forms nor anything but the public virtue of electors can effectually guard. The corruptible will be corrupted, frame your electoral system as you will. Representatives of selfish interests or anti-national machines may have found their way into the Senate Chamber by bad means and with bad designs. But a main source of the decadence evidently has been the admission of Territories to premature Statehood in the interest of party for the sake of their Senatorial votes. That a Territory still in frontier condition, little more in fact than a ranch or a mining camp, should have an equal representation in the Senate with New York or Pennsylvania is not only a startling anomaly but a grievous wrong. The political party by which those States were admitted has paid the penalty in the conversion of the Senators to their present opinions. This evil, however, is practically irremediable, since by the original compact no State can be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate without its own consent, which would of course be withheld. Nor does there seem to be any mode of divesting an abortive State like Nevada of its Statehood. The only conceivable way of escape from the dilemma is the subdivision of the larger States so as to give them more Senators, a remedy which might well be deemed worse than the disease. It is curious that while England, by the Reform Bill of 1832, got rid of her Cornish boroughs, the American Republic should be saddled with her Nevadas for ever.

Nothing in the Constitution, however, seems to preclude a modification of the powers of the Senate, such, for instance, as would lessen the liability to legislative deadlock.

The article of the Constitution placing beyond the reach of amendment the equal representation of States in the Senate seems to be the only relic of the Compact; in other words, of the federation proper. In all other respects the United States are now not a federation proper, but a nation with a federal structure. That question, raised by Nullification, and since more signally by Secession, has been decided by the sword.

Framers of elective institutions have thought too exclusively

of representation and too little of statesmanship. The framers of elective institutions for America certainly thought little of statesmanship when they limited the term of Congressmen to two years. It is not possible that a legislator should be formed in so short a time. Most of the members are probably taken from a class better versed in the working of party machinery than equipped with higher political information. A Congressman's time and attention are largely engrossed by the local affairs of his constituency. A Congressman could plead that he had answered four thousand letters, besides granting interviews without number. The term is still further abridged practically by the re-election of the incoming before the departure of the outgoing House, the outgoing House, though it continues to sit, being from that time morally defunct. The matter is made worse by the local restriction on elections, not imposed by the Constitution, but imposed by the people on themselves, which excludes the ablest and best of citizens from the service of the commonwealth if he happens to live in a hive of the other party. The meeting of Congress is regarded with dread, especially by commerce, and its departure is felt as a relief.

The great miscarriage of all, however, and the one which most urgently calls for a revision, if it be possible, of the Constitution, is the want of initiative and control in legislation and, still more palpably, in finance, arising from the exclusion of the responsible ministers of state from the assembly which makes the laws, regulates the expenditure, and imposes the taxes. The Fathers were evidently under the influence of Montesquieu, a superb writer but hardly a profound thinker, since he failed to read correctly that which was immediately under his eyes, taking the forms of the British constitution for the forces, and fancying that in England the executive, legislative, and judicial powers were in different hands, when, in reality, the prime minister and his cabinet not only form the executive and appoint the judiciary, but, having seats in Parliament, control legislation, financial and general. A sort of substitute for responsible leadership is no doubt found in the system of committees and in the employment of the Speaker as a party leader, little consonant as that function is to his proper office. But the inadequacy of the substitute is proclaimed by the state of legislation and still more lamentably by the state of expenditure and finance.

Whoever reads Mr. Bancroft's *History of the Constitution* must be struck by the total absence of any reference to party or the party system of government in the debates of the Convention. In the mind of Washington party was faction, a malady of which he hoped to get rid by combining the leaders of different factions in his council. Party is now the government of the United States, not only practically installed, but formally recognized by law. But the Constitution is not adapted to the working of party system, as is that of England, where the system originated, and where it moulded institutions to itself. A party in England has permanent and responsible leaders, looking forward to office even when they are not holding it, embodying the principles of the party and regulating its action. America has only Presidents, whose leadership of the party, if leaders they are, is, during their term, precarious and almost clandestine, while as soon as their term is over they are for ever laid aside. What there is of leadership is mainly done by "bosses," indifferent substitutes for such political chiefs as Chatham, Pitt, Canning, Grey, and Peel.

Party is an accident of English history, not inherent in the political organism of man. Over the political world generally, if it can be said ever to have been thoroughly inaugurated, it is now manifestly breaking up. It is breaking up even in England, its native seat, for there are now five sections at least in the British Parliament. In the United States it displays a singular and sinister tenacity of life. Its organizations, with their names, seem capable of surviving a total change of principle. The Democratic organization was disembowelled at Chicago; for nothing can be more anti-Jeffersonian than the socialism of Mr. Altgeld. Nevertheless, it lives and appears to be drawing back to it a part at least of its Jeffersonian following who invert their principles that they may preserve their organization. Parties have before now degenerated into mere Shibboleths without loss of members or of virulence; but such fidelity to a name as is shown by Jeffersonian Democrats who accept the Chicago platform history does not record. Still, even in the United States, party shows signs of dissolution. "Mugwumpery" is not a mere mutiny or a craze; it is a sane, and likely to prove a lasting, revolt of independent patriotism against the autocracy of the "boss." Besides "Mugwumpery" there are Populism, Silver-

ism, and Sectionalism of other kinds—stray sheep which it will be difficult to bring back to the orthodox party folds. Reductions of patronage, such as civil service reform, weaken the bond of party and the ascendency of the "boss."

If party is, as it appears to be, in its decadence, what is to succeed it as the motor of parliamentary government? That is the question for all statesmen at the present day. It is a question at once so momentous, and so far at present from any discernable solution, that we can understand, up to a certain point, adhesion to the party organizations, notwithstanding all their vices, as the only visible preservatives from a political chaos. In the meantime it is useless, as was said before, to kick and rail against the "boss." An organizer and manager the party machine must have. Leaders there cannot be while the President and his ministers are excluded from Congress. There is nothing for it but the "boss."

It is true the American system enables the President to call to the departments of state able administrators who are not orators or "bosses." On the other hand, the change of the administration every four years is fatal to continuity of policy. In England, though the foreign ministry changes hands, the ex-minister is still there to represent his own policy and to modify that of his successor. But in the United States the thread is completely broken. The treatment of the Canadian question is a striking instance in point.

The revolutionary character of Bryanism was marked by its attitude towards the Supreme Court, whose decision against the constitutionality of the income tax, it must be owned, had come at an unlucky time. It was hardly to be expected that the Supreme Court, being human, would entirely escape political influence. It did not escape political influence when Taney made it the instrument of the slave-owner, or when, by its decision in favor of legal-tender paper, it became the instrument of government necessity, real or imagined, arising from the Civil War. Lincoln did not think it wrong to say that he would take care to fill a vacancy in the Court with a man who was right-minded on the great political question of the day. The power of the Supreme Court may be deemed somewhat inordinate so long as for want of facility for constitutional amendment its judgments are practically irreversible, and, under the political influence of the hour,

may not only determine, but perhaps modify the Constitution. Interpretation is the sole province of the courts. To the national legislature it belongs to alter or determine the Constitution.

The Supreme Court has decided that, under the Constitution as it exists, the Federal government has the power of issuing inconvertible paper and making it legal tender. That no such power is expressly given to the Federal government by the Constitution, and, not being expressly given, is by the general principle withheld, was Mr. Bancroft's argument on the other side. The Fathers had just undergone an experience of the legal-tender system such that Tom Paine himself actually wished to make any proposal to return to it punishable with death. Legislation such as impairs the obligation of contracts, which the issue of legal-tender paper plainly does, is expressly forbidden, it is true, only to the States, not to the Federal government. But it is forbidden to the States in company with acts of attainder, *ex post facto* laws, and the grant of titles of nobility—things evil in themselves, the first two everywhere, the third in a republic; and things forbidden as evil in themselves are surely by implication renounced. At all events this is a point for reconsideration and settlement. Should such a movement as Bryanism ever succeed, there would be no saying what use might be made of the article which the judgment of the Supreme Court has grafted in the Constitution. In fact, inconvertible paper as a legal tender is only a step beyond payment in base coin for which the Senate has already voted.

In touching on the next point the writer cannot help showing the cloven hoof of a free-trader. Practice must be held to have determined that the Federal government has constitutional authority to levy taxes, not only for the purposes of revenue, but for that of protection. Yet we can hardly suppose that the Fathers foresaw the protectionist system, or that they would have sanctioned it if they had. Their experience of protectionism under British rule was not likely to incline them that way. Webster, in arguing, as in his better day he did, against the protective policy, could say with truth that it was not American. The original plea of infant industries needing to be fostered by monopoly has long since become a jest; the iron grasp of the gigantic infant is on your throat. Granting it to be possible that it might be expedient for the state to foster certain in-

dustries at the expense of the rest, there is, in a Republic at least, no impartial authority to decide which industries shall be fostered. In the absence of any such authority the practical result is a scramble of rival interests, in which that which has the strongest and the most unscrupulous lobby wins, and of which the political as well as the economical effects are disastrous to the state. Even if protectionism cannot be directly charged with the origination of measures, like the Pensions Arrears Act, for the purpose of baling out the surplus, it can certainly be charged with a general tendency to the encouragement of such expenditure as will prevent customs duties from being reduced. It breeds commercial antagonism, from which political antagonism may spring. It gave birth to Nullification; it had something, at least, to do with Secession. The only visible line of cleavage which, since the abolition of slavery, at all threatens the integrity of the Union is the commercial line drawn by the tariff between East and West. Mr. Reed is alarmed at the prospect of territorial extension, fearing that it may bring about disruption. But the Federal system is elastic enough to bear territorial extension even over the whole of this northern continent. It is far more elastic than the autocracy of Russia. That which, if anything, threatens disruption is the tariff. A power of Federal taxation limited, so far as customs duties were concerned, to an equal *ad valorem* duty on all imports, variable in amount with the necessities of the treasury, would involve no danger of this kind. The article in the Constitution dealing with the taxing power seems to require reconsideration in the light of experience.

Louisiana, following the example of two other States, is calling a convention to rescind, so far as she is concerned, the constitutional amendment enacting that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The policy of purchasing Louisiana, bringing with her, as she did, not only a great area of slavery, but tendencies, now manifesting themselves, to tropical extension, may some day afford a theme for the sceptical historian. The fifteenth amendment was framed by a party flushed by victory in a civil war and deprived of its sagacious head. That it has failed to solve the question of the races is too evident; but it seems better that it should be sub-

mitted, if possible, to constitutional revision, than that it should be unconstitutionally rescinded or impaired under some tricky form by any recalcitrant State.

The vital change made in the character of the population by the influx from Europe since the Constitution was framed, suggests the questions of the franchise and of naturalization. That of the franchise may be taken to be suspended till a distant future, when experience shall have fully revealed the effects of universal suffrage. That of naturalization is more practical, at all events so far as relates to the provision of safeguards surer than those which existed in the days of wholesale Irish naturalization at New York. Restriction of immigration is not likely to be very effective in diminishing political danger. As the native American shuns coarse labor, a supply of it must be imported, and is sure to bring with it illiteracy and a measure of lawlessness. The illiteracy may be cured in time by the schools, the lawlessness by a better police. More dangerous to national character than illiteracy or lawlessness are the tendencies of the Russian or Hungarian Jew, whom no educational test excludes.

If Cuba is annexed, it is not likely that it will be the last annexation. Other islands will probably follow her in time. As the population is likely to remain long unfit for self-government, it will be necessary to insert in the Constitution an article regulating the government of dependencies, and the article will need to be skillfully framed, since the government of dependencies is a task to which democracy has not yet shown itself adapted. If the government of dependencies is introduced, we may look for a change, not only in the enactments of the Constitution, but in its moral basis and in the political character of the people.

To all this and more that might be said to show that after a lapse of a changeful century the Constitution is in some respects outworn, it will probably be replied that revision is hopeless. Hopeless it undoubtedly must be so long as the party conflict continues to rage. Yet weak points, such for instance as the want of responsible control over finance, when distinctly seen, may in some measure be practically covered, and the edifice may be patched so as to stand, though it cannot be thoroughly repaired. Its soundness is apparently about to be tried by the stress of no ordinary storm.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

DO FOREIGN MISSIONS PAY?

BY THE REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK, D. D., PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

In the United States and Greater Britain there are to-day nearly one hundred foreign missionary societies in the Protestant churches, employing about nine thousand missionaries, and with an income of nearly eleven millions of dollars annually. At the first glance these figures seem to indicate a great amount of interest in the foreign missionary cause.

But when we examine the figures more closely and the world-wide field that they cover, they seem to be either too large or too small. If the idea of creating throughout the world a Christian civilization is altogether visionary and Quixotic, as many people believe, then the sum expended for this purpose is too large by nearly eleven millions of dollars. If the reports of the globe-trotters who, on the grand tour, go from treaty port to treaty port, chiefly making the acquaintance of the bar-rooms of the hotels with their assortment of choice and congenial spirits, are to be believed, then missions are indeed a failure, and those who give their dimes or dollars, as the frequent contribution box passes on its rounds, are the victims of a stupendous hoax.

Many of these gentlemen who thus make the acquaintance of the mission field, as seen through wreaths of tobacco smoke or through the bottom of a wineglass, do their utmost, doubtless in a purely philanthropic way, to warn the deluded missionary enthusiasts of Europe and America of the futility of their efforts, and some of our newspapers lend themselves with great alacrity to the furtherance of the benevolent efforts of these gentlemen.

But there is another side to this question which cannot altogether be seen from the coign of vantage obtained in the bar-room of the Hong Kong hotel or of the hostelries on the Yoko-

hama Bund. If this view of the case is the correct one, then the 9,000 men and women who are in the field are an entirely inadequate force to perform the work undertaken, and the $11,000,000 annually expended show an altogether trivial conception of the work to be accomplished. To attempt to civilize and Christianize the world, the whole wide world, India and Africa and China and Japan, with their countless millions of people, and the islands of the sea, and all the Mohammedan lands as well, with $11,000,000 a year, a sum which a "billion dollar Congress" would not think sufficient to run the government of our country for eleven days, a sum which would cut no figure at all in the annual clearing house statistics of many a large city, seems gross presumption from this standpoint, and can only be excused on the ground that Christianity believes in the modern multiplication of the four loaves and the two little fishes.

In part, I believe, the differing opinions in regard to the value of foreign missions arise from an inadequate conception of the wonderful impetus which has been given to the arts and sciences, to literature and knowledge of all kinds, to commerce and material advancement, by this century of missions.

To be sure, the question, "Do foreign missions pay?" will be regarded by the devout Christian who gives his money for the conversion and spiritual enlightenment of the heathen world as a question almost impious in its materialism, as though the value of missions could be decided by a *quid pro quo* of dollars and cents or the increment in the world's store of knowledge. But to a great many people the fact that missions do pay returns of a thousand per cent. in all things that count for the world's progress will add a new element of sanity to the appeals of the missionary, and make the persistent appearance of the contribution plate seem more reasonable and possibly less intrusive.

Two long journeys around the world, during each of which much time was spent among the missionaries of various Protestant denominations, visiting their schools, speaking in their churches, noting their methods of work and of administration, have convinced me beyond the possibility of cavil that, whether looked at from the highest or lowest standpoint, from the viewpoint of the spiritual or the material, foreign missions do pay a larger return on the money expended than any form of investment of which the world knows.

But assertions are easily made, and I will not ask my readers to take my opinion or accept any statement based on my observation alone lest they consider me as much prejudiced, from another standpoint, as the gentlemen of whom I have already spoken. The facts are easily attainable and our opinions need not rest upon the assertion, *pro* or *con*, of any traveller.

For a hundred years, roughly speaking, Protestant missionaries have been at work in non-Christian lands. What have they added to the world's stores of knowledge and enlightenment? What have they done for commerce and civilization? Have they added any nations to the ranks of civilized countries? These are fair questions and they can be fairly answered.

If it can be shown that the sum total of the world's knowledge has been increased, that natural science has been illuminated, that geography, philology, and archæology have gained vast new areas of knowledge through the missionaries; if it can be shown that commerce has been increased and been made possible in many lands where life and property have been made secure by the teachings of the missionaries; if it can be proved that education has been fostered in every land where the missionary has gone, it will not be too much to claim that foreign missions pay.

Consider the one science of geography alone. What royal geographical society has such a record in discovery and exploration as have the missionary societies of America and Great Britain? The two names of Livingstone and Moffat would never have appeared in the list of the world's great geographers were it not for the missionary impetus that sent them forth. Stanley and Baker and Chanler have gone to Africa to make brief journeys from coast to coast; Livingstone and Moffat and Stewart, and scores of others, have gone to Africa to live. Their explorations have not been matters of weeks or months, but of a lifetime, and they have often pioneered the way for men bent on purely scientific research.

The names of a few great missionaries are familiar to all the reading world, but it is not so well known that the contributions to geographical science by scores of unknown men have been scarcely less important. Who of my readers, for instance, knows the name of Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, and yet one of the most important contributions to the geography of Western Africa was made by him. "His book," says Dr. Laurie, "was written by

no transient visitor who could see only the surface of things, but by one who had spent more than eighteen years in the country, who had visited almost every important place along the coast, and made extensive excursions into the interior. He had reduced to writing two of the native languages and had more than ordinary facilities to become acquainted with the life of the people, their moral, social, civil, and religious condition as well as their peculiar ideas and customs. He gives an account of the ancient inhabitants of Africa, its principal divisions, ancient discoveries on the continent, its natural scenery, its rivers, mountains, seas, and climates; he narrates at length the Portuguese discoveries and dominion there, and the early enterprises of the English, French, and Dutch. Then he describes in detail Senegambia, the two great rivers that combine to form it, and its people, the Jalos, Mundinoes, and the Fullahs, the characteristics of each, and their relations to each other. So he goes over northern Guinea, comprising Sierra Leone, the grain coast, its different tribes, their peculiar customs, style of building, agriculture, social condition of the people, products of the country, their food, the domestic habits and dress of the women, the government, their deliberative assemblies, with specimens of their oratory, and so on."

Similar testimony might be borne to many another unheralded missionary. A large library might be formed consisting entirely of the additions made by Protestant missionaries to the world's knowledge of geography, ethnology, philology, and history.

In a paper read before the American Institute several years ago, Mr. G. M. Powell, of the Oriental Topographical Corps, gives this unqualified endorsement of this view: "Probably no source of knowledge in this department has been so vast, varied, and prolific as the investigations and contributions of missionaries. They have patiently collected and truthfully transmitted much exact and valuable geographical knowledge, and all without money and without price, though it would have cost millions to secure it in any other way. This, with their work as a civilizing and commerce-creating agency, is so much net gain, a parasitic growth on the tree of life they go to plant." Let us hope that this "parasitic growth" may not kill the tree of life, but may gain constant vigor and nourishment from the roots of the tree around which it twines.

Geography and philology have, with much force, been called missionary sciences.

Said the celebrated Professor Whitney: "I have a strong realization of the value of missionary labors to science. The American Oriental Society has been much dependent upon missionaries for its usefulness. There would hardly be occasion for this society at all but for them." While Professor Agassiz testified: "Few are aware how much we owe them both for their intelligent observation of facts and for their collecting of specimens. We must look to them not a little for aid in our efforts to advance future science."

The same qualities which have led the missionaries to contribute so largely to geographical science have made their contributions to geology and meteorology of inestimable value. They have not been professional geologists, but they have gone to the remote corners of the world, and have gone there to live. The phenomena of earth and air and sea have been forced upon their attention. The treasures of the coral have been disclosed to them in their journeys from island to island, the volcano has exploded its magnificent fireworks for them alone so far as white man's eyes were concerned, and cloud and hurricane have yielded up unguessed secrets to their observing eyes, for there were none others to behold them.

In the realm of archæology their contribution to the world's knowledge has been simply incalculable, and to give even a catalogue of the towns which they were first to explore and with whose location and ruins they have made the world familiar, would be of itself beyond the limits of this article.

Moreover, their contributions to the cabinets of the country, especially of our colleges, are exceedingly numerous and valuable. Their means, to be sure, have been small, but in diligence, painstaking care, and intelligence in selection they have during long lives spent in lands of peculiar interest to the archæologist greatly enriched the world's collection of ancient treasure.

In the science of medicine, if medicine can be called a science, while some valuable remedies should be ascribed to missionaries, their great work has been in disabusing the minds of whole nations and peoples on the power of charms and philters and superstitious knickknacks, and of displacing them with medicines of undoubted value.

The *materia medica* which many missionaries found in force in the country of their adoption was grotesque, almost beyond belief. In Arabia we are told the patella of a wolf hung from the neck is a cure for the mumps, and the written amulet is very efficacious, especially if *eaten* by the patient.

The great medical work of the Chinese, says Dr. Wells Williams in "The Middle Kingdom," is called Pun Tsau, and this wise volume declares that the pure white horse is the best for medicine, and that to eat the flesh of a black horse without wine causes death. The heart of a white horse, hog, cow, or hen, when dried and rasped into arrack, cures forgetfulness. The "night eyes" of a horse, that is the warts above the knees, enable him to see in the night, and also cure the toothache, while the ashes of a skull taken in water cure insomnia if the patient uses another skull for a pillow.

Here is a Chinese receipt for ulcer. Pulverized serpents, one ounce; wasps and their nests, half an ounce; centipedes, three ounces; scorpions, six, and toads, ten ounces; grind thoroughly, mix with honey, and make into pills. Even these pills are quite palatable compared with the cure for the itch, which, according to the Chinese, will be relieved by swallowing small toads alive.

It will be seen that the missionary with even a rudimentary idea of medicine has a very large field for the use of his limited knowledge, and many who do not profess to be medical missionaries, but have gone out to minister to the souls of men, have been the physicians of their bodies as well. When, however, we remember that one large branch of the missionary service is distinctly in the line of medicine and surgery, and that they seek admittance to the hearts and the homes of the people through the highest skill which our best medical schools can impart, we can see the vast contribution to the sum total of the world's health and well-being that missionaries have made.

I have been intensely interested and impressed by the medical missionary work that I have seen in many parts of the world. In Canton is a great hospital under the charge of the Presbyterian Missionary Society, in which are treated every year scores of thousands of the lame, the halt, and the blind, the sick, and the sore. Up the great Pearl River every year goes the medical missionary's houseboat, carrying health to thousands more.

In the famous heathen city of Madura, in Southern India,

where, perhaps, is the most extensive and wonderful Hindoo temple in the world, stands a new and beautiful hospital erected by the labors of Dr. Van Allen, one of the indefatigable missionaries of the American Board, and this fine hospital, with its light and airy and comfortably furnished wards, and its appliances for treating every case of medicine or surgery, was built, not by American money, but by contributions of the people to whom our missionaries have been sent. Every rupee of the more than forty thousand which it cost was contributed by men whose religion the missionaries had gone to overthrow. Yet so great is their faith in the missionary, in his self-sacrificing devotion, and in his skill as a physician, that this large sum has been given outright and in perpetuity to the American missionary society that sent out this beloved physician.

I have very often been touched in many remote districts to see the skill and loving tenderness with which these medical missionaries care for the unspeakably filthy and wretched patients who throng around their doors. The rheumy, festering eyes of these wretched mortals, the filthy rags with which they are clothed, their matted, vermin-infested hair, the running sores with which they are afflicted, all combine often to make them the most gruesome and repulsive of beings; and yet, with a gentleness and skill born of a genuine love for God and humanity, these medical missionaries in a foreign land, with no hope of gaining fortune or reputation, care for their poor diseased brothers in yellow or black, as the case may be, as though they were all kings' sons and daughters. Indeed, in their eyes these are the sons and daughters of the King of Kings, and this likeness which they have discovered and this sense of brotherhood which is theirs have sent them across the sea on this superlative mission of mercy. There is many a Doctor McClure on the mission field who deserves the eulogy of a pen no less skilful than that of Ian MacLaren himself.

Opposite the men's hospital in Madura, of which I have spoken, is another hospital for women, which, though on a somewhat smaller scale, is doing equally good work. In the heart of Turkey in Asia, in the town of Talas, near the old city of Caesarea, is a hospital built by another American, Dr. Dodd, which is doing a work no less valuable than that I have already described. Here amid the persecutions and massacres, amid the

wars and rumors of wars, this brave missionary and his noble wife, together with all the other missionaries in this field, both medical and evangelistic, have stood at their posts, inadequately protected by a weak government, which sometimes in the past has seemed to be afraid to defend its own citizens. Here they have remained undaunted, refusing to be driven out by the force of the Turk or to be coaxed away by his wiles. If there are nobler instances of heroism in the world's modern history than have been exhibited by our American missionaries in Turkey I am unaware of their existence. To be sure, this heroism of the evangelistic missionary, and this tenderness and skill of his medical brother, cannot be counted among the material assets of missions, but they ought not to be left out of sight. When the books are made up and the accounts closed, I believe that they will be found to swell vastly the enormous total on the credit side of modern Protestant missions. I have been able to refer to only a few of the scores and scores of missionary hospitals and dispensaries which number their patients by millions.

In the field of philology, as is entirely natural, the missionary has very largely put the world in his debt. He could not do his work without some knowledge of the language of the people to whom he has been sent.

The beginnings of comparative philology, it is said, rose from a comparison of the translations of the Lord's prayer in the fifteenth century by Roman Catholic missionaries. In 1784 a polyglot vocabulary was published in one hundred and fifty languages and the Lord's prayer in more than three hundred. Indeed, it was the progress of missions in this century that so increased interest in the subject of philology, that Professor Lepsius of the Royal Academy at Berlin prepared his "Standard Alphabet for Reducing Unwritten Languages and Foreign Graphic Systems to a Uniform Orthography in European Letters." At a meeting of philologists called together by Chevalier Bunsen, at which a large number of missionaries were present, Professor Lepsius' alphabet was adopted, and since then has been applied to innumerable African and Asian languages.

The immense work that has been done for the study of language is shown by the fact that one of our American missionary associations alone does its work and prints its literature in forty-six languages. It is no empty boast to say that these missionaries

are among the best masters of the Chinese language, the Tamil and Marathi, the modern Syriac and Kurdish, the Turkish, Armenian and Bulgarian, also the Arabic and modern Greek, the Zulu, Kaffir, Grebo, and Mpongwe, and other languages of South Africa. Besides these languages, the missionaries of this one society have been proficient in Hebrew, Spanish, Ancient Syriac, Gudjerati, Sanscrit, Hindustani, Portuguese, Persian, Telugu, Siamese, Malay, Dyak, Japanese, Marquesas, Minocresiah, Crete, Osage, Seneca, Abenaquis, Pawnee, and three languages of Oregon. More than twenty of these languages were reduced to writing by the missionaries of this board.

When we remember that this is only one American society, and that its total expenditures are but little over half a million dollars a year, and that other missionaries of other boards are doing an equally important work, it is evident that if philology must answer the question, "Do missions pay?" it would be with a very emphatic affirmative.

An American missionary, Dr. Jonas King, was chiefly instrumental in promoting the introduction of the modern Greek scriptures into the schools of Greece itself.

When in the town of Serampore, not far from the city of Calcutta, a few months ago, I saw in a bookcase of the Baptist College of that place a most astounding monument to the perseverance and genius of one man. There, on a single shelf, were piled high, one above another, no less than forty Bibles or portions of the Bible in as many different languages and dialects, all of them the work of the pioneer missionary of the nineteenth century, the Rev. William Carey, a name revered and honored in all Christian circles. He was the man whom Sidney Smith sneeringly called in his early days, when he wielded the shoemaker's awl and hammer, the "consecrated cobbler," but the "consecrated cobbler" became the greatest Sanscrit scholar of his time. He became professor of Sanscrit in the college at Fort Edward, at a very large salary, all of which he devoted to missionary purposes, and, as I have said, left this monument of Bibles of his own translation behind him. Most of these are in use to-day, for no better translations have ever been made, and yet this was only a small portion of the self-denying labors of this missionary hero. No wonder that an eminent writer of the Ethnological Society of New York enthusiastically declares: "Missions en-

able the German in his closet to compare more than two hundred languages; the unpronounceable syllables used by John Eliot, the monosyllables of China, the lordly Sanscrit and its modern associates, the smooth languages of the South Seas, the musical dialects of Africa, and the harsh gutturals of our own Indians." "But for the researches of our missionaries," says another, "the languages of further India," and he might add of most of the rest of the world, "would be a '*terra incognita.*'"

The contributions of the missionary to the science of philology naturally lead us to consider his relations to the general subject of education. But this is too vast a field to enter upon thoroughly in such an article. Surely no one will be hardy enough to deny that it pays to educate the human race. It pays not only the race that is educated, but every civilized nation and race on the face of the earth; for education means civilization, and civilization means progress, science, art, commerce, the interchange of ideas and the interchange of goods, larger markets, greater stability of government, more enduring peace.

Who can doubt, for instance, that if the Latin republics of South America were brought to the same level of education and civilization as the English-speaking republic of North America, the commerce of our country with those nations would be increased many fold, and a vastly larger market would be opened for our manufactures? Even more strikingly would this be true of Africa and Asia in their relations to Europe and North America, if the same standard of civilization prevailed in all quarters of the globe.

The reader, untravelled in missionary lands, would be surprised to see the extent to which these representatives of our churches have carried out their ideas of education. The schoolhouse, to be sure, in their opinion, is subordinate to the church, but, as with their Puritan ancestors, the schoolhouse always comes next to the church, and often stands by its side. Speaking in a general way, it is not too much to say that there is not a missionary on the field to-day, among all the nine thousand who have gone out from Protestant lands, who is not also an educator.

Under the care of the Protestant missionary societies of the world, there are almost a million pupils under instruction, or to be exact, according to the very latest statistics, 913,478. It is probable that every three years at least a million new pupils come

under the instruction of our missionaries. Who can estimate the tremendous leavening power, constantly exerted in all the dark corners of the world, through this agency? So thoroughly is the vast utility of missions as an educative force recognized by those who have looked into the matter, that in India and other British possessions the appropriations for educational purposes which are made by our missionary boards are doubled by government grants. That is, for every dollar which the church people of America contribute for missionary schools in India, the British government adds another dollar on condition that the pupils pass a reasonable examination and show ordinary proficiency. These government grants, it must be remembered, are not made because of any partiality to the tenets and doctrines taught by the missionaries, not because of any great love of British statesmen for evangelistic services, not because they are philanthropists, or yearn for the conversion of the heathen, but because, as hard-headed men of business and politics, they see that the cheapest and best way of civilizing their subject races, and of fostering their own commerce and the prosperity of the empire is by working hand in hand with the missionaries. In the opinion of the British Foreign Office evidently missions do pay.

But the educational work of missions is not confined to elementary schools, or to the lower classes of the population. The colleges and universities which have been built up through the purely philanthropic gifts and labors of the lovers of missions are some of the noblest monuments to the value of this great nineteenth century movement. There are missionary colleges in many parts of the world which would compare not unfavorably with Dartmouth or Williams or Rutgers. There are colleges in all missionary lands with fine buildings, modern equipment and fair endowment, and the number of whose students is limited only by the possible accommodations. Such institutions are the great colleges of the Free Church of Scotland in Madras and Bombay, the Methodist College in Lucknow, the Presbyterian College of Beyrout, and those most useful institutions started by the American Board, Robert College in Constantinople and the Doshisha in Japan.

The influence of these universities—for some of them are little less than universities in the best sense of the word—has been widespread and beneficent beyond calculation. The educated

classes of India to-day are the product of these missionary colleges. There is no other educating influence worth comparing with them for a moment. The graduates of Robert College are influential in half a dozen nationalities of southeastern Europe, and the Doshisha of Japan is one of the mighty influences which, within a quarter of a century, have brought old Japan out of the middle ages into the brightest electric glare of nineteenth century civilization.

If all this is true of the more civilized nations of the Orient, it is doubly and trebly true of the darker and more benighted tribes to which our missionaries have gone. Consider the condition of the Hawaian Islands now and in the days when Titus Coan first landed upon their coral shores. Consider the revolution wrought in the Samoan Islands and in Fiji and many other islands of the South Pacific by a few undaunted missionaries.

In most of these remote islands there have been absolutely no other civilizing uplifting influences at work. Commerce has brutalized and degraded the people. It has brought "fire water" and tobacco and lust and disease. It has enfeebled and almost annihilated the weaker races when it has touched them. The missionary influence alone has kept them alive and given them the large measure of prosperity which many of them to-day enjoy.

One of the islands of the Pacific, which a little more than a generation ago was inhabited by cannibals of the lowest type, during the recent famine in India sent no less than four thousand dollars to relieve the sufferings of their far-away neighbors. Had any one predicted at the beginning of this century that before its close Fiji would be occupied by a civilized, God-fearing, benevolent people who should give four thousand dollars of their hard earnings for the relief of the sufferers in India, he would have been laughed to scorn as a foolish visionary.

Were there space, it would be pleasant to relate more specifically what peculiarly large dividends missions have paid to our own country. The few millions of dollars which during the century our people have contributed have returned many thousand per cent. in actual cash dividends. Hawaii alone, whose civilization is entirely due to missionaries, and which to-day would be a desolate waste in the Pacific if commerce alone had been left to have its way, has sent back to the United States in trade returns more millions of dollars than have been spent

by our people in all foreign missionary operations the world around.

One very large section of our country was saved to the Union by reason of a missionary's forethought, enterprise, and indomitable pluck. The story of Missionary Whitman's thrilling ride from the Northwest Territories to the city of Washington need not here be rehearsed. In this his centennial year the story is too well known to every well-read patriot to be recounted. It is sufficient to say that, for a wide grasp of the possibilities of empire, for prompt decision, for self-sacrificing heroism, for far-reaching consequences upon the history of our nation, the midwinter ride across the Rockies of that noble missionary has never been equalled in the annals of our country.

Had it not been for Whitman, a vast section of North America, comprising those marvellously productive States of Washington and Oregon, would inevitably have been lost. To all intents and purposes, Whitman was a foreign missionary, having left his home to convert the Indians of the then unknown Northwest, and his famous ride, so far as America is concerned, will go far towards answering the question, Do missions pay?

Many a devout Christian, perhaps, will be almost impatient with us for not considering the matter in its spiritual aspects. He will say, "Here you find the true value of missions. From this standpoint alone can the question be answered, Do missions pay?" But this is beyond the scope of this paper. A thousand sermons and articles deal with this view of the subject. We are looking at the matter solely from the more material view-point. But even in this light, considering what missions have done for the arts and sciences, for geography, and geology, and meteorology, and archæology, and philology, for education and civilization in their largest and broadest sense, for the building up of schools and colleges, for the leavening of nations with the yeast of modern civilization, for trade and commerce, and the widening of our empire, there can be but one answer to the question of our title, and that a strong, sweeping, unconditional, uncompromising YES.

FRANCIS E. CLARK.

While many authorities have been consulted in the preparation of this article and considerable personal experience in missionary fields has been drawn upon, the author desires to express his peculiar obligation to "The Ely Volume," by the late Thomas Laurie, D.D., a perfect thesaurus of information on all lines of foreign missionary enterprise.

OUR FUTURE ON THE PACIFIC—WHAT WE HAVE THERE TO HOLD AND WIN.

BY COMMODORE G. W. MELVILLE, CHIEF ENGINEER, U. S. NAVY.

THE closing years of the century seem to be, in all lands save our own, years, not of war, but of a strenuous making ready for it. Alsace and Lorraine, the Eastern Question in its many varied phases, and the jealous rivalry as to colonies and dependencies, make continental Europe but a camp, with more than three million men constantly under arms. England is yet quenching the flame of revolt which flashed among the wild tribes of her Indian frontier; and in the Soudan, too, she is marching on. Spain drains her uttermost resources for Cuba's fading tenure. In the far East, with China's sudden fall, the balance of power has been disturbed and the throb of the war-drum seems not yet stilled but muffled only. "There never was a time in the history of the world," General Miles has said, "when so much energy, ingenuity, and wealth were being expended to maintain large standing armies."

On the sea there sounds the same foreboding note. Great Britain, despite her matchless naval array at the Jubilee, will have under construction during the present fiscal year over 100 vessels. France, with many now building, will lay down others aggregating 45,000 tons displacement. Germany plans a modest increase in a battleship, some gunboats, and torpedo craft; but the Kaiser's eager insistence on a great sea force is widely known. Russia—silent, mysterious—moves swiftly in her up-building as a naval power, not only in armor-clads, but in cruisers of great steaming radius. Japan is executing a programme which will give her navy a total addition of 200,000 tons. Even China, whose ships went as sheep to the slaughter, dreams of a fleet revived, and is said to be considering estimates for its creation.

Only the United States moves slowly, calm in the consciousness of peace, although the Chilian and Venezuelan affairs, the undying strife in Cuba at her doors, and the cloud, "the size of a man's hand," in Hawaii have given fateful warning that the "detached and distant situation" of which Washington wrote will shield her no longer from international complication and, it may be, conflict.

The Marine Engine and Modern Naval Strategy.—It has been well said that, "with the development of the marine engine, the sea unites, rather than divides, widely separated lands;" and to this it may be added that the swift progress of steam in marine propulsion has been a most potent factor in shaping the exterior policy of maritime nations, and, still more, in modifying the scope and methods of naval strategy.

On the land, rails of steel, traversing valley, plain, and mountain, make easy the path of the flying express and the fast freight, which, together, conquer time and distance in the binding into a homogeneous whole of the many States which form a republic almost continental in extent; but the railroad is fixed, a permanent way, whose direction varies only with new constructions. The sea, on the contrary, gives a track—fluid, mobile, universal—which turns wherever swift prows may point, and on which massive hulls, much too huge for any form of land transit, may pass with ease from port to port.

Moreover, when in 1805—nine years after Washington wrote of America's "distant situation"—Nelson "chased, half around the world, a French fleet nearly twice the force of his own, scared by the very terror of his name," his fierce ardor fretted itself to fury with his ships, which, through a run of 7,000 miles of sea, averaged but 93 miles a day, or less than four knots an hour.

"Salt beef and the French fleet are better than roast beef and champagne without it," said the great admiral in beginning his stern chase. He found that fleet, and with it death; but in the finding, through those lagging months, while drifting or beating over those leagues of sea, he must have felt to the full the limits which stinted the sea power of his time.

Steam has changed all this. Over the same Western Ocean which Nelson, bitterly impatient, crossed and re-crossed so slowly in 1805, the United States cruiser "Columbia" swept, ninety years later, at a speed of 18.41 knots per hour, or four and three-

quarter times that of the ships, which, dull sailers though they were, were very sure and deadly in their work at Trafalgar.

This passage, in its sustained speed through such a distance, was not only a triumph, yet unequalled, for American naval engineering; it was, as well, a flashing illumination of the strategic fact that America's isolation, militarily, from European and Asian nations had diminished, in this age, in most marked degree. While it is not yet possible for the performance of the swift "Columbia" to be equalled in a trans-Atlantic run by armored battleships, it seems quite certain that Nelson's speed can be increased nearly three-fold and that within two weeks a European fleet of any required strength could be thrown upon our Atlantic coasts with one-third of its coal-supply remaining.

Geographic Isolation Not a Safeguard.—The geographic isolation, apparent or real, of any people has never yet been respected by superior force; it forms no sure guard when, in peace or war, the nations of the earth come knocking at the door. Ancient Peru, peaceful, rich, unwarlike, was many leagues from Spain, and between them the waves of two oceans rolled. Yet there came Pizarro and his adventurers, soldiers less of Spain than of the lust of gold. The Inca fell and the land was stripped of its fatal wealth; its people were enslaved, and in slaughter, torture, and rapine a noble civilization perished.

In later times, China, arrogant and ignorant, learned, in a measure, the same lesson. While her officials babbled of invading England, overland, through Russia, the war of 1840 was waged against her by the people of that small island, parted from her by a hemisphere; and that war wrested Hong Kong from her shore-line, seized, in indemnity, twenty-one millions of dollars from her treasury, and, by force, opened five of her ports to the commerce of the world.

These examples, it is true, come from the conflicts of higher civilizations with those differing from them more in kind than in degree; but the world's annals are not bare of similar illustrations from the wars of less unequal foes. It is well to remember that, during the Revolution, there were landed in America nearly 50,000 foreign troops; that in the war of 1812 British forces of nearly 25,000 men attacked the territory of the United States; that our ports were blockaded, and that, in 1814, our capitol was burned.

If, then, it be admitted that the safeguard which the detached situation of the United States has given her grows weaker with every advance in the methods of sea-communications; if, no more, she watches from afar, in security and peace, the growth and strife of over-sea peoples, as alien largely to her own interests; if the "Titan of the West" is, no longer,

"Behind a thousand leagues of foam, secure,"

then it would appear to be the part, not only of national wisdom but of national salvation, to conserve and fortify that which remains to her of advantage in location, by adequate coast-defences, by a powerful fleet, and by the occupation, as opportunity shall come, of out-lying islands, her shore-line's frontier-posts.

Wealth of the Pacific States.—"Imperial in extent and of extraordinary growth"—so said James G. Blaine in 1881 of our possessions on the Pacific coast, adding that the territory dependent on that ocean for commercial outlet comprised "an area of nearly 800,000 square miles, larger in extent than the German Empire and the four Latin countries of Europe combined."

These strong words find but emphasis and amplification in the striking discussion of our national statistics presented recently in this REVIEW by Michael G. Mulhall, F. S. S., of England. The total wealth, in the year 1890, of the eleven States included by him in the Pacific group, he gives as 6,811 millions of dollars, or $2,318 per inhabitant. With but six per cent. of the population of the Union, they hold ten per cent. of its wealth. Their railway mileage is greater than that "of any European state except France or Germany, and their wealth exceeds that of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, in the aggregate."

While during the forty-four years ending with 1893 they produced nearly 2,900 tons of gold and over 30,000 tons of silver, having a total value of nearly 3,000 millions of dollars, analysis shows that these States are not mining camps, and that their swift growth dates, not from the days of '49, but from the year 1870. At that time their possessions were valued at 727 millions of dollars; during the two decades which followed their wealth increased nine-fold to the magnificent total already stated, of which mining properties form but eight per cent.

Of profound importance is the fact that the richest portion of this territory is that which is most exposed to blockade, raids, bombardment, and the losses and suffering which attend warfare

or invasion from the sea. Three only of these eleven States lie upon the coast, California, Oregon, and Washington; and these three hold, of the total wealth of the group, 57 per cent., or 3,885 millions of dollars. Two thousand five hundred and thirty-four of the millions are the share of California, the "isle of many jewels and much gold" of the old Spanish romance—a title which seems hardly apt, since, while her mines are valued at 83 millions of dollars, her buildings and farms reach 1,746 millions, owing, doubtless, to a soil and climate which give her vineyards of 30,000 acres and fruit-gardens the most extensive and productive in the Union.

The slender share which the United States has won thus far in trans-Pacific trade is shown by the fact that, although San Francisco is the seventh city of the Union in population, there passed through the Golden Gate in the year ending June 30, 1896, but 4.39 per cent. of our total import and export trade, with shipping entries of 1,200,000 tons. The Pacific Coast, as a whole, is credited with a share of this total trade, amounting, during the year as above, to 5.69 per cent.

Alaska.—Linked far more with the future than with the present of the Union is Alaska. Purchased from Russia in 1867 for seven and one-quarter millions of dollars, this territory, for long years discredited, bids fair to repeat, in part, the history of California, and, from the products of its mines alone, to repay many times over its relatively trifling cost. Years, not distant but at hand, will more than vindicate the judgment and foreknowledge of the great Secretary, whose name will live in the history of the wide lands he acquired in the far north.

With an area, including those of its coast islands and the Aleutian Archipelago, of 580,170 square miles, Alaska is nearly six and a half times the size of the States of New York and Pennsylvania combined. On Behring's sea and the Arctic and Pacific oceans it has a coast line of 4,750 statute miles. The perennial friction over its seal fisheries clouds the worth of other resources far more valuable. In its wide-spreading forests of cedar, pine, hemlock, and fir there is a world's supply to draw on when other sections fail, while its catch of salmon, cod, and other food fishes is, in amount and quality, unexcelled, if equalled elsewhere.

Alaska is, in effect, an over-sea province, separated from the

Union not only by British Columbia, but, in great part, by a long stretch of ocean. Excluding the narrow strip along the coast of the continent, the air-line distance from San Francisco to the nearest point of its compact area is fully as great as that to the Hawaiian Islands, or over 2,000 miles. To Attou, the farthest island of the Aleutian group, this distance is doubled. The development and protection of this most valuable territory will give problems for the future far from easy of solution.

The Development of the Pacific Ocean.—As with the Pacific States, the development of the vast ocean which they confront, the largest and noblest body of water on the globe, has been, not slow and lingering, but almost wholly deferred until a recent period. To the comparative inaccessibility of its seas, the long waiting must be ascribed in great degree. It cannot be doubted that, if nature had but cleft a water-way through the American isthmus, the growth of the Pacific, to the northeast and the south, would have begun almost with the coming of Columbus.

But this was not to be. Barred on the southeast by the stormy terrors of Cape Horn, its northern portals were blocked, seemingly for all time, by the polar floes. More than two hundred attempts were made to double the Arctic coast of America, before Franklin's men laid down their lives in "forging the last link of the Northwest Passage."

The Northeast Passage has a story, not so continuous, but lacking not one whit in the fortitude and daring of the stern seamen who, there, essayed the Arctic highway, whose lofty purpose held "either to bring that to pass which was intended, or else to die the death." Sir Hugh Willoughby, in 1553, led the van, sailing for those unknown seas to find, not the passage, but slow death in the White North. It was left for Nordenskjöld, nearly four centuries later, to complete the task begun by that heroic sailor.

And so, through the ages, the eastern and southern Pacific slept on in primeval peace, its dark waves unvexed by any alien keel, while to the westward empires, kingdoms, and republics rose and fell. With the dawn of the modern era there sailed the Genoese, dreaming but prophetic, "to add a new hemisphere to our globe," and in 1513, from the peak in Darien, Balboa, the *conquistador* looked on the unknown ocean. Eight years later Magellan passed through his fog-enshrouded straits and a Euro-

pean keel first cleft its waters. Through the labors of those who followed, from Drake to Vancouver, and notably of Cook, the work of discovery, and to some extent of colonization, went on.

Progress, however, was so slow that, in the year 1830, it was estimated that there were not more than 500 men of Anglo-Saxon race west of the Sierra Nevada, on the continental shore; much of the island territory of the South Seas was little known and yet unclaimed; and, as to Australia, not until 1845 was there dispelled the error that there existed, within its borders, a great inland sea.

Within a decade or little more, however, the full awakening of the Pacific seems to have come. The outward surge of the nations of the Old World, so marked in its effects upon the African continent, has sent, as well, waves of unrest over the placid ocean which have broken on the shores of its uttermost island. Long ago William H. Seward, in addressing the United States Senate, said, as to the commerce, politics, thought, and activities of Europe, that they would "ultimately sink in importance, while the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter."

Realization, more or less full, of this seems to have created, as to the southern Pacific, in these recent years, a feverish hunger for island territory, whose ravenous desire fails only with that on which it feeds. In 1885, Germany—whose greed for Samoa has been so open and so strong—annexed the great Marshall group, midway between the Australian steamship lines from British Columbia and the possible Asian lines of the future from the isthmus; France added to her large possessions in New Caledonia and the Society Islands by taking the Marquesas Islands and the Low Archipelago; and Great Britain has declared protectorates over island after island and group after group—the Gilbert, Ellice, Phœnix, and many others—all on, or near and flanking, her steam routes from British Columbia to Australia and New Zealand. Her flag thus floats over most of the territory of the southern Pacific, and is seen as far north as Johnston Island, 600 miles from Hawaii.

Only the United States has stood aloof, while other nations have acquired territory in these waters which covers and guards the commerce of the coming years. "While we have

been talking in our sleep about Hawaii," a keen observer notes, "England has occupied and possessed a score of islands in the greatest of the oceans." There may come a time, when the sons of a Greater United States will deplore, as slumberous unwisdom, the policy of to-day, since, in a commercial and strategic sense, *Ultima Thule* itself seems to have been seized in the South Seas.

In striking array, the Honorable John R. Procter has marshalled the political changes which have come, in these recent years, to Pacific and Indian shores and islands, with their potent effects on the part which the great ocean, its lands and peoples, shall play in the world-wide drama of international life and strife.

"The presence of Russia in the Far East and the possibility of a combination between Russia and China, followed by the awakening of China from her sleep of centuries; the extension of French dominion in Indo-China, Siam, and Madagascar; the partitioning of Africa and the islands of the Pacific among European powers; the industrial growth of Japan and her entrance into the family of nations as a great naval and military power; the completion of the great military highways from Halifax to Vancouver, and from St. Petersburg to Vladivostock; the rapid peopling of British Columbia and our North Pacific States, and of the Amur and Manchuria districts—all tend to change the front of the world and to transfer to the placid Pacific the national activities which for three centuries past have rendered the Atlantic the theatre of stirring events."

On the shores of such an ocean, confronting such a future, there stands the vanguard of our Pacific States, the stately advance of that Western domain—imperial, truly, in its extent, its present wealth, and its potentiality of riches beyond the dreams of to-day—which the republic, its statesmen, its fleets and armies, cannot guard too well. With unstinted possibilities of progress, that future holds, for it and for the nation, the dangers of contact and of conflict on this ocean with powers, old or new in the world's history, whose political or commercial interests the swift changes of the years may make antagonistic to our own.

Defences of the Pacific Coast.—During the early days of the Civil War, the isolated and unprotected condition of the Pacific States aroused fear for their safety, in the—then possible—event of intervention, in that conflict, by European powers. For a generation, a transcontinental railway had been under intermittent discussion, and the possible danger of attack in the West gave the matter definite shape in the passage, in 1862, of an act, which, with its later amendments, offered government aid of a most generous character in the building of such a road.

A broad right of way was given through the national domain, with ample grants of public lands, and with the issuance to the company of government bonds to a large amount—reaching, in some cases, $48,000 per mile—in exchange for second mortgage bonds of the road. Thus, through the vital necessities of defence in the stormy years of war, there was born the movement which ended in the building, with unstinted national expenditure, of the Union Pacific Railroad, whose last spike was driven in 1869.

The facilities now offered for the transportation of troops would seem to render improbable the successful invasion by land of the Pacific States. Doctrines formulated in the early days of the Republic still hold in keeping the army of the United States low in numbers, although not in efficiency. Back of it there stands, however, a militia of 112,000, with a force, unorganized but available, of over ten million men capable of bearing arms. The three Coast States have a total militia of about 6,100, and California alone has, in addition, 205,000 men, available but unorganized. From continental foes, the Pacific group would seem to be secure, although the absence of a large force of trained soldiery might be felt in the first actions of a sudden war.

With the shore-line and the sea, however, different conditions are presented. According to the authorities of the Coast Survey, the Atlantic seaboard is 2,043 statute miles in length, the Gulf coast 1,852 miles, and the "Pacific coast-line, from the Mexican boundary to the Strait of Fuca, including the Straits of Race Rock Lights, is 1,810 miles." Excluding Alaska, then, the rich territory on the Pacific is bounded by one-third of our total shore-line, and upon this coast, exposed directly to bombardment from the sea, there are four large cities. To a very recent date, at least, the defences have comprised but obsolete works at San Diego, San Francisco, and the mouth of the Columbia River.

It is true that the Board of Ordnance and Fortifications has presented estimates, aggregating nearly three millions of dollars, for guns, emplacements, and barracks at the points named, with Puget Sound in addition, but this material forms only a fraction of the 500 high-powered guns, 1,000 mortars, 360 rapid-fire guns, and 6,000 submarine mines now under construction for the protection of nearly 25 harbors on the three coasts. It is stated that not more than one-half of the total number of guns will be in place by the summer of 1898, and with the pressing demands

of the Atlantic and the Gulf it is to be presumed that the West will be given no precedence.

Again, to man the whole of these sea-coast batteries, the present artillery force must be strengthened by the enlistment and training—the latter a work of time—of not less than 7,500 men as a skeleton organization in peace, to be increased to, probably, 30,000 in war. It would seem, then, that the defences of even the four main points of the Pacific coast are wholly inadequate, and are likely to remain so for a considerable period; while, in the end, the many vulnerable positions remaining on that extended shore line, beyond the fire of these fortifications, will be indefensible, save by a fleet.

Long ago, for England, Sir Walter Raleigh laid down her true policy of defence, a policy which succeeding generations sometimes remembered, sometimes forgot, as the years passed; but which she has reaffirmed most significantly as the century draws to a close. Not for world-empire, nor for commerce-defence only, has she "doubled her navy in *personnel* and material, and more than quadrupled it in warlike efficiency, during eleven years of the profoundest peace the world ever saw." In his *Historie of the World*, Sir Walter says:

"But, making the question general, the positive, *Whether England, without the help of her fleet, be able to debar an enemy from landing*, I hold that it is unable to do so, and, therefore, I think it most dangerous to make the adventure."

Again, the Duke of Wellington, in writing Sir John Burgoyne, as to the English coast from the North Foreland to Portsmouth, said that:

"Excepting immediately under the fire of Dover Castle, there is not a spot on the coast on which infantry might not be thrown on shore at any time of tide, with any wind and in any weather; . . . that, in that space of coast, there are not less than seven small harbors, or mouths of rivers, each without defence, of which an enemy, having landed his infantry on the coast, might take possession, and therein land his cavalry and artillery of all calibre, and establish himself and his communications with France."

If this be possible in England, with her compact territory guarded by stormy seas, and despite her 250,000 available combatants outside of the garrisons, providing only that the command of the sea be lost for the time, it may safely be said that, with a fleet weak, absent, or defeated, the long stretch of Pacific shore must afford not a few vulnerable points, far from the great

centres, susceptible of easy seizure by hostile ships, and capable of efficient defence by their forces, while used as a base for naval operations on the coast.

The fleet is, then, an element of the utmost importance to the defence of what Mahan calls "our weakest frontier, the Pacific." At the beginning of the present year the United States had on the western coast nine vessels, aggregating 35,141 tons displacement, and, across the Pacific, in Asian seas, five more of 13,846 tons, a total force of fourteen modern vessels of 48,987 tons. Reinforcements to this fleet from the Atlantic coast could reach California only in about ninety days, or more, from New York, allowing for necessary stops *en route*, and after steaming through more than 14,000 miles, in waters on which the United States has not one station for supplying and refitting vessels. The time, the distance, and the probable difficulty of coaling in foreign ports after hostilities shall have begun practically prohibit relief in the swift coming of modern war.

Japan has, at this time, a fleet building and built, the latter almost wholly, of forty-eight vessels aggregating 173,057 tons, excluding torpedo craft. Great Britain, at the close of last year, had stationed in her Pacific, Australian, and China squadrons a total of forty-one vessels of 97,200 tons. The Siberian fleet of Russia at that time comprised thirteen cruisers and six torpedo boats, to which should be added the ships from the Cronstadt station doing duty in Pacific waters.

It will be seen that with this great and defenceless coast to watch, the United States has there on guard a modern war-tonnage equal only to about one-half that of Great Britain in this ocean and to about 28 per cent. that of Japan. It is true that the comparison is but general; that many of these foreign ships are small; that a long stretch of the Pacific parts many from our shores; and that other conditions would prevent the despatch, by either nation, of more than a portion as attacking fleets.

On the other hand, behind Great Britain's squadron lies a limitless reserve, and from Esquimault, if she could hold that fortress, or from Hawaii, if she could take the islands, she could throw a fully equipped fleet on this coast. Of Japan, granting her Hawaii, this is true also; and, since the naval strength of that young giantess grows faster than the virile locks of the blind Samson, her power for attack increases every day.

With a fleet so weak that it can neither command the sea nor defend fitly its coast, the strides which steam has made in the methods of sea-communication gives a gravity, without precedent hitherto, to the danger of maritime invasion. Unobstructed on the ocean, Spain, although poor in money and weak in military power, has yet been able to transport, in less than eighteen months, across 3,000 miles of sea, nearly 190,000 troops to Cuba—a feat without approach in the annals of modern war.

This object-lesson, still in full view, gives, for the future, added force to the question put by Murat Halstead:

"What will happen if the Asiatic redundant population instead of moving westward and finding land in Europe, as they did thousands of years ago, should turn eastward and contest with us the American shores of the Pacific?"

In reviewing the defences, ashore and afloat, of the Pacific coast, it would seem that, in the past, the action of the nation has been governed in this—as, for a generation, in many military matters—by a spirit of self-confidence, of easy optimism, which would be warranted only if "the battle-flags were furled" for all time. Naval and military authorities have done their utmost with the forces at their command. "We, the people," alone are at fault.

"To provide for the common defence," was one of the purposes for which our fathers ordained and established the Constitution. This purpose seems here to have failed of full execution in coast-defences, in the fleet, and in the past refusal of Hawaii, the island outpost of this shore.

Captain Scriven, U. S. A., writing in 1894, contrasts national confidence with actual conditions, thus:

"We have fought the great war of modern times, we have had millions of men under arms in the field, our military power on land is without limit, therefore we are unconquerable—such is the reasoning. But we forget that the United States is, by nature and by neglect, one of the most vulnerable nations of the world, and that no great power has so vast an extent of frontier exposed to the attack of an enemy."

It should be remembered, too, that this war cost half a million lives, a direct outlay of 2,675 millions of dollars, and a great pension list which now, more than thirty years after, reaches 140 millions—a debt which the nation pays, in thankfulness, not only to the fading ranks of war-worn men, now maimed and old, who marched to the music of the Republic's battle-hymn and

spent their blood like water for the flag ; but to the kin of many another who, on sea or land, gave, for that flag, even life itself and now sleeps, in peace, beneath the Southern pines or in the silent depths of the dark sea.

But how much of this was necessary ? What blood and treasure were spent in vain through lack of preparation of war material, of a trained *personnel*, in such land actions as the first Bull Run or such sea-fights as that between wooden frigates and the iron-clad "Merrimac ?"

Our Commerce on the Pacific.—The United States has a further interest than defence alone in the Pacific, its islands, and its distant shores. We have, as has been shown, a territory dependent on that ocean for commercial outlet of 800,000 square miles ; larger than the combined area of the German Empire, France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, while the wide expansion of the transcontinental railroad system and the probable completion, in early years, of the Nicaragua Canal, give other States as well interests of grave importance in Pacific and Asian commerce.

With fertile soil, improved methods of agriculture, and appliances as a whole without equal for manufacturing, the United States, despite its home market, whose demand stirs the envy of the world, has much to spare for other lands. The exports of domestic merchandise for August, 1897, were valued at 79½ millions of dollars. During the year ending June 30, 1896, the exports include, of domestic merchandise, 863 millions; of bread-stuffs, 141 millions ; of provisions, etc., 131½ millions, and of cotton, unmanufactured, 190 millions.

The wealth of the United States exceeds that of the United Kingdom by 20 billions of dollars, and it increases at a rate hitherto unknown to history. The growth in manufacturing may be judged from the advance in the amount of manufactured products sent abroad. In the year ending June 30, 1894, these products formed 21.14 per cent. of the total exports ; in that ending June 30, 1896, their portion was 26.47 per cent., and they aggregated in value about 228½ millions of dollars.

Agriculture gives not only an enormous total production, but that production is obtained, through improved machinery, by a minimum of human labor so low as almost to forbid comparison with the methods of Europe. There is yet, also, a vast acreage untilled, the Pacific States alone, eleven in number, hav-

ing but six per cent. of their area under cultivation. Mulhall states that the aggregate energy, in foot-tons, of France, Germany, and Great Britain is almost exceeded by that of the United States, and says further, as to agriculture, that the labor of each farm-hand throughout the Union is equivalent to a production of 14 tons of grain, and, in the Pacific States, to 30 tons. The average, per hand, is thus fully eight times that of Europe.

The extent of, and the possibilities for America in, the markets to the westward of her shores are indicated by the Hon. John R. Procter when he says:

"More than one-half the population of the world is in countries fronting the Pacific and Indan oceans. The foreign commerce of the countries bordering these oceans—excluding North America—already amounts to over two and one-quarter billions of dollars a year. . . . The time is approaching when the cotton-growers of the South, the wheat-growers of the West, the meat-producers of our plains, and manufacturers and wage earners all over our land, will realize that exclusion from Asian markets will be disastrous to their best interests."

As has been stated, but 5.69 per cent. of the total import and export trade of the United States passes through Pacific ports, which in itself gives indication of our feeble interest in the markets of Australasia and the Orient. While the commerce between these regions and both coasts of the United States is considerable, it forms but a fraction of their vast foreign trade.

China, alone, imports yearly goods valued at nearly 130 millions of dollars; the imports of Japan amount to 138 million yen; those of British Australasia to 51 million pounds sterling. And so this world-trade mounts: while to Asia, during the year ending June 30, 1896, we sent but 25½ million dollars' worth, to Oceanica but 17 millions' worth, and to Africa less than 14 millions' worth; the total exports to these countries reaching thus but 56½ millions of dollars—diminutive, indeed, for countries whose foreign trade is 2¼ billions.

There seems no doubt that, with the growing production of the United States and its swelling tide of exports, a traffic, steadily augmenting, will flow from her western shores to the littoral of the Orient, to Australia, and to the Pacific islands. In this commerce, the Atlantic seaboard will, doubtless, share largely, with the opening of the waterway which will transform the Nicaraguan Isthmus into an ocean cross-roads where the East and the West shall meet.

Our Shipping on the Pacific.—Closely allied with the future commercial interests of the United States on the Pacific should be the revival of its shipping, an industry whose decadence is, at once, a source of loss and of reproach. In the steady, if not swift, growth of our interests in the markets of that ocean, with the comparatively sudden leap in our over-sea trade which the Isthmian canal may bring, it seems impossible that the present deplorable conditions in trans-oceanic service shall continue.

The Commissioner of Navigation, in his report for 1897, gives the registry for foreign trade as less than 800,000 gross tons—the lowest record since 1841. We have now a foreign commerce over seven times as great as in 1846, while our shipping in the traffic over-sea is but about eight-tenths the tonnage thus employed in that year. To Great Britain mainly there accrue the profits from the express and freight service of the oceans.

Without reference to that which might be gained by a powerful American marine in service between foreign countries, the magnitude of the drain upon national resources for the carriage of our own sales and purchases should impel action for relief. Of this enormous loss Senator Elkins has said :

"The United States pays $500,000 per day, or nearly $3 per capita per annum, to foreign ship-owners for carrying what its people sell and buy ;"

and a competent authority estimates further the amount lost annually in freight and passenger tolls and in the industrial increment represented by the necessary shipbuilding as over 300 millions of dollars.

Before the days of iron hulls and before the "Alabama" and her consorts had left ruin in their wake, the United States showed its power to compete successfully on the ocean with the carriers of the world. The noble vessels of the new naval fleet, the steamers—superb, if but few—built for trans-Atlantic traffic, and the growth of shipbuilding on the Great Lakes, all show that our artisans have not lost their former skill.

On the lakes especially the expansion of commerce has been swift and large. The tonnage which goes through the St. Mary's Canal is nearly twice that of Suez ; although, with this, it should be remembered that the average length of the passages made by steamers through the latter is sixty days, while through the former it is but six. During the year ending June 30, 1897, there were documented for lake service one and four-tenth

million tons of shipping, an increase of about 100 per cent. within a decade. In that period, also, the cost per ton (dead weight ability) of large steamers has fallen more than 50 per cent. in the lake shipyards; and there are now afloat fully a score of vessels of 8,500 tons displacement. The lake tonnage built during the last fiscal year exceeded that of all other sections combined.

The triumphs of the merchant marine of the old days, which bore our flag on every sea, and the great and growing fleet, constructed and employed at home, in lake and coastwise traffic, show, despite our meagre tonnage in the foreign trade, that ship-building and ship-owning are not exotic industries in the United States. It cannot be, then, that the nation will long delay in taking again that high place on the sea, from which, for a generation, it has turned to develop the lands, the manufactures, and the markets of half a continent. The coming years should see, not only a vast commerce on the Pacific, to and from our shores, but, as well, a merchant marine, flying our flag, traversing every highway of that ocean—a great fleet which the nation by wise laws should foster and strengthen, and, by its armed forces afloat, should lead and guard.

But little more than a century has gone by since, on the winter wind at Valley Forge, there streamed a ragged flag, the star of hope to the stern soldiery whose bare and bleeding feet reddened the snow as they guarded it there. In the generations that have passed, that flag, with the clustering memories not only of victory by land and sea, but of many a year of happy peace, has swept from ocean to ocean.

Shall a noble destiny lead it still farther on, as

> "Bright on the banner of lily and rose,
> Lo! the last sun of our century sets?"

Shall its purpose hold, to follow the pathway of the stars, "to sail beyond the sunset," and floating over Hawaii in mid-Pacific to guard the golden shore of the Republic and to win a new glory on that wide sea?

GEORGE W. MELVILLE.

PERSONAL MORALS AND COLLEGE GOVERNMENT.

BY PRESIDENT CHARLES F. THWING, D. D., LL.D., WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY AND ADELBERT COLLEGE.

THERE are two theories of the relation of the American college to its students. One is that the college is a family, that the college officers stand in the place of the parent, and the students in the place of the son. It is, therefore, the duty of the college officer to maintain watch and ward over each student. The rules and regulations of the college are supposed to take the place in the college of what the family gives through its various personal ministries. A second system of government is the very opposite of the domestic; it is a system that is distinguished by its lack of government. The college has no relation to the personal character of the student; the college is concerned only with the giving of instruction, and the student in his function of a student is concerned only with receiving instruction.

These two systems seldom exist in the naked and bald form in which I outline them, but, as theories, they obtain to a very great extent. Between them are to be found many practical modifications; the emphasis is sometimes placed upon the domestic side and sometimes upon the side of freedom; and in the same college at varying periods the emphasis varies.

In the discussion of these and related theories at least four questions emerge: (1.) Are American college students old enough to determine their own conduct? (2.) Should the college attempt to control the private and personal life of students? (3.) Should the college demand of students conduct which their homes do not demand? (4.) Is there any method by which even a small minority of college students can be saved from going to the bad?

The age of men entering the ordinary American college is now about eighteen and one-half years; it varies, of course, in different colleges, and also in the same college at different periods. The average age of the members of the freshman class of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, entering in the fall of 1897, was a little more than eighteen years and six months. This age has in the course of the present century increased. At the present time, however, through better methods of education prevailing in the secondary schools, the age is in many colleges lessening, but it is safe to say that eighteen and a half is the average age of the collegian beginning his course. Is a student, therefore, of an age from eighteen to twenty-two years sufficiently mature to be left to himself in all matters of conduct? Is he fitted to work out the salvation of his character without supervision or aid of any kind from the officers of the college?

It is certainly true that some men are fitted to perform this most serious and happy task: some men at twenty years are as mature as other men are at thirty. At eighteen some boys have habits as well formed, both in point of the content of the habit and its fixedness, as others at the age of twenty-five. It is also true that certain boys at the age of eighteen and twenty are as unformed in respect to the constant application of fixed principles to conduct as others may be at fifteen or even twelve. A friend of mine writes, saying:

"In general, ——— College did not do its duty by me; it took me at sixteen out of a quiet home in a remote town and gave me no affectionate personal supervision of the older brotherly sort, and not even effective surveillance of the schoolmaster kind. I think the active, personal interest, then, of a good college professor might have expedited my eventual development at least five years. My own and my friends' principles were not established; we squandered time atrociously, though not in vice, beyond whist and a little beer; had no regular habits in work and in play, and in general were negligent and neglected children."

The man who now writes these words is a conspicuous author, and he writes them after more than twenty years absence from the college in which he was a student. Another, who also was a student in the same college and at the same time, writes as follows:

"The average student in my day was quite as much controlled by principle as the average man of the world, more under such control, I think. I doubt if more stringent regulations than existed would have secured better results."

It is to be at once said that the degree of maturity which is found in college students depends to a large extent upon whether they were fitted in high schools and lived in their own homes during the time of preparation, or whether they were fitted in academies away from their homes. In certain colleges a large proportion of the students come from high schools; in other colleges a large per cent. come from academies which are in corporate association with the colleges themselves, and in other colleges a large proportion come from the large and independent academies. In the twenty years between 1866 and 1885 the public schools furnished about twenty-nine per cent. of the members of the freshman class of Harvard College; from 1866 to 1869 the proportion was thirty per cent.; from 1870 to 1873, thirty-three per cent.; from 1874 to 1877, twenty-nine per cent.; from 1878 to 1881, thirty-one per cent.; and from 1882 to 1885, twenty-six per cent. About the same proportion entered from endowed schools, such as the Phillips Academies, and the balance came largely from private tutors and from other colleges. Students who enter our colleges from endowed schools are usually fitted to regulate their own conduct, but those who find their first absence from home contemporaneous with their entrance to college, who, in other words, while pursuing their preparatory course, lived at home, should not at once be given absolute and entire freedom, or, if this is given to them, it should be given to them under such personal or semi-official conditions as to cause them to feel the restraining inspiration of friendship. Every man who enters Yale College at once feels the difference, in the maturity of his class-mates, between the men who entered from the Hopkins Grammar School and those who came from Andover and Exeter. The truth, therefore, seems to be that some boys are old enough on entering college to be left to themselves, and some boys are not. The general truth is that those who enter college are neither boys, as some say they are, nor are they men, as others also affirm, but that they are young men; certain characteristics of boyhood still are theirs, certain characteristics of manhood are also theirs; from the condition of boyhood they rapidly emerge and as fast enter the condition of manhood.

It becomes, therefore, evident that in certain cases it is the right, even if not the duty, of the college to control the private life of students. It is also evident that in certain cases it is not

expedient for the college to attempt any such direction. But it is just to say that the college as a college is deeply interested in the private life of each of its students. For the college desires that each student shall secure the noblest, richest, and best results from his college course. Nothing can be foreign to the college which promotes the interests of its students. The only question for the college to consider is the general question, By what ways and means can it best influence the private life of each man who is committed to it for four years? It may be said, I think, that students at once are rebellious against the control of their private life by the college authorities, and are also hospitable to all general influences of the college that look to the formation of their best character. Students wish to be helped; students do not wish to be commanded; they are open to influence, but not to control. Personal influence, therefore, rather than law represents the wise method.

Not a few American colleges are subject to a difficult condition in respect to the control of their students. American education has not yet fully and exactly articulated itself. In most, but not all, of the universities which attempt to give graduate instruction, the department of graduate instruction and the undergraduate department are very closely related; graduate students are usually found in undergraduate classes, and certain undergraduate students are frequently found in classes designed primarily for graduates. This condition obtains both in Cambridge and in New Haven. On the other hand, many American colleges have in very close association with themselves a preparatory department. Even if there be a formal division made between the work of these two departments, the same general influences control the students of both departments; frequently, too, the students in the two departments recite in the same classes on certain subjects. Graduate students represent a degree of maturity and worthy self-direction which undergraduates do not possess, and undergraduate students represent a degree of self-control which preparatory students can lay no claim to. When these two classes of students, the graduate and the undergraduate, are placed under the same general conditions it is difficult to subject them to the same general control, and also, when undergraduate students and preparatory students are found to be in the same institution, it is difficult also to ask them to obey the

same set of rules. But the necessity is laid upon the officers of institutions which are beset with these duplex or even triplex relationships to ask students of varying degrees of maturity and of immaturity to submit to the same governing principles and methods. The fact is that those principles and methods which are fitted for the less mature set of students are those which ought to prevail. College authorities think it is better to subject undergraduate students to the same conditions which preparatory students ought to submit to, than to give to preparatory students that freedom which undergaduate students might properly enjoy. With the increasing differentiation prevailing in American education this difficulty, however, is sure to lessen.

The best method of guiding the personal morals of a student is through making constant and severe intellectual demands upon him. Hard work is an enemy to easy morals. Professional schools attempt only indirectly to influence the personal character of their students, but the officers of such schools hold that the most effective method of aiding students to maintain uprightness in conduct is by maintaining high scholastic standards. Such a method should control in the undergraduate college. The man who works hard in college, who is required to devote eight or ten hours a day to the performance of his academic tasks, has usually little time for evil indulgence; or, if he has time, has little strength; or, if he has strength, has little inclination; and the man who lacks time, strength, and inclination for base indulgence is quite sure of being free from it. The question whether attendance upon recitations shall be voluntary or whether the rules in a college shall be strict is a minor question in relation to the necessity of making intellectual requirements severe.

In addition to the aid which necessity of hard work gives in the securing of a fine personal morality, every college should recognize that the personal relation of professors to students is of primary value. The importance of this relation is becoming more and more conspicuous. The system known as "Advisors" obtaining at Harvard represents and embodies this method. The nickname, which is given among the students to advisors, of "nurses," embodies in essence the idea of the personal relationship. One of the officers of the college writes me in reference to this system, saying: "The more I see of personal work among students the greater I believe its power to be; the only drawback

is the shortness of life and the necessity that an instructor should have some time for study." The first duty of the teacher in the American college is to teach; his second duty is to teach; failure in teaching is fundamental. But when the professor has taught he has not finished his duty, he is still to give himself as a person to his students in such ways as he deems fitting, in order to help them to become better persons.

As a part of this general relationship of the college the relation of the students to each other is not to be so easily passed over, as it has often been; for older students may be of the greatest help to the younger. The influence of college student over college student is frequently of greater value than the influence of college professor over college student. We recognize the power of influences toward evil; the value of the influence of the student toward good may be equally strong. Students, like professors, who have the qualities of a strong personality united with tact, patience, and enthusiasm, may be of the utmost worth in helping their associates to the best life.

One special means or condition embodying the influence of student over student is seen in the fraternity. The fraternity is a unique exponent of college life; it represents more than any other element the expression of fellowship. College officers are now using, to an extent hitherto unknown, members in a fraternity to influence other members in the same fraternity. In a sense the fraternity is a college within a college. The bare value of the buildings of the fraternities at Cornell, at Yale, at Amherst, far exceeds the average endowment of the American college. This condition of good fellowship opens the way to the operation of all kinds of healthful and helpful influences. The perilous time in the life of a college man is his first year; if, in this time of peril, he can have a man who stands at the other and older end of the college course as his best friend, who himself is pure and strong and wise and tactful, he secures the best method for keeping himself in the way of truth, and of honest and good living. I know a student at Williams College who was at one time told that a classmate and fraternity associate of his would be obliged to leave college unless the derelict man could be taken as a room mate by the wiser and stronger one. He was so taken, and I have no reason to think that the wiser and stronger man was injured, though the younger and less strong man was helped.

The college officer should not, and seldom does, if ever, allow himself to employ unworthy means in discovering the ill deeds of students or in preventing students from doing such deeds. Not a few college men believe that college officers employ students whom they call "spies" to learn and to report the evil doings of students. I have never known of such methods being employed.

Nothing, therefore, can be more evident than that college officers believe it is comparatively useless to attempt to control by rules and regulations the conduct of college students. It is equally evident that through personal influence they may control the conduct and form the character of students. Upon this point I have recently read scores of letters from graduates of long standing and from many college officers. One of these writers, who is the chairman of the faculty of an old and conspicuous university, says :

"In my college days, which were passed at Hampden Sidney College, in this State, and at this university from 1868 to 1873, the control exercised by the officers of discipline was mainly through influence rather than through authority. There was never any espionage, but we were trusted to do what we knew to be right, and the sole effective check upon bad habits was found in the test offered by the college work.

"I believed then, and believe now, that it is not only wise, but necessary, to leave the college student to govern himself. Some will fall into error, some into vice, but it is a time in the life of a young man when his character needs the very discipline that is offered by this reliance upon his own powers of self-control. If at this period students are kept under constant surveillance, their characters are likely to be permanently distorted. All that can be done and ought to be done is to bring every salutary and uplifting influence to bear upon the student life, to offer legitimate and wholesome amusements as rivals of those that are unhealthy and illicit, to encourage among the young men a feeling of personal pride and honor and self-respecting uprightness, to establish a public opinion among the students which frowns upon gross vice and all forms of dishonorable action; in other words, to make the college career in this way a moral gymnastic and create out of the college student a worthy, honest, upright citizen."

Another, an able lawyer, a graduate of the University of Michigan, writes :

"It was my fortune to spend two years in a New England college having about two hundred students, entering Michigan University at the beginning of my Junior year. At the former institution students were subjected to a close watch—tutors and professors rooming in the same dormitories with the pupils, the attendance upon chapel and church being reported by monitors. Notwithstanding this oversight, or on account of it, no opportunity was lost on the part of the boys of giving vent to their ani-

mal spirits. Half-dressed attendance at early chapel, and summer nights made hideous by the horn blowing of ghost-clad boys on the roofs of the dormitories, together with the dangerous practice of hazing, often accompanied by a rain of stones, like a hail storm, demolishing scores of panes of glass, remain as vivid pictures in my mental gallery.

"Upon entering the University of Michigan I found there were no dormitories; the marking system had been abolished; there were no class honors or rivalries for prizes. But what was entirely new to me was an intellectual atmosphere and the spirit of earnest work that pervaded the university town, and this gives me an opportunity to answer, in a general way, the larger number of your questions.

"Our president and faculty succeeded in interesting the students in their work; the numbers were large and there was a strong current in the direction of earnest application which seemed to carry every one with it. A number of our professors were making discoveries and original investigations and were publishing books upon their various specialties. The works on spherical trigonometry and calculus that were afterward published by Prof. Olney were used in manuscript in our class and in the form of lectures. It is unnecessary to say that there were no ponies or diminutive books on shirt cuffs. Prof. Watson was frequently "bagging an asteroid." Prof. Cocker's *Christianity and Greek Philosophy* was just out and placed as a text book in the hands of the senior class and Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations* was giving him and the university a name on both sides of the ocean. In other words, the university was not conducted as a military post where boys were instructed to do some definite things and continually warned not to do other specific things, but all alike, faculty and students, seemed to be under the same law and striving for a common object. The moral as well as the intellectual life of the students was on a much higher plane than at the college which was governed by stricter rules."

Another, a physician in St. Paul, writes:

"Last summer I was in Cambridge for a week. I roomed in the college buildings and took my meals in the Memorial Hall. It was the week of Class Day, when nearly all the college students had finished their college duties; and if the Devil finds work for idle hands, here was a first-class opportunity. During that week I failed to see a single act that the most critical observer could censure.

"A few days later I was for a few hours at another institution, noted for its strictness, and I confess I saw a good deal of rowdyism. Harvard has practically no laws; the other has a statute book full of them. I think I may be regarded as an impartial observer, for I am not a graduate of either of the colleges that I have mentioned."

Such testimonies I might greatly multiply, but all such testimonies that I might cite would be evidence to prove this point; that it is useless for the American college to attempt to control conduct by rules; it is worse than useless; and further, it is of abounding value in the American college to attempt to control conduct and to form character through personal relationships and through the necessity of hard work.

Has the college the right to demand of students personal conduct which the homes from which students come, and to which they still belong though in college do not demand. It may be at once said that the college has the right, abstract and absolute, to make any demand which it sees fit to make. The college is usually a private corporation, although in certain large relations it is a public trust, and therefore it may do whatsoever seemeth to itself good. But a college never interprets its rights in such a hard and fast way. It holds its powers in trust for the people, and it wishes to use its powers so that the good of the people may be promoted. Yet the president of one college writes to me defending the right of the college to exact from students, in the matter of drinking for instance, conduct not required in their homes, on the ground, (1.) that a college ought to have a higher standard of life than many homes, (2.) that college life is beset by special temptations, and (3.) that in their homes young men are surrounded by older friends and little children. They are in their homes to be compared to grains of powder scattered through a barrel of sawdust, while in college the inflammable material is sifted out from the community and put by itself, so that special vigilance is required to prevent excess. A graduate of Amherst, himself a distinguished clergyman of the Congregational Church, writes: "No college can afford to lower its moral requirements to please anybody, and it cannot afford to imperil its students by allowing any who followed evil practices at home to indulge in them during their college life." Another graduate also writes in a bold spirit that: "The college has the right to demand of students, in the matter of drinking for instance, conduct not required in the home if the college has, or proposes to have, any character itself. If the student smokes, drinks or swears at home, *a fortiori* he ought to be taught better in college."

A professor in a New England college says:

"I think the deterioration in college life due to the change in the community. Cards and spreads were not countenanced in old times, and the same was true of dancing, smoking, and social evils. I believe cards hurt our students worse than all else put together, but even the ministers of to-day are expert at whist, certainly the professors. The country is wealthy, and it is the rich people that bring these evils upon us. It is not that I consider cards, dancing, and smoking wrong, but they take away interest in study; you cannot prohibit them; you must rely upon moral suasion. Do not appoint professors who think more of these things than of their studies. Encourage Y. M. C. A. and healthful exercise."

Another graduate, who is at the head of one of the great missionary boards of one of the great churches, says:

"If the conduct of a student is such as to affect unhappily the character of the college, I should say that the college had the right by all means to exact from that student different conduct, whatever his home life may be. I feel that our colleges should show a life and character with more sinew than can be found in a great many of our homes."

Further testimony is derived from another graduate of Amherst College who is also at the head of one of the great home missionary organizations:

"I should hold the opinion that the college has the right to require of students conduct which may not be demanded in their homes, in so far as the welfare of the college seems to demand it. There are habits which may be allowed in the home, with the home influences around the boy, which may not be allowed with safety in college when the boy is out from under the watch and care of parents."

But, on the other side, it is said that colleges have no right to exact from their students conduct which their homes do not demand. The judge of the Probate Court and Court of Insolvency of one of the large counties of Massachusetts writes:

"Colleges should not exact total abstinence from drinking, smoking, card playing, dancing and other things not wrong *per se*. The professor of hygiene may lecture on the evils of excess in any of these habits, but the college should not interfere unless such habits prevent the student's attaining the minimum standard of scholarship and deportment."

A professor in a divinity school says:

"I think that the college has the right to have its own standard of personal conduct irrespective of the home habits of students, but I should hesitate to make that a punishable offence which in the best (morally best) society was looked upon as a thoroughly innocent indulgence. The expressed wish of a parent in such matters would seem to be entitled to some consideration. When I was a member of the faculty of Antioch College under the presidency of Horace Mann, the habit of profane swearing was made a bar to graduation and card playing by the students was prohibited, but Mr. Mann attempted in general the maintenance of a higher ethical standard among his students than has been thought feasible in most other colleges. It must be confessed that in these efforts he was in no small degree successful."

A gentleman, himself able and distinguished and the son and grandson of able and distinguished statesmen, writes upon this point saying:

"All the college has the right to exact from the students in the matter of drinking, for example, is a fair degree of temperance and respect for the public. Exceptional cases of disorder should be ruthlessly weeded out. Except where these cases appear the students should be allowed to conduct themselves in such way as they see fit."

An eminent professor in an eminent law school says:

"Certain rules as to conduct, *e. g.* against the keeping of wines or liquors in college rooms, may be permissible, though I think such prohibitions should be established with caution; but I should think any attempt to denounce as immoral practices which students have been in the habit of seeing indulged in by the persons whom they most respect in the community in which they have lived, such as smoking, drinking, card-playing, however well intended such denunciations be, would be pretty certain to have an evil result."

And also, a distinguished citizen of Boston a short time before his death wrote as follows:

"Several rules tending to good conduct, as, for example, the forbidding of the use of liquor in college rooms, would seem proper, as showing the opinion and influence of the college on the subject, but in a general way one of the most important objects is to teach the students self-restraint and self government rather than to make them correct by compulsion. It has been discovered that students entering from the most precise and closely regulated schools are, in the largest proportion, 'wild' when they get to college."

I have thus at length set forth opposite opinions respecting the right of the college to exact of students methods of conduct which their homes do not demand. The general question, the two sides of which are thus set forth through these testimonies, has its quickest application to the question of the use of liquors. Shall the college endeavor to promote total abstinence among its students, or shall it endeavor to promote what is literally called temperance; in other words, shall it through the practice of its officers indicate that it is well, if they so desire, for men to partake temperately of liquor, or shall it, through the example and practice of its professors, indicate that total abstinence is the only rule for the highest type of self-respecting gentlemen? Upon this point I can have no question, but that the best rule for the American college, through the person of its officers, to set is the example of total abstinence. The only reason for this judgment, to which I now refer, lies in the fact that the *reputation* of a college as favoring the most temperate indulgence in liquor by its officers hurts that college in the judgment of a large body of the American people. Whether with reason or without reason, many homes would decline to send their sons to colleges which do possess this reputation. It is the duty of the officers of a college to see to it that in every possible way the reputation of that college shall be of the worthiest.

I was riding a little while ago in the smoking room of a car and a distinguished gentleman, a professor in a very conspicuous American college, coming into the smoking room, lit his cigar. He at once said to me, "I suppose you do not object to my smoking." Of course I replied in the negative. But he added, "I suppose you do not smoke." I also said I did not, and I enquired, "I am interested to know why you say, 'I *suppose* you do not smoke.'" His answer was, "I think a college president should not smoke." The reasons which would lead my distinguished friend to the opinion that the college president should not smoke would also lead him to think that the college president should not drink.

But upon this point a college may prefer to make its own choice; it may prefer to minister only to those who do wish their children to be brought up in the temperate use of liquors. If a father wish his boy to be brought up in the temperate use of liquor, it is fitting for him to send his son to a college in which the temperate use of liquor is promoted.

I suppose it must be said that there is no method by which every boy going to college can be saved from evil. In any system of moral government it is apparently true that some will make evil choices and must suffer the results of such choices. In any system of college government it is probably true that some will go to the bad. But these results occurring in the colleges do not at all militate against a free and large treatment of individual students. On the whole, it is apparently the rule to give to men freedom, even though freedom will be to some a very expensive and destructive luxury, rather than to make all men puppets and nonentities. Let rather the American college believe that its students come to its halls with high purposes, with characters directed toward righteousness, eager to learn the truth, susceptible to personal influences, and willing to lend themselves to the best relationships of the college. The life that the students live in such an atmosphere is the best life itself and is also the preparation for the best life.

With each passing generation the freedom belonging to the American college student increases. It ought to increase, for the college students of to-day are better men than the college students of thirty and forty years ago. A professor in Johns Hopkins University, writing of his own college, Amherst, says:

"College life nowadays seems to me more healthy than it was in my student days. I ascribe the fact to the gradual blending of student life with a larger social life, which is always saner and sounder than that of monastic communities and college halls, where young men are thought to be secluded from the world. Old-time college life was barbaric and uncivilized compared with that of the outside world. The sooner students are taught to be citizens and members of society the better it will be for colleges and for the country. I think the highest type of education is to be found only in a city university, where the student is in the world, but not of it. The country college is perhaps better for boys and for athletics, but country seclusion is by no means an ideal condition for student morals."

A friend, writing to me of his college, says that after a careful observation of his own class he had come to the conclusion that 85 per cent. of his class-mates were morally clean. Twenty years ago I know that hardly 50 per cent. of the men in the senior class were morally clean; the change has been great and in every respect salutary.

The newspapers teem from time to time with reports of the frolics and escapades or the deviltries, sins, and crimes of college boys. Such reports are usually exaggerations; but it is to be at once said that the personal morals of college men are far superior to the personal morals of any body of young men of equal size outside of the college. A distinguished graduate of Harvard writes me saying:

"The moral tone of college life among the students in my day was, to the best of my judgment, distinctly better than the moral tone of young men of the same age outside of college walls. There were dissipated young men there then, as there are dissipated young men there now; but the dissipation of young men outside of the college walls was in my judgment distinctly lower, more vulgar, and more degrading than that of those inside of them."

A professor in the College of Iowa says:

"As a teacher during forty-five years, I must say that the average student is noticeably superior to the non-student in life and in character. Were this not so I should be tempted to the most profound pessimism; as it is, however, I am able to indulge only in the most cheerful optimism."

The college man is none too good, but he is growing better with each passing generation. He now represents the highest type of young manhood. He will continue to grow better with each passing generation; he will embody a yet finer and nobler type of manhood. Worthy freedom under worthy conditions represents the best method and agency.

CHARLES F. THWING.

PATRIOTISM: ITS DEFECTS, ITS DANGERS AND ITS DUTIES.

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE,
BISHOP OF ALBANY.

THERE must be some confusion, in the application at least, of this great word if, on the one hand, it can be called, as it ought to be, the highest civic virtue and the noblest earthly motive, while on the other, there can be truth in Johnson's famous epigram, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." And the confusion arises partly from the complex character of the thought, and partly from the gross misuse of the word. The thought is complex plainly. Probably its most concrete expression is in the well-known lines of Sir Walter Scott:

> "Breathes there a man with soul so dead
> Who never to himself hath said
> 'This is my own, my native land?'"

But what about the splendid array of colonial representatives in the Queen's Jubilee procession, brimming over with enthusiasm for an empire which counts among its subjects people born under every sky, people who began their lives as subjects of other sovereigns and citizens of other states? And what about this composite citizenship of our own, so largely composed of men of "all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues"? What is the *patria* in which these are the patriots? It is not the native land, it is not always the land of adoption. For sometimes, as one said about a church with an unpopular rector, which had discarded pew rents and taken to the offertory system for maintenance, "this church is supported by *in*voluntary contributions," the British patriots of to-day became such in many instances very involuntarily, at the beginning. The fact is, that the difficulty in defining a patriot begins with the difficulty of

defining *patria*—the Fatherland, as the Germans translate, the mother country, as we rather say in English. Whether it means the country that fathers or mothers us, or the country of our fathers and mothers, depends upon circumstances. The native land, literally, is, of course, the latter, the land in which we were born. And the real instinct of patriotism finds its first place and finest reason there.

The Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, in a very noble speech at Glasgow, on the occasion of his installation as Lord Rector of the University, makes some curious statements as to the etymology of the word "patriot," which we use so freely and with such various meanings now. Dr. Murray, the editor of the new English Dictionary, is his authority for saying that the word is French in its origin and belongs to the fifteenth century, when, however, it meant simply a citizen. In the English literature of the sixteenth century it occurs, but always qualified with an adjective describing the kind of citizen it meant. The translators of the King James version in the seventeenth century use it, as does Milton, in this way, with "good" or "worthy" before it. And Dryden first gave it its specific meaning as needing no qualification whatever :

"A patriot's all-atoning name."

The question is whether it is a safe word to use now, without a qualifying adjective; whether there are not bad and unworthy patriots so-called, as well as good and worthy. Certainly when one traces the word back to France, realizes that it meant "citizen," and then remembers what that word stood for in the leveling and lowering horrors of the French Revolution, one feels inclined to doubt whether a patriot, *per se*, especially whether a patriot, *a se*—self-styled, that is—is absolutely the best citizen.

Mr. Chamberlain says that "the sentiment of patriotism must be found in something more than attachment to the soil, which might be attributed to a fungus. It depends on the pursuit of common interests, the defence of a common independence and the love of common liberties. It is strengthened by a common history and common traditions, and it is part of a national character formed under these conditions." Dr. Huntington's definition of nationality in his Bedell lectures for 1897 lies along the same line. "The three all important notes of nationality are polity, territory, sovereignty. There must be discipline, there

must be area, there must be independence. A nation is a people organized under one civil polity, established upon a definite territory, and possessed of sovereign power." But Mr. Chamberlain qualifies his definition in a way that seems to me somewhat dangerous and destructive of the finer thought. "Patriotism," he says, "implies an *exclusive* preference." But why exclusive?

There is a grand statement about this question in the book which contains for some of us authoritative truth: "God has made of *one* (*blood* being only a suggestive definition of the manner of the unity of man), God has made of *one* all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed (or their appointed seasons) and the bounds of their habitation." Certainly this means a unity of peoples in the purpose of God; and His further purpose in their distribution over the face of the earth, within the bounds of their habitation. By whatever means, of conquest, of eradication, of commingling, the bounds of the habitations of man are allotted, or at least allowed, by God. And through all distances, divisions, diversities, there is behind everything a unity of the human race,—a common origin which cannot be left out of account; a "parliament of man, the federation of the world." I do not dwell upon the more sacred knitting together wrought out in the redemption of the whole by the *one* Blood of Jesus Christ. It is enough to insist upon the oneness by the one creation, made closer by the oneness in the Incarnation, when whole humanity was taken in to God.

Mr. Chamberlain says very truly that "a vague attachment to the human race is a poor substitute for the performance of the duties of a citizen, and professions of universal philanthropy afford no excuse for neglecting the interests of one's own country." He illustrates this point by the followers of the Frenchmen (*spectre chimeras*, Carlyle calls them, who flit squeaking and gibbering until oblivion swallows them) who in the early days of the French Revolution "welcomed the human race to their Constituent Assembly." These are the men, it is to be remembered, from whom we get the word "patriot," and who dishonored its synonym of "citizen." Is it necessary to make the antithesis? Are the two terms antagonistic? Is not the love of man, "philanthropy," consistent with the love of country, "patriotism"? Must the preference be *exclusive*? My conten-

tion is that the one is larger than the other, that the one is above the other, that the one is before the other, that the one is the foundation of the other; that the patriot is first philanthropist; that in the great brotherhood of humanity all are brothers, only those are nearest who are in the same home. Patriotism is the stronger passion because it is centered upon a narrow sphere; just as a man's love for his family is intensified within the limits of his home, although the instinct of love for fellowmen is not only not crowded out, but is kept warmer by his home affections.

Preference there will be and ought to be, but not *exclusive* preference. What else but perpetual irritations can result from the absorbing concentration of all interests and affections, which forgets all others but its own? What sound or safe sentiment can be founded upon selfishness? What clear outlook into the broad atmosphere of duty can be had, that is shut in by so narrow a horizon? I am not specially fond of the word "altruism," but it seems to mean something to some people that no other word expresses; and if nations are masses of individuals, governed and controlled by the same great moral principles, it must be that national selfishness is a sin. Back of all lies the truth, I believe, that there are certain common interests of humanity which must be considered; that the advancement of one at the expense of another means in the long run harm and loss to all. There is, to a degree at least, such interdependence among the various nations of the earth, for instance in the interchange of the different commodities and products, as to make possible the application of the argument from diversity of membership in the human body. "If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." This seems plainly written in the diversities of products in different countries—tea and tobacco, cotton and wheat, coffee and sugar. What one needs another supplies. No one is self-sufficient.

But if, exclusively, the patriot must disregard all countries but one, we have simply a set of divisions of men arrayed each one against the other, which must result in a series of political Chinese walls. The true patriot is, first of all, a man, one of the great brotherhood of humanity, knit in, in the mere matter of self-interest, with the human race. And this knitting in becomes more and more intense. So closely are we tied to-

gether the world over, that the earth quivers from pole to pole when a blow is struck at the equator. The reticulation of electric wires is a very network of nerves, thrilling from one end of the earth to the other. And the intertwining of commercial relations, the touchy question of investments in stocks and bonds, make Wall Street and Chicago related to the old lady of Threadneedle Street, with a blood relationship of that kind which seems to be "thicker than water" or anything else; by which the financial pulse of the world is quickened or retarded. This is the mere material and monetary reason of self-interest; but in the long run battening on the adversity of another nation impoverished by war, by failure of crops, by any misfortune, does not fatten any nation in a healthy way. Patriotism is inclusive preference rather than exclusive.

But it is preference, and it ought to be, with the intensest, extremest jealousy of affection. Let me point out some of its dangers and difficulties. In the first place, let it be broadly said that the hatred of other countries is, not only not the only sign, but it is no sign at all, of the love of our own. It is neither necessary nor natural for a man to show his love for his mother or his wife or his daughter, by being a misogynist in his feeling toward all other women in the world. On the contrary, all womanhood, whose ideal is realized to him in these dearer relations, takes on more dignity and more attractiveness in his eyes. Our own national pride and affection ought to lead to respect for all other patriotism; ought to breed kindly feeling toward every country which inspires similar feelings in her citizens. National rivalries, national jealousies, must be and will be; and they are more natural and more keenly felt between nations of similar civilizations. But that a man must hate any other country in order to show his love for his own, or that the love of the one is shown at all by the hatred of the other, is false to nature and to reason.

Of all so-called patriotic hatreds the attempt to foster American hatred of England is the most unpardonable and the most unnatural. When one recalls the obstinacy of George III. and Lord North in their stupid and tyrannical treatment of the American colonies in the eighteenth century, the first thing to realize is, that that was settled more than a century ago, and is an issue too long dead and buried to be worth digging up to-day. The outcome was for us the splendid establishment

of this government by a series of heroic deeds and by the assertion of great principles of justice, which have lifted us to the proud position of England's rival and England's equal, in all that makes for national greatness. And the outcome for England was the wisdom which Pitt and Fox and Burke contended for one hundred years ago, and which great numbers of the Englishmen of that day believed in; namely, that England has been taught the lesson of colonial government which has signalized her career since she rallied from the blunders of that administration, by the establishment of an empire girdling the world with colonies and colonial governments, tied together, as this last Jubilee has shown, with bands of steel, with the cords of a man, with the nerves of love. She has certainly, as Sir Wilfrid Laurier said, "the art of governing," and she learned it largely by her experience with us. But the Stamp Act and the Boston Tea Party are things of the past and not of the present. We rejoice in the liberty which was won by very force of these oppressions. We remember them to the honour and glory of the wise and brave men who resisted this tyrannical folly, and sealed their resistance, not by cheap words of bitterness, but by brave words and braver deeds of courage and heroism. We recognize them as the pointing fingers of that providential purpose, by which God led men who put their trust in Him to carve out with the sword the independence of America. We realize that by them God "hastened in His time" the inevitable separation of this great nation from any sovereignty but its own. But to recall them to-day for the sake of creating or continuing prejudice and dislike against the England of to-day, with her splendid triumphs of imperial extension and colonial administration, on the part of the America of to-day, with her glorious development of power, is an act whose wickedness is only equalled by its folly. Surely we have learned some lessons about this nearer home. No greater bitterness ever existed than the bitterness of our own civil war. No grosser cruelties were ever charged in any war by each side upon the other. The men who fought these battles, and the great President under whom the government was preserved, pre-eminently Lincoln and Grant, were the first to set the example and to urge the importance of wiping out all painful memories, and so far as possible blotting out all monuments that could perpetuate the horrors of that fratricidal war. And yet

there is no lack of honour done to the brave men who won the battles of the Union.

The Hon. A. Oakey Hall, once Mayor of New York, after a seven years' residence in London, says that he holds "as utter detestation of the British government as *any Irishman* holds." Most people who know the facts would be led to distrust his judgment of the historic empire of England, from his distorted estimate of the historic Church of England, that it "was founded on the lust of Henry VIII., as well as of a recreant monk, Luther, and an apostate nun." But the dangerousness of this misjudgment is in the words in which he sums up the extreme possibility of detestation, "as much as any Irishman." This is a flavor of the old Tweed days, and I am sorry to say it is a flavor to which we have been treated rather *ad nauseam*. A paper called the *Irish Republic* speaks of England as the "arch enemy of this country and the sneak-thief of the world." The Knights of Labor, with a strong suspicion of this same tattered passion, describe England as "a coward in her dealings with nations who are her equals, and as a vindictive oppressor and exterminator of those nations and peoples over which she can dominate with impunity." The *Irish World* quotes from a Chicago paper twice in the same number, at length, the statement that "England bullied us when we were harassed and threatened us when we were in trouble and abused and slandered us in season and out of season." At the first reading, this is rather amusing. It is so bombastic, so overdone, so like the ranting of a poor actor, so vulgar, so violent, so exactly like the British jingo in the concert halls of London, that the inclination is to toss it into the waste-paper basket with a smile. But the trouble with it is that it masks itself behind the name of American patriotism, when it is nothing in the wide world but a nursing of an old grudge, racial and religious.

I am not saying that an Irishman in Ireland had not grievances and has not grievances against the government of England; but when he attempts to infect with his old sores the country that has harbored him and given him freedom from English oppression it ceases to be amusing and becomes matter of serious concern.

It is of the first essence of patriotism that it should beget a

race of citizens amalgamated into a community of sentiment. The phrases that are very frequent in the mouths of men, classifying Americans by a qualifying adjective of a national sort, are destructive of the best hopes of America. Partly because of youngness, partly because of the composite character of our population, we are still in the process of forming, as a nation. We have great evils to contend with in unrestricted immigration and in the operation of universal suffrage. The former may perhaps be controlled by the very demand of those who immigrated to us a good while ago, and find themselves either ousted from work or reduced in wages by the overplus of labor. The latter is harder to correct. If we could have *real* American manhood suffrage, a vote, that is, of no man who has not been an American for 21 years, either from his birth or from his arrival, a great evil would be cured. Meanwhile, recognizing our indebtedness to the toil of the Irishman and the thrift of the German immigrant, and realizing the splendid service that foreign-born people rendered in the Civil War, there ought to be impressed upon them the fact that we are all and only Americans; that patriotism is a positive and not a controversial sentiment; that distinguishing epithets and divided interests ought to be laid aside; and that the hatreds and hostilities with which, as living Americans today, we are not concerned, ought to be buried and forgotten.

I have dwelt upon this anglophobia for two reasons: First, because it is the most prominent form of this mistaken patriotism, this "exclusive preference," which measures love of one's own country by hatred of another; and, in the next place, because, more than any other hatred, it is the most unnatural and the most un-American sentiment. It is quite true that, if the census of descent were taken as the test, the sons or descendants of Englishmen by no means make up the majority of American citizens. But there is descent other than that of birth and a lineage beside that of blood. The unity of language, literature, and law between England and America is a threefold cord that cannot be broken. To have our English Bible, our English Shakespeare, our English Blackstone all absolutely American in reverence and influence outweighs, outvotes and overwhelms all questions of racial compositeness. And I am quite sure that this is the English feeling more and more. With the large mass of English people the oppression of our colonies was un-

popular a century ago. Men who were starving and out of work by thousands, because there was no cotton to be had from America, nevertheless were strong sympathizers with the Union in the Civil War. The suggestion of forcible insistence in Mr. Cleveland's Venezuelan message stirred but one common feeling of horror and surprise throughout England, while at the same time the intrusion of advice from the German Emperor was instantly and angrily denounced. Hasty and violent utterances in newspapers break out from time to time on both sides of the water. But the better class of English papers are restrained and, in the main, just in their recognition of American rights and principles. The loving words of Tennyson express the real feeling and the right relation between England and America:

"Gigantic daughter of the West,
We drink to thee across the flood.
We know thee most, we love thee best,
For art thou not of British blood?
Should war's mad blast again be blown,
Permit not thou the tyrant powers
To fight thy mother here alone,
But let thy broadsides roar with ours.
Hands all round!
God the tyrant's cause confound!
To our great kinsmen of the West, my friends,
To the great name of England round and round!"

And while true patriotism does not consist *in* and does not consist *with* contempt and dislike for other countries, it does not consist in boastful blindness about the faults of our country and our government. True love is never blind. The truest love sees, with its searching intimacy of sight, that so it may correct and cure the faults in what it loves best on earth. "It is not fair," Mr. Chamberlain says, "to condemn patriotism because it sometimes degenerates into mad jingoism or into the misplaced sentiment, 'my country right or wrong.'" It is not courage but cowardice that makes a blustering braggart of an individual, and this is just the element that marks the jingo in national feeling. Seen in other people, it is odious even in the eyes of those who are tainted with it themselves. The latest explosion of it in the German Emperor and his brother Henry has filled the world with laughter, not only at the inconsistency which demands, at the cannon's mouth, protection in China for the men whom Germany has banished from her own soil; nor only at the thin veiling of

the commercial purpose under cover of the advancement of religion, "the naked statement," the *Guardian* calls it, of the alternative between a coaling station and the Cross; but still more at its self-consequential assertion, "to declare in foreign lands," Prince Henry said to his brother, "to declare in foreign lands the gospel of your Majesty's hallowed person, to preach it to everyone who will hear it, and also to those who will not hear it. This gospel I will have inscribed upon my banner, and I will inscribe it whithersoever I go." One instinctively distrusts a man's own confidence in his loyalty or in his honesty, or in his purity, if he boasts of it perpetually.

Over against this class of men are two sorts of citizens. First, the people who see and seek to cure the defects or faults in their own government, to advance, that is to say, the best interests of their country by removing from it whatever hinders them. Mr. Chamberlain calls this class of people in Great Britain "Little Englanders," who argue for "a Little England policy of surrender," as against the imperial policy of expansion and extension, who make it their business "to look for specks of mud on the imperial mantle." No man ever plays this *rôle* without making himself offensive and objectionable to his neighbors, or without the risk of becoming something of a prig and a Pharisee himself. Nevertheless, it is a fine phase of the finest patriotism. And the *Spectator's* criticism of the one omission in Mr. Chamberlain's address is well put and true.

"The man who sincerely believes that the nation is acting wickedly, and who has the courage to say so, may be mistaken in fact, but it cannot be denied that he is acting a patriotic part. If, indeed, his criticism is true, it would be impossible to exaggerate the debt of gratitude which the nation owes him. Mr. Chamberlain would be the first to admit that Wilberforce's crusade against the slave trade was the work of a great patriot; yet many men in his day condemned him as a meddling sentimentalist who wanted to injure his country. . . . At the same time, let us never refuse the praise of patriotism to those who do their best to keep our rule above suspicion. It is of course very irritating to be told that there is a speck of dirt on the imperial ermine, to hear that this corner of the mantle is trailing in the mud, or that the edge is frayed in one place and rotten in another, but, all the same, those who point out these defects are doing good work, and unless we heed them, our robe of state will become so soiled and tattered as to be a disgrace rather than a glory."

Sorest and most serious of all these dangerous things that are mistaken for patriotism, however, are partisanship, and what I may perhaps be pardoned for calling "politicianism." Even at

times when great questions of state become the basis of party organization, men are easily blinded into thinking that the interests of their party and the interests of the nation are convertible terms. And when blind devotion to a country means really blind devotion to a party, the worst result has been attained. The peril is enhanced under such conditions as exist in America today, when no really great political questions divide the two great parties; when there are gold Democrats and silver Republicans, and *vice versa*; when the tariff can hardly be said to make any clear-cut line of separation; when the main difference is between the ins and the outs; when the old description is realized that "party is the madness of the many, for the profit of the few;" when offices and their spoils are the chief ends in view; when personal ownership takes the place of party leadership; when discontent and individual differences hinder the executive from executing the will of the people who elected him; and when the will of a majority of voters is not certain to be expressed by the votes of those whom they have chosen to represent them. Partisanship is never patriotism, because true patriotism cannot be partisan. West against East, North against South, class legislation, agitations of labour to depress capital or of capitalists to oppress the labourer, all antagonisms of citizen against citizen, sectional, local, or of different classes and conditions, are unpatriotic because they hurt the country. And honest as the *mere* party man may be, he is no safe guide, because neither virtue nor wisdom nor loyalty is exclusively the property of any single party anywhere. Over and over again the safest and soundest party is the one not in power; and the progress of a state is like the propelling power of a man in walking—one foot after another.

Worse than partisanship, even, is the dangerous element of what are called practical politics, the theories and methods of the professional politician. The accepted degradation of this word is a sad sign of the times. It has, derivatively and inherently, a higher source and a nobler meaning than patriotism. Seeming at first sight to be narrower, it must be interpreted upon the fact that the "polis" is the state, which would mean that the politician is the statesman. The suggestion of such a synonym is a sufficient comment on the deterioration of the thought; because the words are poles apart in "the modern instance" of the professional politician. It means a man, nowa-

days, who adopts as a means of livelihood the management of primaries, the running of elections, the distribution of the spoils. And yet politics ought to be a profession in the best sense of the word. And there is no harm—on the contrary, it is eminently legitimate—in a man's making his living out of it. But the livelihood ought not to be the only or the first purpose, in this or any other profession. And it ought to set itself at higher things than the mere manipulation of voters. Its preliminary studies and its preparatory training ought to be, not in the arts of the demagogue, the tricks of the ward-manager, or the skill of the wire-puller, but in the great principles of government; in sociology; in the problems of labour, of sanitation, of municipal administration; in diplomacy, in international law, in the great movements and concerns of organized life.

Wisest and best of all the marks of a true patriot is the possession and the practice of an intelligent interest in the public affairs of his country. Hopeless in the face of the overwhelming majorities of selfish and self-seeking masses of men, blindly following a leader to whom they hand over the exercise of what is supposed to be their will as expressed by votes, too many men of influence and character have withdrawn themselves from all concern in the administration of government. And it is the attitude of cowardice and immorality. Conspicuous instances of failure in the attempt to bring about a better condition of political management are no doubt most discouraging; but ultimate and not immediate success is the wise expectation of thoughtful men. And, meanwhile, no forlorn hope was ever led by the kind of man who loses heart in the face or in the fear of failure. And more than that, personal duty is not measured by this rule. A man owes to his country even his life, if the sacrifice is demanded; and he owes the service of his time, his intelligence, his interest, his participation in her public affairs.

It is not merely that political conditions personally affect every citizen, but it is more than this, that every branch of occupation in life can lend something to their improvement. The clergyman owes the influence of his religion and his ethical standards; the physician, his knowledge of the laws of health; the lawyer, his familiarity with legal principles; the tradesman, his experience in commercial interests; the farmer, the engineer, the labourer, their knowledge of agriculture, and mines, and rail-

ways, and toil. And to withhold his contribution to the common stock of influence for what is wise and right is an injury to the self-interest of the man and an injustice to the state in which he is a citizen. "Patriotism," Mr. Chamberlain says, "involves the idea of personal sacrifice. Our obligations do not end with obedience to the laws and the payment of taxes. We give an additional proof of patriotism in taking our full share of public work and responsibility, including the performance of those municipal obligations, on the due fulfilment of which the comfort, the health, and the lives of the community so largely depend." "And again, if the country is to be what men think it is and know it ought to be, the result can only be reached by a general display of public spirit, by the contribution of all to the common good, and by efforts to develop the noble side of national character, and to cure its defects." It is this thought, "the common good," that is expressed in that fine old name, "the commonwealth," which does not contain the vulgar suggestion of mere possessions, but the higher ideal of the common weal—the common good. This is the true aim and the true ambition of the patriot. Not limited in its largest thought to the *patria*, its duties and its desires will, nevertheless, centre themselves there. Even Mr. Chamberlain's *exclusive* preference confesses that "it should not involve the injury of others, but only that each nation may legitimately strive to become richer, stronger, greater."

Only let not these be mere material measures of comparison or of competition. There are riches not consisting in worldly wealth; there is strength not summed up in masses of martial power; there is greatness which is not mere bigness of territory or population. And the noblest strife among the nations of the world is to be *rich* in the arts and achievements of spiritual and intellectual power, *strong* in the might of justice and purity and honour, and great in the magnificent and magnanimous qualities, moral and civic, of Christian manhood. The cultivation of true patriotism will find its finest exercise of legitimate competition along such lines as these. And the great heritage which God has given to us Americans,—in the grandeur of our isolation from foreign entanglements; in the possession of a continental empire of unlimited extent and unseparated neighborhood; in the heritage of the ancestral examples of the founders of the

Republic, who stood for a liberty defined and defended by law; for an equality based on actual character and not on accidental birth; for a brotherhood of mutual duties and not of conflicting rights,—is our opportunity to accomplish these results. "Upon us it must devolve," as my father said to us in College forty-five years ago, in one of his masterly orations on the Fourth of July, "upon us it must devolve that as our history began it shall go on. The wisdom, the moderation, the integrity, the devotion, the self-denial, the self-sacrifice of seventeen hundred and seventy-six have made the opening chapters of our history as hard to emulate as they are worthy of our emulation. The eyes of the whole world are upon us. And we shall shame our sires and dispossess our sons if we permit one blot to fall upon the glorious page that chronicles the wars and brightens with the fame of Washington. A wisdom more than human inspired the counsels of the founders and framers of our government. The heavenly grace which Franklin urged them to invoke was freely poured upon their hearts. The Constitution of the United States after a trial of all these years, through all the vicissitudes of peace and war, of poverty and plenty, of prosperity and adversity, maintains its marvelous equipoise, expands with the expansion of our country, strengthens with the multiplication of our inhabitants, is equal to every emergency, is superior to every assault, spans our wide continent as one triumphal arch, laved at one base by the Atlantic and by the Pacific at the other, and sheds on millions of free men the light, the peace, the joy, the unity, the indivisibility of perfect freedom, to our children, and our children's children, and their children's children, an inheritance forever."

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

COULD RUSSIA TAKE BRITISH INDIA?*

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ROGALLA VON BIEBERSTEIN, OF THE GERMAN ARMY.

THE steady progress of Russia in the direction of India through the extensive territories east of the Caspian Sea is about to receive a fresh impulse as well from the political development of the districts traversed by the Trans-Caspian Railway and its extensions and projected branches, as from the Russian advance up to the Pendjdeh River on the Pamir plateau. Not without reason is the great skill admired with which Russia assimilates all the semi-civilized peoples conquered by her. The Turkish and Mongolian tribes on the lower Don and the Volga have been merged in Russia for centuries, and even the inhabitants of the Caucasus are to-day good Russians, after a glorious war of defence of unexampled obstinacy which lasted more than fifty years. As is generally recognized, the Russian military colonies have played an effective part in this work of assimilation—their members, merchants or officials, materially contributing, through their Slavonic sociableness and by means of marriage connection, to the rapid Russification of the subjugated districts, while the Russian government at the same time endeavors to attract to her service, by conferring distinction upon them, the princely and other prominent persons in those newly acquired lands.

The construction of a railway, lately planned by Russia, across the Caucasus, from Vladikavkaz to Tiflis, whence the South Caucasian Railway already runs to Baku, a port from which Krasnovodsk, on the other side of the Caspian, can be reached in 20 hours, seems to be calculated not only to promote the development of the trans-Caucasian dominions of Russia, but, by accel-

* The following study has met with a favorable judgment from Lord Frederick Roberts, and was presented to Prince Bismarck and Count Caprivi by Professor Fürgen Bona Mayer, of the University of Bonn.

erating the transport of Russian troops to these districts, to shorten and improve the strategical line of connection for an operation of Russia against India. This abbreviation of the route must be estimated at about two weeks, as the projected railway would save a march of about 150 kilometres through high mountains, and a double embarkation and disembarkation of the troops with their enormous baggage. It is but a short time, moreover, since a line was constructed from Vladikavkaz to Petrovsk on the Caspian, and thus a new line of communication was created with that military station, whence the passage across the Caspian to Krasnovodsk can be effected in about 40 hours.

The means of transportation at Russia's disposal for a passage of her troops across the Caspian consist not only of the six steamers of the Caspian fleet, but also of the numerous ships of the merchant fleet, among which are more than fifty large petroleum steamers. With such a flotilla, which could be reinforced by chartered ships, the Russian administration would be able, at the present moment, to meet the most extensive demands for the transport of immense masses of commissariat and military stores of every description. But in a Russian campaign against India in the future, the projected line through Persia, connecting Enzeli on the Caspian with Bushire on the Indian Ocean, would be of considerable significance, as by means of it the transport of Russia's troops between both seas might be accomplished within eight days. Of course a maritime operation of Russia against India in the Indian Ocean is out of the question, since the British fleet would render such a step impossible. At the same time railway connection might render it possible for Russia to conduct a special southern land operation against the district of the lower Indus, *via* Quetta, and thus cause the Russian attack on India to assume a more comprehensive character. The completion of the Euphrates railway and its connection with the Anatolian line would be far from enabling Russia to accomplish this purpose in the same degree, and she would be likely to meet greater opposition from Turkey as to the passage of troops than from Persia.

Even during the reigns of Catherine II. and Paul I. Russian acquisition of trans-Caspian territory had begun, first of all at the northeast of the Caspian Sea in the Kirghiz Steppe. Afterwards, in the reigns of Nicholas I., Alexander II., and Alexander III., they were constantly extended to the south and southeast.

There still remain as buffer states between Russia and British India, Afghanistan, and nominally the Khanate of Bokhara, which latter is manifestly under Russian control, and a small tract of the Pamir district. These states, however, Afghanistan perhaps excepted, do not form a serious obstacle to a Russian attack upon India, since they do not possess well organized military forces and are not protected by powerful guaranteeing governments close at hand interested in their integrity.

At present the Trans-Caspian Railway reaches Dushak on the Persian frontier, which is only about 240 miles from Herat, so that the sphere of Russian power has made considerable advance toward "The Gate of India." Dushak is, moreover, protected against any threatening of its communication by Persia (an eventuality which is by no means probable) by the incomparably strong Russian fortress of Kelati Nadiri.

The present condition of Russian Central Asia, Ferghana being excepted, as British travelers* describe it, is that of a very thinly populated and imperfectly cultivated region. This is the result of the lack of water and woods; and the retimbering of these districts would be an undertaking worthy of the enterprising spirit of their present rulers. The efforts of the Russians in this direction have been attended with the greatest success. At every station of any importance there are now to be found extensive plantations of young trees planned by them, and similar plantations are gradually to be laid out along the watercourses, where they will be protected from camels, goats, and other enemies of the vegetable kingdom.

Whatever may be the future value of their acquisitions, however, it is obvious that the Russians in their advance toward the Afghan frontier have gained little that so far is worth possessing. To use Skobeleff's expression, "the Asiatic skin is not as yet worth tanning." Nevertheless, the Russians retain the strategical advantages which arise from the advance positions they have secured, although it is doubtful whether their advance has been undertaken with that special object in view. Indeed, it is more probable that it has been forced upon them by circumstances, just as the gradual conquest of India became a necessity to the East India Company.

It must be clear to any one who is acquainted with the daily

* We follow C. E. Biddulph.

requirements of even a small force of five to ten thousand men, in districts which can only supply the provisions necessary for the sustenance of the existing population, that the difficulty of providing for a force of only twenty to fifty thousand men, at any point of the present Russian frontier, can be surpassed only by the almost impossible task of continuously providing for them for an indeterminate period. The resources of the trans-Caspian district would be for a number of years very limited, but the Russian government will not be wanting in energy in developing them. Already several projects exist for the extension of irrigation and the introduction of all kinds of agricultural improvements, which must result in a considerable increase in the productiveness of these districts and a constant amelioration of the condition of their inhabitants. The most important factor in bringing this about will naturally be the Trans-Caspian Railway. As England has earned in India and other parts of her empire, the existence of a lrailway has a magical effect in creating order among the most turbulent and quarrelsome peoples; and, indeed, this has been the experience of Russia with the Turcomans and other inhabitants of the trans-Caspian region. As a matter of fact the whole of that district may now be considered as quiet and safe as any part of India. The prevailing order cannot be said to be due to the presence of a large number of troops. The Russian troops in Trans-Caspia, Bokhara and Turkestan—that is to say, in the military district of Turkestan—amount in time of peace to about 41,000 men, and the number on a war footing is about 53,000 men, which forces are distributed over a territory of about 1,459,823 square kilometres, that is to say, over an area three times the size of Germany. So secure is the Russian position amid the natives that the Trans-Caspian Railway is watched throughout its whole extent only by the few soldiers of railway troops. From what has been said it may be inferred that as a source of commissariat supply for a Russian army, operating against India, Trans-Caspia can hardly be taken into account for a long time, and that such an army would be obliged, before beginning the campaign, to establish large depots there.

Of the routes which lead from the Russian trans-Caspian provinces to India, the following are the only ones at present available for a Russian attack on India: First, that from Dushak

via Old Sarakhson the Heri Rud, and that from Merv by the Kushk Valley and Herat to Kabul; and, second, that *via* Herat-Kandahar to Quetta, or *via* Ghazni to Dera Ismail Khan on the Middle Indus.

These routes are decidedly preferable to all others for such an undertaking as a Russian attack against India. Owing to their comparative nearness to the Trans-Caspian Railway, they have far better connection with the rich provinces of south and middle Russia, and with the military resources of the garrisons of the Caucasus government. Other routes lead through so difficult a mountainous country, inhabited partly by the most warlike Afghan tribes, that their practicability for the passage of troops and the transport of war material is more than questionable. Besides, the road to Herat is a comparatively easy one, and for part of its course traverses fertile country.

After the march of some 240 miles from Dushak to Herat, the district of Herat, itself one of the most fertile and populous Asiatic valleys, in which the commercial highways of Kabul, Balkh, Bokhara, Khiva, Meshed, Ispahan, Seistan, and Kandahar meet, would afford a new basis for the Russian attacking army, where it could collect its forces, let them rest, and gather their commissariat stores and their military material in preparation for the actual attack upon India. In addition to this the Russian march to Herat might take place in two main lines by Old Sarakhs and, the very probable consent of Persia being presupposed, by Meshed. Should Persia withhold her consent to the use of the Meshed route, Russia must be satisfied with the routes by Old Sarakhs and the Murghab and Kushk valleys.

In view of the immense distances to be overcome by a Russian army attacking British India, the necessity of an intermediate base of operations, such as Herat would supply, is obvious. If Russia were permitted, however, to march through Persia, she would be able, having as her base Trans-Caucasia and the maritime stations of Baku and Ashurada on the Caspian, to take the second line of march, that, namely, by Astrabad, Bostan, and Meshed to Herat, which passes through the northern part of Khorassan, which is extremely fertile and abounds in beasts of burden. It is true that this route is devoid of the means of railway transportation and that it is some 550 miles long. Nevertheless it might be of considerable value for Russian operations,

for the column using it, starting considerably in advance, would proceed from Ashurada *via* Meshed upon Herat and would appear in the district of Herat simultaneously with the column moving by railway and the northern routes—a junction which might be of great importance, especially in the improbable event of simultaneous offensive action of the Indian forces through Afghanistan. The use of this second line of advance to Herat would be of great importance for the supply of the immense war material which the attack on India would necessitate.

The two lines of advance practicable for a Russian attack upon India from Herat are on the north the routes by Kabul to Peshawur, and on the south by Kandahar to Pishin and Quetta, or from Kandahar by Ghazni to Dera Ismail Khan on the middle Indus. The northern line of advance, counting from Herat, is about 550 miles long as the crow flies, and, according to Lord Chelmsford, 784 miles throughout its whole extent to the Indus. It leads through the fertile valley of the Heri Rud, over the passes of the wild Hazara mountains (three thousand metres high) and then through the valley of the Kabul River (two thousand metres). This route has been hitherto used in its whole extent only by Asiatic armies; but it is to be assumed with certainty that it is passable for vehicles, and therefore practicable, though difficult, for artillery. In consideration of its mountainous character, three to three and a half months must be allowed for it, especially because of the enormous baggage which a Russian army would be compelled to take with it in these regions, which afford sufficient forage but insufficient sustenance for the troops. One camel is reckoned as means of transport for every kind of military requirements for three men.

The route from Herat by Kandahar to Quetta, being shorter (only 650 miles long) and the more convenient, may be traversed in from two to two and a half months. But, supposing it possible for Russia to form two sufficiently strong attacking columns, while an army advancing by the northern route would have overcome the chief obstacles of the march as soon as it reached Kabul, one advancing along the southern route by Kandahar would be beginning to encounter the greatest difficulties of its task at that place, as it would have to cross the mountains which would oppose it there. Apart from the obstacles which these mountains present to the advance of such a column by their

wild and precipitous character, the English fortifications of the passes traversing them and the very strong, fortified British possession of Quetta would have to be seriously reckoned with. It might, therefore, be more advantageous for the southern Russian column, which would be separated here from the northern one by a distance of about 400 miles, to leave thirty thousand men in a well-entrenched position at Kandahar to provide against an English advance from Quetta, and proceed by the road at the western foot of the west Suleiman mountains to Saiadabad on the route to the Schutar Gardan pass and the Kurram valley, and there operate in connection with the northern column. The particular operations to be undertaken by the Russians would depend upon the strength of their attacking columns in siege guns of mean calibre available for a probably successful attack on the strongest pass fortifications and on those of Quetta, and upon what they might be able to learn as to the distribution of the British forces on the western frontier of India.

There is a further possibility, namely, that the northern Russian column, instead of attacking the fortified Khyber pass and the military station of Peshawur, should merely send against them one strong detachment for observation, and then should march along the road on the west slope of the west Suleiman mountains and advance by the Schutar Gardan pass, while the southern column proceeded either through the Ghuleri pass or the Tochi Valley against the middle Indus. In this case, however, both armies would operate at such a distance from each other as would preclude all prompt mutual support, so that it would seem to be more advisable for the northern Russian column to push on to Peshawur and the Punjab Northern State Railway and shut in Peshawur from the north. The skill of the Russian military leadership would show itself at this point by keeping the adversary in the dark about the line of advance of the main force.

Should the Russian forces succeed in such a design upon Peshawur, the Anglo-Indian forces would still be left in possession of the strong barrier of the Indus, which is easily to be defended, especially in late autumn and at high water.

The main difficulties of the Russian advance consist in the immense distances to be traversed and the mass of war material of all kind, especially of provisions, ammunition, and beasts of burden, which an advancing army, operating so far from all pro-

tective military establishments and depots, would be compelled to take with it. Further, the accommodation for troops is extremely limited in that region, being confined to isolated tracts of land; while the problem is aggravated by the difficulties of marching occasioned by the lack of high roads in mountains where the passes are higher than those of the Alps, not to speak of the molestations to be apprehended from the wild people inhabiting them. Moreover, the highland character of the land would restrict operations exclusively to the summer, so that the actual attack on India would probably have to take place in the autumn. However, Asiatic armies with far less resources at their disposal have traversed these routes in ancient and modern times, and the hardiness of the Russian soldier would be scarcely likely to succumb to the demands made upon him by such a campaign.

We have now to consider the number of troops which would be available to Russia for such an attack upon India, and the time which would be required for the Russian advance.

Bokhara and Turkestan number about 41,000 men on a peace footing. In view of the great importance of Herat as a base of operations for a Russian attack on India, it is not impossible—though it can scarcely be said to be probable—that England might undertake a defence, if not of Herat itself, of other parts of Afghanistan against a Russian attack; and in such an event the Russians would be incited to an effort to secure Herat with as little delay as possible. For this attack, the Russian troops in Trans-Caspia, whose most advanced posts at the Zulficar pass and at Sahri Yari are only about 230 miles (say twenty marches) from Herat, might be immediately employed against that place, while the troops located in the northeast of Trans-Caspia might be brought up by rail. In such a situation, the attitude of the Afghans would, of course, be of special importance. It is true that their Amir is subsidized by England, but his control over the wild Afghan tribes is slight, and it is not impossible that the latter, in their desire for booty, would rather follow a Russian summons to join in an expedition against wealthy India, than an English invitation to defend Herat, without immediate chance of profit. In any case, Russia, by reason of her greater nearness to Herat, is at considerable advantage. The next important body of Russian troops available for the expedition to India—that in

Trans-Caucasia and Cis-Caucasia—amounts to about 104,000 men, exclusive of the troops guarding the frontier, of the militia and the garrisoned artillery; its war footing being about 275,000. The troops garrisoned in Tiflis, Kutais, Poti, Elizabethpol, Batum, and in the neighborhood of the South Caucasian Railway, being completely mobilized, could reach the harbor of Krasnovodsk in about four or five days, including embarkation and disembarkation. These would form the first echelon of the main body of the army of operation, following the vanguard formed by the trans-Caspian, Bokharan, and Turkestan troops near Dushak, Old Sarakhs and Merv. From Krasnovodsk they could reach Dushak by rail in two or three days.

Once the railway projected *via* the Caucasus is completed, the troops from Cis-Caucasia would be able to follow those from Trans-Caucasia at short intervals. The advance of the first Caucasian troops to Herat from Dushak might begin in about six days after their departure from Baku, and they would be able to arrive at Herat in about four weeks thereafter. It would depend on the efficiency of the Trans-Caspian Railway how rapidly the numbers of the Russian forces about Herat would increase. If both roads from Dushak and Merv to Herat were promptly used, over 150,000 men of the Trans-Caspian and Caucasian armies could be assembled at Herat within two months.

Of the Russian forces in Central Asia, only those garrisoned in Trans-Caspia, Bokhara, and Turkestan (that is, in the military district of Turkestan) would be serviceable for such a war. These are nearly all garrisoned on the Trans-Caspian Railway from Kizil Arvat to Samarkand, or, as at Tashkend, Khokand, and its environs, at a practicable distance from the terminus at Samarkand. The Russian forces in the Siberian governments by reason of their great distance and the necessity of protecting these territories, could not be employed in the operations under consideration. The difficulty which the Russian administration has to face with respect to the number of troops to be employed in an expedition against India, consists essentially in determining how far the increased efficiency which numerically strong forces display upon the scene of war may possibly be offset by the immense difficulty of providing commissariat required for them, as well as ammunition, transport, and other war material.

At the same time there must be taken into account the strength of the Anglo-Indian army and of its newly reorganized troops, the probable loss of the Russians in sick and wounded (a loss extremely difficult to replace), and the possibility of securing the lines of operation. Many apparently well-informed specialists reckon the British force available for a movement on Herat at 70,000 men, and that available for defending the Indus (if England confined herself thereto) at 100,000. The remaining 126,000 out of 226,000 men (according to others 239,000) composing the Anglo-Indian army, they regard as necessary for insuring England's political supremacy and control in India, and therefore not available for employment on the battlefield. We are of opinion, however, that if sufficient stores of arms and ammunition were created to render possible the speedy drilling of men, England would understand how to enroll under her banner a considerably larger number from the most war-like Indian races, with a view to meet the Russian invading army on the Indus in sufficient force to bring about a decisive action. With a Hinterland, therefore, with 290,000,000 inhabitants, from whom two-thirds of her Anglo-Indian army are already drawn, it may be presumed that England would appear at the Indus with more than 100,000 combatants. In that case, of course, Russia must appear with more than 150,000 men, considering her extraordinarily long line of connection, upon which she must leave about 50,000 men. But Russia can take her time in preparing for a campaign in which it would be a serious and unpardonable blunder if she did not turn to account her numerical superiority to England in thoroughly drilled troops. By continual reinforcements of troops and weapons from the mother country, and by using the supplies of men available in India, England might draw up such numerous new formations there that she might succeed, if it were only by carrying on irregular warfare, in doing considerable damage to an insufficiently strong Russian army, and even eventually in bringing about its overthrow.

We have seen that, within two months after mobilization, about one hundred and fifty thousand Russian troops might be assembled at Herat, and that they might reach Kabul within three to three and a half months thereafter. The Anglo-Indian army administration would, therefore, have about five to five and

a half months in which to organize new forces on the Indus. In that period England might, by an extraordinary effort, bring together for the defence perhaps seventy thousand men of her native troops—say two army corps—together with her reserves from the mother country. At the same time she could employ her navy to attack Russia by sea, leaving to the remainder of her land forces of the line, reinforced by her militia and volunteers, the protection of Great Britain. The transport from Portsmouth to Kurrachee takes about four weeks, including embarkation and disembarkation, so that a fleet carrying thirty-five thousand men of all arms might accomplish the voyage to India and back two times during the five months required for the movement of the Russian troops to Kabul.

Let us now examine more closely the political and strategical situation of the English in British India. The possession of India has been for a century, and still is to-day, the source of immense advantage to Great Britain. England's capital is actively employed in India; her industry finds there one of its most important markets, and her gentry secure there numerous official positions and good incomes. Above all, the possession of India gives to England a prestige which is of incalculable value for her trade in the whole of Asia. It is to be assumed, therefore, that Great Britain would protect her relations to India at any expenditure of her rich resources.

The Anglo-Indian Empire presents, further, a very vivid contrast to the Asiatic territories of Russia. Here wide and often vast spaces and steppes, thinly populated by nomad tribes; there an extremely rich, and for the most part fertile and highly cultivated land, with the immeasurable resources arising out of the labor of 290 million inhabitants. The two hundred thousand English who dominate the vast population of India have not become fused with the natives in any respect, but even at the present moment stand in sharp opposition to them, as their rulers; whereas the Asiatic races subjugated by Russia have rapidly become assimilated with their conquerors. Therein lies the weakness of England's position as opposed to Russia, and that is aggravated by the circumstance that the people of India are convinced of Russia's superiority to England, especially since the last two Anglo-Afghan wars, which ended with the evacuation of Afghanistan.

As we have seen, Great Britain can defend India either by a move upon Herat or by holding Peshawur, the Khyber pass and Quetta, and occupying the passes of the east Suleiman mountains (which form her frontier toward Waziristan and Afghanistan), and attacking the Russian forces on their debouching from these passes; or she might occupy the line of the Indus, which forms an uncommonly strong obstacle to operations, especially in late autumn, when the Russian attack might be expected. She might even, were occasion favorable, advance from the strong, fortified flank position of Quetta against Kandahar, and take the offensive against a southern or northern Russian column. One reason why the British should undertake the offensive action against Herat or Kandahar would be the favorable impression which such an operation would make upon the races of India, as well as the possibility of securing Afghanistan, which, it must be confessed, however, would be likely to be a thoroughly unreliable ally.

The disadvantages of this operation, however, would be very numerous. Russia could unquestionably reach Herat before England and would confront the British there with greater numerical and physical strength, not yet weakened, as the British would be, by a long march, such as that from Pashawur or Quetta to Herat. It would, moreover, carry the Anglo-Indian troops through countries where there are mostly "only men and stones," the climate of which could not easily be sustained by most of the native troops of the Anglo-Indian army. It would further require a long line of communication through very difficult country, which would have to be protected by many thousands of troops, and could not be completely secured against unforeseen attacks of hostile tribes or Russian irregular troops. In case of a British defeat it would force the Anglo-Indian troops to a very difficult retreat through long defiles, where they could hardly escape disaster, and it would carry the British defence of India into regions where the supports of the northwestern Indian frontier (namely Quetta, the Suleiman mountains, so difficult to pass, and the strategical barrier of the Indus) would not be available.

On the other hand, should the Anglo-Indian army await the Russian attack on the Indus, it could meet the attack there with far greater numerical strength, in immediate connection with its magazines and with its stores of armor and ammunition and with its relief troops, and connected by railway with the

rich resources of the Hinterland, besides being near the line of sure communication with the mother country. Should England be threatened in a war of this kind by the Franco-Russian alliance, she would, of course, be able to move fewer troops of her standing army from Great Britain to India. But, as the landing of a French army on the British coast could doubtless be prevented at any time by the British fleet and the coast defences, a considerable portion of the British army might, in any case, be sent to India under the protection of the British fleet.

It would, in our opinion, be a cardinal mistake on the part of Russia, or of any other nation, to underrate England's capacity to meet the demands which would be made upon her fighting strength when her position as the leading power in Asia is at stake. At the same time, if Russia made commensurate efforts she might still be able, in the long run, in consequence of the vast masses of men she possesses trained for war, to appear on the Indus with numerically superior forces, and she would further enjoy the indisputable advantage of having leaders better trained for war on a large scale, and troops better drilled through great manœuvres and perhaps capable of greater endurance.

The military position of England in India, where some 74,000 English troops maintain Great Britain's supremacy over 290,000,000 inhabitants, is in itself by no means a strong one. On the outbreak of a war a general insurrection against the foreign supremacy might arise, and the English army in India is numerically but weak. True, the native army is reliable, but, like the British-Indian troops, not sufficiently trained in the European fashion against such an adversary as the Russian army would be. Besides, it still possesses many defects of organization. The armies of the Independent States are no match for the Indo-British troops, but they might prove effectual in interrupting communications in the interior of the Indian Empire, and form the nucleus for such a general insurrection as has been alluded to.

Let us now examine the western frontier district of British India, the distribution of British troops there, and the railway system. The western frontier of India, from the mouth of the Indus to the Khyber pass, about 646 miles long, follows in general the eastern slope of the east Suleiman mountains. It is protected from immediate attack in its southern portion from the sea to the district of Quetta by the desert of Mekran, so that only the

northern part, from Quetta to the Khyber pass, is to be considered. While the mountains lying between the fortified position of Quetta and Kandahar are very difficult to pass, in spite of the existence of the Bolan and other passes, the Suleiman chain and the mountains north of it are, on the other hand, crossed by numerous passes which may be traversed by troops with comparative ease. The northernmost of these is the Khyber pass with the high road from Kabul to Lahore, which has been made use of for the conquest of India by nearly all armies from the earliest times. The road leads, with many branches, through a series of passes, the most eastern of which, the actual Khyber pass, is blocked by the British fort of Jamrud, lying only about eleven and a quarter kilometres from the great military station of Peshawur. The next southern connection between the Kabul valley and the plain of the Indus is formed by the valley of the Kurram and the Schutar Gardan pass, and may likewise be crossed by large army divisions.

At the spot where the river Kurram emerges from the mountains lies the garrison of Eduardesabad, and some sixty miles north that of Kohat. From Ghazni, on the road from Kabul to Kandahar, two highways lead to India by the Tochi pass in the Gambela valley, and by the Sargo pass in the Gomal valley to the Ghuleri pass by the eastern Suleiman mountains. The strong garrison of Eduardesabad and Dera Ismail Khan guard the exits of both these passes. There follow to the south a number of passes which all have their outlet on the west toward Kandahar. Between British-India and Afghanistan proper there lies the neutral mountainous zone of Waziristan, about sixty to one hundred and sixty miles broad, which is inhabited by free and warlike tribes, such as the Afridis, the Orakzais, etc., which are subject to British and Afghan influence, and which English policy has endeavored till now to keep friendly by presents, and to keep them in control by military posts in small forts, but which are now in insurrection against the British supremacy. All the more important passes, with the exception of the Bolan pass, are under control of these tribes, their eastern exits being guarded by British posts or garrisons. These tribes would be welcome allies in an Indian war, and it is of considerable importance to England to subdue them again.

The left wing of the British line of defence consists of the

great military station of Quetta, which is about 375 miles distant from the right wing, the military depot Peshawur, being protected by a girdle of five forts on the west side. Quetta possesses a garrison of two English infantry regiments, three native infantry regiments, one native cavalry regiment, one division of field artillery, and one division of garrison artillery, while the garrison of Peshawur is about one-third smaller. The defensive works of the position lie northwest on the border of the plain of Pishin, an advanced post on the Khojak pass. The fortified position of Quetta possesses such strength that it is considered by many British specialists to be impregnable, as the Russians would be unable to bring heavy artillery up to it. It is hard to say, however, why siege guns of mean calibre, such as follow the movements of field armies to-day, and which are capable of attacking any fortress, might not be employed against it.

The position of Quetta is connected by railway with Jacobabad and with the Indus line at Sukkur. The railway lines which might be used for assembling Anglo-Indian troops at the passes in question are, on the north, the Lahore-Peshawur line, which crosses the Indus by an iron bridge, and at this point is blocked by Fort Attock. From here a line branches off at Rawul Pindee to Kuschalgarh, which is connected with the road to Kohat and Thall.

From the Lahore-Peshawur line branches off further, at Lalla Musan, the Indus line to Multan, Dera Ismail Khan, and Kalabagh. With its railway line the garrison of Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan are connected by pontoon bridges over the Indus at Kotla and Mahmud Kot. At Multan the south main line of the Indus railway begins, which leads north to Lahore, south to the port of Kurrachee, and crosses the Indus at Sukkur. Near Sukkur the Bolan railway branches off from it at Rulk.

From the structure of the railway net-work of the Indus, as well as from the distribution of the British troops, it may be seen that it is only at the Khyber and Bolan passes, at Peshawur and Quetta, that the concentration of strong British forces can be effected in a comparatively short time. Should the English, however, succeed in obtaining prompt information as to the strength and the direction of the Russian advance, they might be able to forward their troops promptly and encounter the Russians at the Suleiman mountains.

The eastern chains of these mountains form, as we have seen, the first line of defence of India, the second line being the broad stream of the Indus, which in late summer is a rushing torrent, nowhere fordable. This river, about five hundred miles long from Attock to Sukkur, is even in its upper course from the mouth of the Kabul 250 metres wide and ten to fifteen metres deep, at high water being twenty to twenty-five metres deep. Its width increases up to the mouth of the Punjab, where it is 600 metres, while its depth decreases to about four to five metres. From the mouth of the Punjab it is 2,000 meters wide. The Indus thus forms a first-class obstacle to operations, its defence being materially assisted by the Indus railway, which runs parallel to it. The crossing of the river in the face of an enemy would be an extremely difficult operation. But even if an attacking Russian force could effect the passage of the stream, it would be confronted on the north by the Punjab or Land of the Five Streams, a land difficult to traverse, and on the middle and southern Indus by the desert of Sind, a hundred and forty miles broad and about four hundred miles long, behind both of which important sections of British resistance might be organized anew. The conquest of British India thus appears to be a task which would be one of extreme difficulty for a Russian force, if it were only on account of the immense spaces to be traversed, and of the unfavorable geographical circumstances. At any rate, as Russia must create a new base of operations on the Indus, leaving behind troops for its protection, this gigantic undertaking could not be carried out, as some suppose, with a hundred thousand men. The occupation of intermediate points and of the lines of communication would alone absorb a very considerable part of such a force.

At what points of the Indus railway system, in addition to those which have been named, the British troops would have to be held in readiness for meeting a Russian attack would depend upon the intelligence received as to the movements of the enemy. In any case, England would have to occupy in strength Peshawur and the Khyber pass, as well as Quetta, and she would also have to protect the Suleiman passes against possible advance from Ghazni. A majority of British strategists, Sir Edward Hamley, Lord Chelmsford, and others, do not favor offensive action against an advancing Russian army in Afghanistan beyond the strong

barrier of the Suleiman mountains and the Indus, for instance at Kabul or Kandahar. They favor, rather, an attempt to hold the strong northwestern frontier of India, with Quetta as an extremely firm support at the left, the Suleiman Mountains in the middle, and a strong entrenched camp at Peshawur, opposite the east mouths of the Khyber pass. Lord Chelmsford, indeed, proposes another entrenched camp at Ghazni, on the entrance to the Ghuleri and the Tochi passes.

He rightly disapproves of holding the positions of Kandahar and Kabul, although the first is adapted to fortification while the latter is tactically too feeble, and both could be held only by a series of military and police posts, a course which would probably excite the susceptibilities of the Afghans. My opinion is that if India is to be defended beyond the Indus on the line of Quetta, the Suleiman mountains, and Peshawur, the Indus River requires a greater number of permanent bridges than those at Attock and Sukkur, and that the pontoon bridges at Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan, which perhaps at high water are not of use, must be replaced by iron bridges and provided with vast fortified *tête-de-ponts* to enable the Anglo-Indian forces defending the Suleiman passes to retire eventually in full security behind the Indus River, the second main line of India's defence. In the same way the existing bridges at Attock and Sukkur would require strong fortified *tête-de-ponts,* and a well-organized defence of the whole Indus line would require a junction if possible of Kalabagh and Attock by a direct railway line beyond the range of effective gun-fire from the right bank of the Indus.

Further calculations would be lost in the domain of pure conjecture, and it only remains to consider the question of providing on both sides for a fresh supply of troops. It is our opinion that it would take longer for Russia to land relief troops and war material on the field of operations than for the British. For Russia, as we have seen, the transport would consume from five to five and a half months, whereas the British could accomplish the transport in from four to five months, including embarkation and disembarkation. Only in one case would the celerity and regularity of the transport of British reinforcements be affected ; that is in the event of the French fleet joining with the Russian-Baltic fleet to threaten England on the one hand with invasion or a Russian diversion, and thus confine

the British fleet to the Channel, or, on the other, succeed in attacking the Indian transport ships.

It is thus evident that the constantly and gradually approaching struggle of Russia in India depends on the co-operation of a number of factors, so that no one can forsee in what manner it will take place, nor can any conjecture be made as to the question whether Russia or England has the greater chance of success in such a struggle. If at the outset Russia could appear upon the field with troops stronger in number and better drilled for a great war than England could muster, it must not be forgotten that England, with her immense national wealth, has nearly always managed in moments of extreme danger to surprise her adversaries by measures improvised for the occasion, and to win success for her flag and for her policy.

ROGALLA VON BIEBERSTEIN.

THE NEED OF POSTAL REFORM.

BY THE HON. E. F. LOUD, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS.

No measure of the same degree of public importance, particularly to the magazine and newspaper press of the country, has been so much misunderstood and so persistently misrepresented as the bill for post-office reform to which, as a matter of custom, my name has been attached. Were it not for such misapprehension, the committee of publishers who have charged themselves with the duty of defeating this measure would have found their task an exceedingly difficult one.

It is an acknowledged fact that the United States government is losing $40,000,000 annually on the matter which it carries through the mails at the second-class rate of one cent a pound. This imposing fact, which is closely related to the increasing annual deficit of our post-office establishment, is sure some time to call for positive consideration. The bill under discussion aims simply to restrict the privileges of second-class matter to such publications as were evidently intended by the framers of the original law. The measure itself contains nothing new and, above all, wages no war on the legitimate press. It has been endorsed by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, representing 80 per cent. of the daily circulation of the country, at its last two annual meetings; by the Illinois State Press Association; by the Agricultural Press League; by the American Trade Press Association; by the Chicago Trade Press Association; besides almost numberless commercial and trade organizations. The bill has been steadily before Congress in its present shape for more than two years, and on January 6, 1897, passed the House of Representatives by a decisive vote. Hearings were given before the committee of the Senate; but, as less than two months of the expiring Congress re-

mained after the bill came to the upper chamber, it failed to reach a vote there. The absence from this country at the time of Senator Wolcott, Chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, and one of the most earnest advocates of the bill, accounts in large part for this result. These observations are made merely to show that the measure is not a new one, as many of its opponents assert, and that no feature of it has failed to receive the fullest investigation. In this light it is sad to contemplate the alarm of the publishers' committee that the press of the country came so near being wiped out of existence without knowing that a measure for its destruction was contemplated!

The first substantial exclusion from the second-class rate, which the bill contemplates, is that of novels, upon which the government loses at a conservative estimate eleven cents a pound. It is safe to say that it was never intended to admit these to the pound rate. It was by construing the law and not following its obvious intent that such works of fiction, when issued in the form of serials, have been admitted. There is apparently no reason why so-called literature, good and bad, when served in this form, should be carried at a rate one-eighth that charged for mailing Bibles, dictionaries, school books, and other works of general literature. Twenty years ago nobody had any doubt as to what constituted newspapers and magazines within the meaning of the law, but some publishers have so enlarged the meaning of these terms that they can now hardly be recognized by their closest friends. And yet these publishers have become so intrenched in the positions they enjoy that they say we should not disturb "vested rights," that we should take no backward step, even to save the Treasury from bankruptcy. They imply that as a result of their emjoyment of this privilege good literature has been made so cheap that the poor farmer's boy at the edge of the backwoods now has his library. But they neglect to point to the tremendous fall in the price of paper, the invention of the type-setting machine, and other economies in the art of printing, which are the real means of bringing literature within the reach of those who formerly could not possess it. A late member of the publishers' committee opposing this bill has stated in a recent magazine article that the serial novel has fulfilled its mission of educating the masses and is now gradually ceasing to be a weighty factor in the mails. If that be true, no one should

seriously object to the first section of the bill, which will transfer these novels from the one cent to the eight cent a pound rate, and so accomplish at once, so far as the mails are concerned, what, according to this contention, is bound to come about in time even if nothing is done.

A second section of the bill would eliminate from the pound rate privileges sample copies, and levy a charge of one cent for four ounces upon unsold copies of newspapers and periodicals returned to agents or publishers. Heretofore no right of return at less than eight cents a pound has been granted to publishers, the news companies enjoying to themselves this privilege of returning at one cent a pound. The compromise is, therefore, a concession to the great body of publishers. The right to send out magazines and newspapers to regular subscribers at the one cent rate is, of course, undisturbed, as is also the weekly free distribution of country newspapers to subscribers within the county in which they are issued. But it is the striking out of the sample copy privilege that has excited against the pending bill the most serious opposition. This is a privilege which has been a most fruitful source of abuse. Journals supported wholly by advertisements are able to flood the country with millions of pounds of matter, which is in no sense the dissemination of either current literature or of news, other than such news as this class of advertising may convey. The philanthropic lobby opposing the bill ask us to prevent this abuse, but still to leave the privilege open to the legitimate publications. But human ingenuity is too sharp to make it safe to leave any loop holes. To frame a law which shall clearly define what constitutes a periodical is a difficult task; the line of demarcation between different grades of publications is so faint as to make such restrictions impracticable. There is, however, one vital underlying distinction which may be made a working basis of intended reforms. The legitimate publications exist by reason of a paid subscription list; the others by a subscription list only nominal, together with an enormous circulation of sample copies, running up in certain instances to hundreds of thousands. Since the circulation governs the advertising rates, some of these papers, which have practically no genuine paying subscription list, are able to command as high as $4,000 a page per issue for their space. It seems hardly right that the government should

subsidize to so great an extent this method of advertising, when it leaves the owners of bill boards and stereopticon devices standing on their own business merits.

Students of the postal problem for many years have agreed that this was the kind of matter which should be excluded from the second-class privilege, before the postal deficit became so heavy as to break down with its own weight that important branch of the service. It was the unanimous opinion of the executive committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association that no measure more liberal in its scope than this would accomplish anything, although the writer of this article was at that time willing to concede a percentage of sample copies, based on actual subscriptions, and this is what the country press are now asking. But simple as this would seem, further investigation has shown that this privilege when once granted would open the sluice-ways. The publication which is now monthly would probably become a weekly, the weekly a daily, and in that way evasions would be discovered for multiplying by four or by six the sample copy percentage intended. Another plausible suggestion is that the sample copy privilege should be unlimited for country papers within the county of publication. But once grant even this privilege, and how easy it would be for the advertising sheet to be admitted and published in the country town, side by side with the legitimate local newspaper, and thus find its way into every household free. It has, therefore, on second thought been deemed best to strike at the root of the sample copy privilege, even though to a certain extent the innocent must thereby suffer with the guilty. The advantage to the legitimate publishers of cutting out these free sample-copy periodicals would be so great as to compensate them for the extra cost of mailing their own samples.

A third section of the bill substantially repeats the existing law, except that publications of incorporated colleges, State Medical Boards and State Agricultural Societies are not allowed to mail their publications at pound rate to others than to legitimate subscribers. The incorporated college is in most instances a commercial concern doing business for profit, and the periodical which it issues is for the purpose of attracting patronage to it. This is clearly a legitimate and an honorable business; but why should the United States government subsidize it by con-

tinuing to carry such publications at a loss of eleven cents per pound. The fact that schools are supported at public expense does not apply as an argument, for it is only where the supervision and management are in the hands of the tax-paying public that such an expense is entailed.

Another section of the bill contains a proviso that extra numbers of any periodical sent out by the publisher to addresses furnished by an advertiser shall pay postage at the rate of one cent for four ounces. To this proposal there is little objection, as in such cases the publisher merely acts as the distributing agent for the advertiser. It is further ordered that it shall not be permissible to mail any article or any part of a periodical separated from the rest of the publication, except at the third-class rate. This proviso is necessary to prevent the circulation of serial novels at the pound rate as supplements, or prizes, in connection with a newspaper. Second-class rates are still to be allowed to fraternal societies and trades unions, whose publications are paid for from a general fund rather than by direct personal subscription.

Perhaps the words, "and must have a legitimate list of subscribers who voluntarily order and pay for the same," have excited the most opposition and the bitterest comment upon the pending bill. But even this is not new legislation. The language is taken from the present regulation defining a subscriber, and yet the so-called publishers' committee are shedding tears of anguish over the fate of the poor country editor who will be required to get his pay in advance from his subscribers or place a one-cent stamp on each copy. No doubt, the interpretation by interested parties of other statutes which have been many years in existence and have proved innocent in their operation would be startling! Many penal statutes would doubtless appear unduly harsh if the offender suffering under them were allowed to define their meaning and intent. Under the law, to subscribe must be a voluntary act, and a subscriber one who accedes to certain conditions. In the case of a periodical, a subscriber must be one who pays for the same, not necessarily in advance but at a time within reason, according to the rules that govern ordinary business transactions. Nothing is to be feared from this proviso that does not apply to the letter, the interpretation, and administration of the present law, and the misrepresentation it has occasioned can have no other purpose than to deceive. This is a

conspicuous feature of the circulars with which the country is now being flooded from the lobby maintained to defeat this measure.

The people who send first-class matter—ordinary letters and postal cards—and who make up the postal deficit, are entitled to some privileges. They pay annually about seventy million dollars upon as many pounds of matter, as against the three million dollars which 365,000,000 pounds of second-class matter yield, or a dollar a pound for one as against a cent for the other. Unless the second-class privilege is restricted to its legitimate uses the time will come when the tax-paying public will go beyond the point of reason and equity in correcting this disparity, and all publishers will suffer the penalty of wrongs too long unredressed. In 1890 this country agreed, with others assembled in Postal Union, to give such delivery of mail matter here as the other countries had given to their people. England, France, Germany, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland have at least one free delivery of mail per day. Eight years have passed, and yet only last year did this country make a substantial beginning on rural free delivery. While we doubtless have a right thus to break faith with the foreign countries involved in such a trade as this, we have no right in equity to deny such delivery to our own people when they pay so roundly on first-class matter. But free delivery cannot be made general so long as second-class matter continues this great drain upon the Treasury.

Another section of the bill enacts a regulation of the Post Office Department, by which it may require partial separation of periodicals before mailing for convenience of handling. Many large publishers already do this to expedite delivery. The section is permissible, not mandatory. This is one of the points held up by the lobby to the country publisher as a great hardship, and it must indeed be a telling argument with the man who has a circulation of 400 copies, most of which go to one town, and for which he pays the government nothing! It stands to reason that this regulation will be of use to the department only in dealing with the large publishers who have a considerable circulation along many postal routes.

A favorite form of opposition to these postal reforms is the argument that something else should be done instead. It is granted that the deficit should be reduced; but opponents of the bill say, why not make the saving somewhere else? Why not

abolish the franking privilege, which costs the government perhaps $10,000,000 a year? Why not reduce the compensation which the railroads receive? Along both these lines substantial reforms might and should be made, and they have the hearty support of the writer; but it is no argument against one remedial measure to say that others should be attempted. Not everything can be done at once. Practical reform consists in attacking the enemy's works in detail, breaking the weakest and most vulnerable points first, and so proceeding to a desired completeness. While some restrictions could doubtless be made to advantage in the matter of franking, it should not be overlooked that if Congress made an appropriation for the mailing of public documents, etc., it would be simply changing money from one pocket to another. The general public seem to want these government publications and gratuities, and so they should pay in one form or another for their dissemination. There is also some tendency to confuse public with private interests, and to assume that, because the government is entitled to a certain privilege, private interests should be allowed the same.

It is doubtless true that the compensation now received by the railroads is excessive. When we consider that the railroads aided by land grants, which under the law receive but 80 per cent. of the regular compensation, are at that rate active and zealous competitors for the postal business, it is apparent that a general revision is advisable. Some newspapers assume to solve this whole question with one stroke of the pen by saying: "Railroads are paid eight cents a pound for carrying the mail; they should be cut down to one cent, the rate for which they now carry freight. This would stop the deficiency, and so solve the problem." This solution, plausible as it is, does not possess even the advantage of correct premises. Eight cents per pound, it is true, is the price which it costs the government to "transport" all its mail, but unfortunately for the calculations of these wise men there are many other items in the cost of transportation besides the railroad. Such misstatements, however, are probably not due to ignorance, since it is now exceedingly popular to put upon the shoulders of the railroads the ills we bear. As a matter of fact the railroad companies are paid about five cents a pound. It should not be overlooked in these discussions that the government has no power to compel railroads, except

those aided by land grants, to carry the mails at any figure which they will not deem profitable. This perhaps might be a serious objection to reducing the mail rates to the level of those paid on freight without consulting the interested parties. The railroad companies are obliged to deliver mail to post offices within a distance of one-quarter of a mile of the station, which is a large item when we consider the thousands of post offices for which such service is performed. The government pays annually one million dollars for a similar service beyond the eighty-rod limit, and it is the obvious policy of the department to place offices within rather than beyond this boundary. Railroads also furnish expensive office room in the larger cities for the separation of mails, and the fact that mail is carried in odd and small lots over thousands of miles of road and under varying conditions makes it impossible to compare its proper cost with that of ordinary freight. The mails are carried on the fastest and most expensive trains, and in parcels as small as ten pounds. Freight is carried in carload lots of fifteen to twenty tons, while a postal car rarely carries more than four tons, and over the roads that carry the mails in such quantities the maximum rate is $17.10 a ton for 730 miles on "land grant" and $21.37 on other roads. But even if the railroads gave absolutely free transportation, a loss, by most conservative estimates, of $17,000,000 annually from handling second-class mail would result.

The great underlying principle beneath our proposition is justice. Patrons of the post office should be treated equally under the law, and the beneficiaries of the tax-payers' bounties should be those interests which it is acknowledged public policy to promote. While the newspapers and magazines as educators and moulders of public sentiment are doubtless entitled to certain privileges, this theory does not involve as a logical consequence that the government should carry rubber boots through the mails at a great loss, even though an old almanac joke were pasted on the left heel. One reform at a time, and the postal business will eventually be conducted on a business basis. The current annual deficit and the outrageous inequalities of the present system, which necessitate a denial of rural free delivery and render a reduction of postage impossible, are making themselves heard as arguments for reform.

E. F. Loud.

INTERVENTION OF THE UNITED STATES IN CUBA.

BY JOHN H. LATANÉ, PH.D.

THE Cuban question had its origin in the same set of circumstances which led to the enunciation of the Monroe doctrine, and it has frequently called for the application of that cardinal principle of American diplomacy. For more than three-quarters of a century this subject has periodically agitated public opinion in the United States, and to some extent in Europe; it has filled pages and volumes of our diplomatic correspondence; it has been incorporated in one form or another in the platforms of our principal political parties, and upon it we have the recorded utterances of the great body of American statesmen, beginning with Jefferson and Madison. With such a long chain of precedents, it is not strange that our Cuban policy since the outbreak of the present insurrection has presented no new features. No solution of the question has been suggested that does not find a parallel, if not an exact prototype, in some earlier phase of its history.

Until 1845 our policy consisted in the application of the Monroe doctrine to Cuba. During this early period our efforts were directed toward preventing the acquisition of the island or the establishment of a protectorate over it by Great Britain or France. In 1825 Mr. Clay declared to France "that we could not consent to the occupation of those islands (Cuba and Porto Rico) by any other European power than Spain under any contingency whatever," and in 1840, when British aggression was feared, the assurance was given to Spain by Mr. Forsyth, and repeated upon different occasions in 1843 by Mr. Webster and Mr. Upshur, that, in the event of an attempt on the part of any European power to wrest Cuba from her, Spain might "securely rely upon the whole naval and military resources of the United States to aid her in preserving or recovering it."

With the Mexican War, however, and the consciousness of national expansion and "manifest destiny," our foreign policy assumed a much bolder and more aggressive character, and during the next fifteen years all manner of schemes for the southward extension of our territory were suggested and many of them actually undertaken. Cuba became an object of desire, not only in the eyes of the slave-holding population of the South as an acquisition to slave territory, but of a large part of the nation, by reason of its strategic importance commanding the inter-oceanic transit routes of Central America, which formed the most available line of communication with the rapidly-developing interests in California. Consequently various attempts were made to annex the island to the United States, both by purchase and forcibly by filibustering expeditions. These motives for annexation were removed, the one by the abolition of slavery in the United States, and the other by the construction of the great overland railroad systems.

Since the Civil War, therefore, our policy has been largely concerned in urging upon Spain the abolition of slavery in Cuba, the establishment of a more liberal form of government through independence or autonomy, and the promotion of more untrammelled commercial intercourse with the United States.

The Spanish revolution of September, 1868, was the signal for an uprising of the native or Creole party in the eastern part of the island of Cuba. This movement was not at first ostensibly for independence, but for the revolution in Spain. Its real character was, however, apparent from the first and its supporters continued for a period of ten years, without regard to the numerous vicissitudes through which the Spanish government passed, to wage a dogged though desultory warfare against the constituted authorities of the island. This struggle was almost coterminous with President Grant's administration of eight years. At an early stop of the contest the Spanish authorities conceived it to be necessary to issue certain decrees contrary to public law and, in so far as they affected citizens of the United States, in violation of treaty obligations. Secretary Hamilton Fish protested to the Spanish Minister against these decrees, and called attention to one in particular, which related to the search of vessels on the high seas, declaring that it assumed powers over the commerce of the United States that could be permitted only in time of war;

that if Spain was at war she should give notice to the United States to that effect, and that a continuance of the decree or any attempt to enforce it would be regarded by the United States as a recognition by Spain of a state of war in Cuba. This declaration produced a prompt modification of the decree in question, but others affecting the treaty rights of American citizens in Cuba continued in force.

As our commercial interests at large, as well as the interests of individual citizens, were deeply affected by the condition of the island, President Grant determined at the beginning of his administration to offer to mediate between Spain and the insurgents. General Daniel E. Sickles was selected for the Spanish mission, and in his instructions, dated June 29, 1869, he was directed to offer to the cabinet at Madrid the good offices of the United States for the purpose of bringing to a close the *civil war* then ravaging the island of Cuba. Mr. Fish instructed General Sickles to explain to the Spanish government that he used the term *civil war* advisedly, as implying not any public recognition of belligerent rights, but a condition of affairs that might not justify withholding much longer those rights from the insurgents. The terms upon which the United States proposed to mediate were the following:

1. The independence of Cuba to be acknowledged by Spain.
2. Cuba to pay to Spain a sum, the amount and conditions to be agreed upon.
3. Abolition of slavery in the island of Cuba.
4. An armistice pending the negotiations for the settlement above referred to.*

General Sickles was told that the United States would, subject to the approval of Congress, guarantee the payment of the sum to be paid by Cuba, but that he was to avoid such a complication unless it was made a *sine qua non* by the Spanish cabinet.

After several interviews had taken place, on August 13, General Sickles was authorized to state to his government that its good offices had been accepted, but on a somewhat different basis from that proposed by Mr. Fish. The Spanish government insisted that it was beneath the dignity of the mother country to treat with the insurgents while they were in arms, and that whatever agreement was arrived at must be in the nature of a volun-

* H. Ex. Doc. No. 160, p. 15, 41st Congress, 2d Session.

tary concession on the part of Spain, consummated according to strict legal or constitutional forms, and not in the nature of a treaty between armed powers. The Spanish propositions were, therefore, as follows:

1. The insurgents to lay down their arms.
2. Spain to grant simultaneously a full and complete amnesty.
3. The people of Cuba to vote by universal suffrage upon the question of their independence.
4. The majority having declared for independence, Spain to grant it, the Cortes consenting, Cuba paying a satisfactory equivalent guaranteed by the United States.*

These proposals were at once communicated by cable to the department at Washington. Secretary Fish replied on the 16th directing General Sickles to urge the acceptance of good offices on the basis proposed by the United States; that the first proposition of Spain, that the insurgents should lay down arms, was incapable of attainment; that the third, to ascertain the will of the Cubans by vote, was impracticable because of the disorganization of society and the terrorism that prevailed as a result of the violence and insubordination of the volunteers. In subsequent telegrams Mr. Fish repeated his directions to General Sickles to negotiate only on the basis proposed by the United States.

While matters were in this state two unfortunate incidents occurred which so excited public opinion in Spain and in the United States as to completely thwart all efforts at negotiation. One was the detention by the United States of some gunboats built for the Spanish government for use against Cuba, but which the Peruvian minister claimed would be used against Peru, or would take the place of other boats which would then be used against his country. The other incident which excited general indignation in the United States was the illegal execution of two American citizens, Speakman and Wyeth, at Santiago de Cuba. Furthermore, the Spanish government allowed the purport of the American note to get out, and it was accepted by the press as indicating the purpose of the United States to extend recognition to the Cubans if its offer of mediation were refused. No Spanish cabinet could stand under the odium of having made a concession to the Cubans under a threat from an outside power.

The cabinet, therefore, requested the withdrawal of the American note. In accordance with instructions from Washing-

* H. Ex. Doc. No. 160, p. 22, 41st Congress, 2d Session.

ton, General Sickles withdrew on the 28th of September the offer of the good offices of the United States. In acknowledging this communication the Spanish minister of State made the statement that the note was withdrawn. General Sickles at once had this statement corrected, as the note contained, in addition to the offer of good offices, an exposition of the motives of the President in making the offer, and a statement of the general considerations deemed by him essential to a settlement of the Cuban question. It was also the record of an important transaction, which the United States had no intention of destroying. The administration wished to have a record of their offer of mediation as a basis for future negotiation, if occasion should require.

Throughout these negotiations the Spanish cabinet insisted that emancipation of slaves and the promulgation of extensive political and commercial reforms in the island were parts of the programme of the liberal party, through whom the revolution of 1868 had been effected, and that these reforms, in accordance with the spirit of the constitution of 1869, would already have been extended to the island but for the unfortunate insurrection. As regards the slavery question, the cabinet of Madrid found itself unable to choose between the horns of the dilemma. The United States and Great Britain were both urging the immediate abolition of slavery, while the most influential upholders of Spanish rule in Porto Rico as well as in Cuba were the slave-holders themselves. In June, 1870, a special bill for the emancipation of certain classes of slaves in the colonies became law. This bill, known as the Moret law, from the name of the Minister of Colonies, provided for gradual emancipation, but instead of being a *bona fide* measure, it simply relieved the slave owner of the burden of supporting infants and aged slaves, and prolonged the institution as to the able-bodied. This law was enacted for public effect. As far as Cuba was concerned, it not only was not put into operation, but through the all-powerful influence of the Peninsular party it was not even allowed to be published in the island for nearly two years after the outside world thought it was in effect. Meanwhile, although the insurgents had abolished slavery by decree of February 26, 1869, the Captain-General, following the example of Abraham Lincoln, freed by proclamation, as a war measure, May 14, 1870, the slaves belonging to the insurgents.*

* Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 113, 41st Congress, 2d Session.

By the terms of an agreement concluded with the Spanish government by General Sickles, February 12, 1871, a mixed commission was organized at Washington to decide all claims presented by the United States for injuries done to citizens of the United States by the Spanish authorities in Cuba since October 1, 1868. The conclusion of this agreement took away all of the pressing grievances of the United States against Spain and for more than two years the relations of the two countries were on a comparatively friendly basis. General good feeling was further promoted by the proclamation of the Republic in 1873, and by the prompt action of General Sickles in extending to it the recognition of the United States at a time when all the powers of Europe, except Switzerland, withdrew from diplomatic relations with the new government. General Sickles urged upon the Republican government the abolition of slavery and the concession of self-government to Cuba.

But such happy relations did not long continue. On the 31st of October, 1873, the steamer "Virginius," sailing under American colors and carrying a United States registry, was captured on the high seas by the "Tornado," a Spanish war vessel, and on the afternoon of the 1st of November taken into the port of Santiago de Cuba. General Burrill, the commandant of the city, summoned a court-martial, and, in spite of the protests of the American Consul, condemned to death at the first sitting four of the passengers. They were shot on the morning of the 4th. On the 7th twelve more passengers were executed, and on the 8th Captain Fry and his entire crew, numbering thirty-six, making the total number of executions fifty-three. This incident raised many serious and intricate questions of international law, which were the subject of dispute between the two governments for fully two years. At an early stage of the negotiations for the settlement of the "Virginius" affair, General Sickles resigned his mission, as the result of a misunderstanding with Secretary Fish, and was succeeded by Mr. Caleb Cushing.

In his general instructions to Mr. Cushing before his departure for his post Mr. Fish expressed the policy of the administration at considerable length. Among other things he said: "The President cannot but regard *independence* and emancipation, of course, as the only certain, and even the necessary solution of the question of Cuba. And, in his mind, all incidental

questions are quite subordinate to those, the larger objects of the United States in this respect." Nearly two years after this passage had been written the Grant administration determined, in view of the unchanged condition of the struggle, to bring matters to an issue, and to force, if need be, the hand of the Spanish government. On the 5th of November, 1875, Mr. Fish addressed a long letter to Mr. Cushing, in which, after reviewing the course of the insurrection, which had then extended over seven years, the interests of the United States affected thereby, the numerous claims arising therefrom (many of them still unsettled), the persistent refusal of Spain to redress these grievances, and her general neglect of treaty obligations, he concludes :

"In the absence of any prospect of a termination of the war, or of any change in the manner in which it has been conducted on either side, the President feels that the time is at hand when it may be the duty of other governments to intervene, solely with a view of bringing to an end a disastrous and destructive conflict and of restoring peace in the island of Cuba. No government is more deeply interested in the order and peaceful administration of this island than is that of the United States, and none has suffered as the United States from the condition which has obtained there during the past six or seven years. He will therefore feel it his duty at an early day to submit the subject in this light and accompanied by an expression of the views above presented for the consideration of Congress."

Mr. Cushing was instructed to read this note to the Spanish Minister of State. At the same time a copy was sent to General Schenck, United States Minister at London, with instructions to read the same to Lord Derby, and to suggest to him that it would be agreeable to the United States if the British government would support by its influence the position assumed by the Washington cabinet. In the course of a few days copies of this note were sent to our representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Lisbon, and St. Petersburg, with instructions to communicate its purport orally, or by reading the note, to the governments to which they were accredited, and to ask their intervention with Spain in the interests of terminating the state of affairs existing in Cuba.

The success of this move on the part of the United States depended upon the attitude of Great Britain with reference to the position assumed by our government. If the British cabinet acquiesced in the position taken by the American government, and promised its influence in support of that position, the mere expression of its approval of intervention would force Spain to whatever terms the two governments might jointly dictate, or to

a settlement of the question by the concession of liberal reforms without waiting for any action on the part of those governments. On the other hand, the refusal of Great Britain to co-operate with the United States would strengthen Spain in the policy she was pursuing. Mr. Fish, therefore, instructed Mr. Cushing to delay the presentation of the note of November 5th until General Schenck could communicate it to the British government, and find out whether Lord Derby would support his position. In other words, the tone in which Mr. Cushing would communicate the American note to the Spanish cabinet would depend entirely upon the attitude of Lord Derby.

An unforeseen event occurred, however, which materially interfered with Mr. Fish's plans. On the 16th of November, before the arrival of the American note of the 5th, Mr. Cushing received a note from the Spanish Minister of State in answer to his repeated demands, which was eminently friendly in spirit and conceded in substance or effect almost everything demanded by the United States in the way of special grievances. The substance of this note was at once communicated by cable to the department at Washington. This information placed the administration in a rather awkward position. If Spain had really promised to concede all the specific demands of the United States, the American note would fall rather flat upon the ears of the European cabinets. Still Congress was about to meet, the country was well weary of the condition in Cuba, and was expecting some definite recommendation from the Executive. The administration was in deep perplexity. On the 19th Mr. Fish cabled to General Schenck to delay reading the note to Lord Derby. This, of course, put a check upon Mr. Cushing at Madrid, as he had been instructed to await the outcome of events in London.

The receipt of the American note threw Mr. Cushing into a state of intense excitement. On the 25th he telegraphed his opinion to Mr. Fish :

"If Great Britain co-operates Spain will succumb, in sullen despair, to whatever terms the two governments may jointly dictate; but if Great Britain refuses to co-operate Spain will conclude that she has the sympathy of all European powers; more especially, as she thinks she has now gone, by her note of the 15th, to the ultimate point in satisfaction of each of the particular griefs of the United States. In other words, there will be war, and a popular, though desperate one on the part of Spain unless she can be convinced that the real and true object of the contemplated measure is to prevent war, as I understand it to be intended. But to ward off war will

exact the steady exercise of all my personal influence here (which my colleagues tell me is great), and will require that influence to be efficiently backed by my government both here and at Washington."

Next day he again sent a cable dispatch to Mr. Fish, asking:

"Will you authorize me, after the Spanish Minister is informed of the contents of the document, to talk to him as a friend and well-wisher regarding what, in my opinion, Spain ought to do and may honorably do in this emergency."

On the 27th Mr. Fish cabled him not to wait for a reply from Great Britain; that he might speak in the manner indicated in his telegram of the day before, provided that it did not do away with the object of the instruction; that the note was "not intended as criminatory in any sense but in the spirit of friendship, as a notice of a necessity which may be forced upon the President, but which he hopes to avoid, and desires Spain to aid him in escaping." He also indicated the general tone of the forthcoming message to Congress. In his message to Congress, December 7, 1875, President Grant discountenanced the recognition of either belligerency or independence, but intimated intervention as a necessity unless satisfactory results could soon be reached. It was this message which President McKinley quoted at such length in his recent message to Congress. This fact lends added interest to the episode under consideration.

The American note was presented to the Spanish and British governments on the same day, November 30th. Lord Derby informed General Schenck that her Majesty's government preferred not to discuss the note of November 5th until the President had had time to consider the Spanish proposals of the 15th.

Through Mr. Cushing's friendly representations, and in consideration of the friendly tone of the President's message, Mr. Calderon, the Spanish Minister, received the threat of intervention in good part, and expressed his intention of answering it after he should have had time to consider it carefully.

Mr. Fish decided not to back down from the position taken in his note of November 5th, notwithstanding the subsequent concessions of the Spanish cabinet, and he therefore instructed the representatives of the United States to continue to press upon the attention of the governments to which they were accredited the question of intervention.

The reply of Great Britain was given to General Schenck in an interview with Lord Derby, January 25, 1876. It was in

substance that he was convinced that Spain would not listen to mediation, and that the British government was not prepared to bring pressure to bear upon her in case she refused; that the Spanish government hoped to finish the Carlist war in the spring, and would then be in a position to put forth its whole military strength for the reduction of Cuba; in conclusion, therefore, Lord Derby thought "that if nothing were contemplated beyond an amicable interposition, having peace for its object, the time was ill-chosen and the move premature." The answers of the other powers were unsatisfactory or evasive, none of them being willing to bring pressure to bear upon the government of young Alfonso while the Carlist war was on his hands.

The answer of Spain was finally given in the form of a note, dated February 3, 1876, addressed to the representatives of Spain in other countries, including the United States. This answer was written by Mr. Calderon in good temper. He stated that the insurrection was supported and carried on largely by negroes, mulattoes, Chinese, deserters, and adventurers; that they carried on a guerilla warfare; that Spain had sufficient forces to defeat them in the field; that the triumph of Spain would soon be followed by the total abolition of slavery and the introduction of administrative reforms. The number of troops and vessels of war in Cuba was enumerated to show that Spain was putting forth a reasonable effort to bring the rebellion to a close, and statistics were quoted to show that the trade between Cuba and the United States, as well as the general trade of the island, had actually increased largely since the outbreak of the insurrection. Finally he declared that, while individual foreigners had suffered, Spain had done justice to all claims presented.

Furthermore, in conversations with Mr. Cushing, Mr. Calderon repeatedly assured him that Spain was in full accord with the views of the United States in regard to the abolition of slavery, the extension of liberal political and administrative reforms to the island, and the promotion of unrestricted commerce, and was only waiting for the establishment of peace in order to put these measures of reform into operation. These promises and assurances of the Spanish government completely took the wind out of Mr. Fish's sails, and, together with Lord Derby's reply, put all further attempts at intervention out of the question.

The substance of Mr. Fish's note threatening intervention

appeared unofficially in the press of Europe and America in December, 1875, and attracted such general attention that in January the House asked for the correspondence. In reply Mr. Fish transmitted to Congress on the 21st the note of November 5th, together with a few carefully chosen extracts from the correspondence between himself and Mr. Cushing,* but nothing was given that might indicate that the United States had appealed to the powers of Europe to countenance intervention. As rumors to this effect had, however, appeared in the press, the House called the next day for whatever correspondence had taken place with foreign powers in regard to Cuba. Mr. Fish replied that the note of November 5th had been communicated to the foreign powers orally, but that no correspondence had taken place.† This was putting a very strict and a very unusual construction upon the term "correspondence," to say the least. The dispatches, notes, and telegrams that pass between a government and its representatives abroad are the only recognized means of communicating with foreign powers, and are always spoken of as the correspondence with those powers. The whole affair reveals a curious lack of frankness, or of courage on the part of Mr. Fish. He was trying to shield either the administration or himself, and did not wish the American public to know that he had reversed the time-honored policy of the State Department by appealing to the powers of Europe to intervene in what had always been treated, from the days of John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, as a purely American question. At any rate the correspondence was suppressed for twenty years. On the 24th of March, 1896, the Senate called for all correspondence relating to mediation and intervention in the affairs of Cuba from November 5, 1875, until the pacification of the island in 1878, and on the 15th of April President Cleveland transmitted the "correspondence" called for, which forms a document of 137 pages.‡

The Cuban struggle continued for two years longer. In October, 1877, several of the leaders surrendered to the Spanish authorities and spontaneously undertook the task of bringing over the few remaining ones. Some of these men paid for their efforts with their lives, being taken and condemned by court-

* H. Ex. Doc., No. 90, 44th Congress, 1st Session.
† H. Ex. Doc., No. 100, 44th Congress, 1st Session.
‡ Sen. Ex Doc No. 213. 54th Congress, 1st Session.

martial by order of the commander of the Cuban forces. Finally, in February, 1878, the terms of pacification were made known. They embraced representation in the Spanish Cortes, oblivion of the past as regarded political offences committed since the year 1868, and the freedom of the slaves of the insurgents. As regards representation in the Cortes, the Cuban deputies have never been representative men, but men of Spanish birth designated usually by the Captain-General. By gradual emancipation slavery ceased to exist in the island in 1885. The powers of the Captain-General, however, the most objectionable feature of Spanish rule, have continued uncurtailed.

The present insurrection has presented in the main the same features as the ten years' war; the same desultory methods of warfare; the same disregard by both parties of the rules of civilized nations, and the same liberal concessions on the part of Spain when intervention is spoken of. The Spanish government is lavish of promises but slow of fulfilment. If the government of the United States should ever consider it its high mission to intervene in the affairs of Cuba, whether in the cause of civilization, or of humanity, or of American interests, it must be armed intervention, and when once decided upon it must be carried to fulfilment, without regard to Spanish promises of reform.

JOHN H. LATANÉ.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR.—II.

BY SIR WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL, LL.D., SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE TIMES (LONDON).

NEXT morning, ere the Vigilants were awake, I was on board the steam ferry-boat crossing Cape Fear River to the railway station. The passengers were in violent excitement. I heard the belief expressed that "the British must help them." "But why so, may I ask, sir?" "Well, Colonel, it's just because Cotton is King, you see, and a hint about that will be quite enough for you Britishers."

The railway ran through pine forests and jungle, swamps, clearings, over great rivers and marshes, on trestle bridges or causeways. At Nichols Station there was a custom-house—we had entered the State of South Carolina. I do not recollect what was dutiable, but I was not asked to pay anything. Towards evening we were speeding towards a glint of water north of Charleston. Cavalry horses were picketed in the fields, tents were visible in the woods, and troops were marching as if at drill on the meadows. A block-like building shimmered through the haze, rising island-like from the sea. Smoke curled upwards from an angle of the wall. "There's Sumter!" cried the passengers. "Hurrah for the Stars and Bars! There it floats sure enough!" Charleston was in high revelry—triumph on every face, and an immense clinking of sabres and clatter of spurs and steel.

At Mills House I was met by Mr. Sam Ward, who had arrived from Washington, and before the night was over I was introduced to Governor Manning, Porcher, Miles, Senator Chestnut, Colonel Lucas, General Beauregard, and to other prominent citizens and soldiers—a set of very fine, tall, handsome fellows generally, with the air of gentlemen, and I may say of

exulting gentlemen, for "they had driven the Yankees out of their harbor—forever."

I found General Beauregard at his headquarters, writing at a table, surrounded by officers in the new Southern Confederacy uniforms, a squarely built, lithe, active man of middle height, broad-chested and solid, with a keen well-cut face, very intelligent, but not very determined; a soldierly air and a look which reminded me of that of an old French friend, Colonel Cler, of the Zouaves, who fell in the Crimea. Among his maps and plans were bouquets of roses and geraniums and other flowers sent in by his admirers, and vases filled with the same flanked his dispatch boxes. He received me with perfect courtesy. When some one of those present asked me what I thought of the bombardment of Sumter, and I replied that "I had not seen it," Beauregard waved his hand and said, "Mr. Russell, you know, has seen the bombardment of Sebastopol!"

Around me were all the paraphernalia of an officer commanding troops in the field, aides-de-camp, staff officers, orderlies. Maps and charts hung on the wall, copies of general orders; and sentries were on duty. I thought of the politicians, Senators, Congressmen, and all the coteries whom I had left at Washington, so full of schemes of conciliation and compromise, without, as far as I could see, the smallest semblance of a military force to oppose this flagrant and buoyant rebellion.

Beauregard talked at his ease without reserve. He had not much sympathy, I thought, with the cavalier pretensions of the South Carolinians, and cared but little for their aspirations, but he believed religiously in the righteousness of secession and in the wickedness of the abolitionists.

This United States officer, educated at West Point, distinguished by his gallantry in the war with Mexico, had left his civil employment as an engineer to batter down the fortress over which the flag of the United States was floating. He had become at once one of the foremost figures in the Confederate States. What he might have been, had he won the battle of Shiloh or stopped and overwhelmed Sherman on his march to the sea, who can say? But what he actually subsided into was the presidency of a railway and the managership of a State lottery.

Beauregard had a family history, the annals of which went back to the year 1290, and here it is. "When Tider the

Young, who had headed a revolt of the Welsh against Edward I., was defeated, he fled to France, where he married Miss Lafayette, Maid of Honour to the sister of Philip the Fair, and where he was finally appointed to a post in Saintonge and died there. His son, to propitiate the King, changed the name of Tider into Toutank; gradually the letter 'k' was dropped, 't' was put in its place and the family became Toutant, to which Beauregard was added. In the time of Louis XIV. an ancestor of the General came to Louisiana as commandant of a flotilla. There he settled and married. His grandson, in 1808, married Miss De Reggio, who was a descendant of the Dukes of Reggio and Mortlemain and of the House of Este. The General's great-grandfather was the Royal Standard-bearer and First Justiciary of the crown in Louisiana."

No wonder Beauregard looked down upon the mere sugar-cane growers and cotton planters around him with aristocratic hauteur.

Before I took leave of General Beauregard I was introduced to Major (afterwards General) Whiting, of his staff, who was to devote himself to me for the following day that I might see Fort Sumter. I dined with a number of the gentlemen, whom I have already mentioned, at the Mills hotel. Men of intelligence, well informed, polished, the equals of the same class in any European society, they gave way to ridiculous "rodomontade." It was astonishing to hear a man like Governor Manning declare that "the South never could be conquered." "We will welcome the world in arms with hospitable hands to bloody graves!"

One of the party declared that his visit to Europe had been spoiled by his anger at seeing white men acting as servants! Even well-educated men who read much, as Beauregard did, could not understand the sympathy in England for those who were against "the domestic institution" of slavery. The uprising in the North was treated with ridicule. Beauregard admitted he was surprised, and old men like Huger and Pettigrew shook their heads at it. "It's a washy sort of enthusiasm got up by lecturing and spouting," said Beauregard. "It will not stand fire!" I thought of his words afterwards when he was commanding at Bull Run, and fighting at Shiloh!

I was ill-advised enough by my argumentative spirit to ask, "Do you think the French are brave?" "Certainly; what of

that?" "Do you think you will defend yourselves against invasion better than the French could?" "We certainly would make invasion by the Yankees a pretty bad business for them."

"Suppose they come with an enormous preponderance of men and material, would you not be forced to submit?"

"Never! The Yankees are cowardly rascals; we have kicked them and cuffed them till we are tired of it. Besides, John Bull would step in; we know him very well. He will make a fuss at first, but Cotton is King and John will come off his perch at once when he finds he can't get cotton." For some time I was obstinate enough to challenge propositions of the kind, but I soon discovered that I was something like a raw Methodist missionary preaching to a crowd of Mohammedans in a bazaar in India, or a Protestant fanatic declaiming before a select Roman Catholic audience in Ireland against the abomination of Popery. I was out of touch with that world.

Presently I heard a bell tolling from some neighboring steeple, and one of the guests, in reply to my question, said: "It's for the colored people to go home! The guards will arrest any of them found on the streets without passes in half an hour." I could not help an interrogatory: "Is it possible?" When I was in Natal, nearly twenty years afterwards, and saw the Zulus in Durban and Pietermaritzburg repairing to their quarters under similar regulations, I understood the necessity of a "Black Curfew Bell."

As we were standing in the veranda looking out on a clamorous crowd of officers and privates of the Palmetto State Army, Mr. Pettigrew said to me in a low voice, "Do you know your Aristophanes well?" I had to confess that I had only a slight bowing acquaintance with "The Frogs." "But, no doubt," continued he, "you recollect the passage in one of his plays where he tells us how the women of Athens, having a monopoly of value, resolved that they would rule the world. They had the monopoly, but they did not succeed for all that. These people with their cotton monopoly will find themselves, I fear, in a similar case."

The situation was so interesting that I remained at Charleston for nine days in daily intercourse with men engaged, as they said, "in making history for themselves." They already saw the word "Finis" written in letters of gold. They were fighting for their liberty, and it was of no consequence to them that they

were fighting also for the perpetuation of slavery, "which has a most respectable history of its own—an antiquity lost in the haze which shrouds the life of primeval man from our researches, and a vitality that all the forces of Christianity cannot destroy." The idea of holding white men in bondage would have appeared monstrous to the South, but it was nevertheless some sort of comfort to the planting interest to know that it was universal when the world was young and that Republics and Monarchies alike in ancient days were founded upon helots and serfs.

I was in the midst of a great uprising which practically meant a fight for slavery—rather, perhaps, a rebellion against a government which was opposed to the extension of slavery, but which had not yet attacked the "domestic institution" itself. The abstract principle of States rights including the power of a State to vote itself out of the Union, I did not understand; but it was becoming clear to me that the North was resolved to upset it by the sword, and that the sword must decide it right or wrong. At heart I was an abolitionist, but I could not doubt the sincerity of the men who asserted that slavery was a thing to die for, and that no Union was worth having that did not hold that faith.

A familiar object in shop windows in England some twenty-five years ago—I am writing of 1861—was the effigy of a negro in chains with the pathetic legend, "Am I not a Man and a Brother?" The practical answer to the question in the minds, if not in the mouths, of many Southerners was, "No! you are not!" I was presented in Charleston with a handsome quarto by Messrs. Gliddon & Nott, entitled *Types of Mankind*, the *raison d'être* of which was an elaborate attempt to show that the negro had no right to say "*Homo Sum.*" On that rock the Confederacy was built. And strangely enough the slave States were all for free trade and against protection!

I visited Morris Island next day under the guidance of Major Whiting—a bright, indeed brilliant, young officer, a literary enthusiast—a ravenous reader—a worshipper of Thackeray; and far more inclined to talk to me of poets and novelists than of batteries and trenches.

The camps were filled with "Palmetto Eagles," "Davis Tigers," "Marion Guards," "Pickens Scorpions," etc. There was a sound of revelry in the tents, and wine crates, bottles and

cases of supplies outside—all to become unknown luxuries ere two years were out. When I asked whence all the guns and ammunition came from, one of the staff, with a wink and a smile, said, "They sprout up wonderfully. We had some good gardeners up North who produced a crop for us in case of need."

I escaped from the profuse hospitality of the camp and started off to Sumter, the bloodless bombardment of which was the prelude to one of the most sanguinary wars of modern times. There I made the acquaintance of Senator Louis T. Wigfall, of Texas. A very volcanic man, of the most daring courage—*impiger, iracundus*—in the thick of shot and shell at the height of the bombardment, when the fort was in flames, he put off in a skiff with a white handkerchief on his swordpoint, clambered up on the jetty, squeezed through an embrasure and dropped down before the astonished Federals with a demand for the surrender of the place! Would that I could propitiate his *manes* by a tardy but most sincere expression of regret that I caused him pain by ill-considered words!

Charleston volunteers were clearing away the rubbish and *débris* in the *terre plein* in a desultory fashion. "Why don't you employ your negroes at the work?" asked I, "instead of these gentlemen?" "Niggers are so stupid they would most likely blow themselves up, and then the State would have to pay the owners for them." "Then white men are not so valuable as niggers?" "Not always! That's a fact."

After a visit to the garrison we took our leave, but not until we had heard strongly worded complaints of the want of money. "Not a cent had officers or men got in the shape of pay."

As we were landing, guns were thundering from the forts and batteries to express the joy of Charleston at the formal Ordinance of Secession of the State of Virginia. I heard that evening, not for the first time, expressions in downright earnest, to all seeming, of a wish on the part of every guest for a union with England—anything rather than a reunion with New England. The wish cropped out of the deadly hate of the Yankee on the part of these fiery Carolinians. They had nothing in common with Sam Slick. "We are cavaliers; our names show our origin. Ashley, Cooper, Sumter, Pinckney, Charleston, and Carolina prove whence we came." Of Chestnut, Pickens, Rhett, Trenholm, Pringle, etc., they said nothing.

My last night at Charleston was spent at the house of Mr. Pettigrew, where I met General Beauregard, Judge King, Mr. Huger, Mrs. King, Mrs. Carson and other delightful gentlemen and ladies. The Southern women, charming as they were, I found more inveterate against the Black Republicans than the men. Many of the latter, indeed, were driven, I think, by the feminine vituperation to join the Confederate Army.

What stranger was ever admitted to the intimacy of the family of a Spaniard, a Greek, or an Oriental? What stranger was ever received as a friend, invited to the house and treated as a favored guest by any of these? In the South all were hospitable. I was told that even the Creoles of Louisiana and Alabama exhibited the same qualities in some measure. As far as my own experience goes, there is, or shall I say there was, no country in the world where such boundless hospitality existed as in the Southern States. I had been only three days in Charleston before I received invitations which would have occupied weeks, perhaps months, with possibilities of infinite expansion. I was taken on trust, very flattering to one's *amour-propre*. I was pledged to nearly every one for a visit. I do not suppose that anyone of these is now alive. Their children have long probably passed middle age. Happily none of them could understand the terrible anger of their forefathers with their fellows.

It was necessary to go northwards, but I was bound first to visit Mr. Pringle, on the Peedee River. The house, a large old-fashioned mansion of low-browed rooms, and the walls hung with portraits of early colonels, governors, and their lovely womankind, stood near the river. There was an excellent library, French and English classics, books of travels, history, and an interesting collection of *Memoires pour servir* of the last century. The dinner, cooked by negroes and served by negroes in livery, was excellent. The Madeira, stored up between the attic floor and the high-thatched roof and brought down with religious reverence, had been born before the century opened. The ancestors of these luxurious planters, improvident in most things, had been wise enough to bottle up Bual and Sercial before the demon *oidium* corrupted their generous sources for ever. The general conversation after dinner was like that of country gentlemen over their wine about the time of the rebellion in Ireland. "Croppies" corresponded with Yankees. A sugges-

tion of mine that the negroes might rise against their masters was received with as much scorn as politeness would permit the company to express.

From Barnwell Island it was a short journey to Savannah, where I was the guest of Mr. Green. Savannah impressed me—a delightful, quaint city, spread out like a large Indian cantonment, with churches, detached houses, plantations, and gardens; open squares, fenced in by white rails; green swards, embellished with noble trees, magnolia, Pride of India, etc. Volunteers were drilling, bands playing in the stately avenues, where probably the Tatnalls, Oglethorpes, and pig-tail gentlemen sauntered in top boots in the old time ere there was any trouble about the rights of man or colonial jealousy of the old folks at home. Their descendants were now busy in preparing to resist an expected attack of American fellow-citizens, and General Lawton took me to see "the cartridge class" of his wife, who was engaged in making powder bags for cannon. The hall was filled with them, so were the parlors, and the General incidentally remarked that "it was not quite a safe place to smoke a cigar in."

Commodore Tatnall, Colonel Taliaferro, and the General took me next day to visit Fort Pulaski, named after a Pole who was mortally wounded in the defence of Savannah against the British.

Society at Savannah was not quite so vehement as it was in Charleston, but at an inn near Macon the landlord rejected a piece of gold in payment of his bill and demanded a Confederate note. "I don't want their stars and eagles," he said; "I hate the sight of them!"

The train from Savannah to Montgomery was crowded with office seekers, contractors, place hunters, volunteers, civil and military. The conversation was mostly about politics, "Lincolnites," "Black Republicans," the wickedness of Northern politicans and their folly. I looked out of the window as much as I could, for the atmosphere in the carriage was heated and smoke-laden, and I was struck by the absence of "peasantry." There were plenty of blacks, but not one white man did I see at work.

Montgomery was not then "much of a place," but "Congress" sat in a pretentious building. The hotel was crowded to suffocation, three beds in a room and mattresses on the floor. Con-

gressmen, officers, and all were obliged to put up with what they could get. There were interesting men, filibusters and others, Howell Cobb, Wigfall, Pickett, Wheat, Henningsen, Calhoun, to talk to; "The Knights of the Golden Circle" convivial rather than chivalrous. Passing a slave auction, I was led into the Parliament chamber by Senator Wigfall just as the chaplain was evoking blessings on the arms of the Confederacy. The members, earnest, grave, stern-looking men, were eager to proceed to business. As I had a delegate's chair, I had been introduced to the "floor of the house." I was prepared for an interesting debate, when Mr. Howell Cobb thumped his desk and announced that "the House was going into secret session." So all strangers were obliged to leave, and accompanied by Mr. Wigfall, I went off to call on Mr. Davis.

The house in which the President lived was a modest villa, painted white, standing in a small garden. But we did not find the President at home, so we proceeded to the State Department, a large brick building, with the Confederate flag floating over it. On the first floor the words, "The President," were printed in bold characters on one of the doors. In a minute more I was in intimate conversation with the leader who, Mr. Gladstone said, "had made a nation," a slight, light figure of a man erect and straight, with a fine broad brow marked with innumerable wrinkles; regular features, eyes deep set, large and full, one partly covered with a film; thin and firm lips; chin square and resolute. He was dressed in a rustic suit of slate-colored tweed and his well-brushed hair and boots and neat attire offered a contrast to the appearance of Senator Wigfall and of the people crowding the passages. His manner was simple; his address rather formal; his face had a care-worn, haggard look, but his words were full of confidence. In the course of conversation in reference to some remark of mine he said: "Visitors to our country comment on the number of colonels and generals in the States. But the fact is, we are a military people and these strangers don't recognize the fact. We are the only people in the world where gentlemen go to a military academy to study and yet do not intend to follow the profession of arms." He was anxious to impress on me the aggressive character of the Northern States and government. "You see that we are driven to take up arms to defend our rights and liberties."

From the President's room I was passed on to "the Secretary for War," Mr. Walker, with whom I found General Beauregard and some Confederate officers. Mr. Walker, a lean, tall man, straight-haired, fiery-eyed, much given to tobacco, received me very affably and promised me a *passe partout* wherever the patriot troops were to be found. He was in high spirits. "Two more Sovereign States have joined us, making ten States in the Confederacy, Sir! Creation! Isn't it too bad these —— Yankees won't let us go our own way, and keep their cursed Union to themselves? If they force us, I guess we will be obliged to drive them over the Susquehanna."

From the warlike Secretary, who was a lawyer, I passed on to the room of another lawyer who was his direct antithesis in manner and appearance, Mr. Benjamin, the Attorney-General of the Confederacy—a man who speedily attained a most extraordinary position at the bar in England after the war. Mr. Benjamin was a short, stout man with features of the Semitic cast; a full olive-colored face, lighted up by the most brilliant black eyes. He was lively and frank in manner, with great vivacity, and a very rapid utterance.

I had a curious experience in the Confederate capital that night. The Attorney-General had rubbed his hands with pleasure when he expatiated on the issue of letters of marque and reprisal as a consequence of the declaration of the state of war between the North and the Confederacy.

"Suppose, sir," said I, "the United States will not acknowledge your right and treat your privateers as pirates!"

"Sir," exclaimed Mr. Benjamin, "for every man under our flag whom the authorities of Lincoln dare to execute we shall hang two of their people."

"But England and the other great powers have abolished privateering."

"Yes! But the United States never accepted that condition of the Congress of Paris and the Confederate States are not bound by it. England cannot declare privateers under our flag to be pirates, for that would be a declaration of war against the Confederate States and England cannot afford that. You are coy about acknowledging a slave power. Our commissioners have gone on from England to Paris, but that will all come right soon.

There was a curious hitch, however, presently. The Assistant Secretary of State came to my room in great perplexity as I was going to bed.

"Neither Mr. Benjamin nor myself can find out the exact form for letters of marque and reprisal which we want for our privateers. You are a barrister and perhaps you may help us."

There were no books in the library to guide them, and it was a matter of importance to have the letters in order. I pleaded "*vafri inscitia juris*" as an excuse, though I might have objected to aid in my neutral quality in the levying of war *pro tanto*. Somehow or other, the difficulty was surmounted and various enterprising mariners went off a few days after with the necessary authority "to sink, burn, and destroy" the ships of the enemy.

Mrs. Jefferson Davis, called by her friends "Queen Varina," had a reception next evening, and I was glad to make the acquaintance of a very gracious, ladylike woman of lively and engaging manners, and to see her unceremonious little court in the modest villa called the White House—not quite a rival to that in Washington. The society was rather heated. The report that a reward had been set on the head of the Confederate President (quite untrue, I believe) had "fired the Southern heart." Indeed, when I remarked that I did not believe the Federal government was capable of such an act, I was regarded with disfavor by the company, and I promptly incurred Queen Varina's censure. "Indeed, but we know they are." It was distressing to hear some of the refined, elegant women at the White House talking of what appeared to me a brutal attack on the Massachusetts regiment in passing through Baltimore, but it was the opinion of the ladies that the New England soldiers deserved worse than death for their conduct. They were glad, too, that the Yankee soldiers in the United States forts were being eaten alive by mosquitoes, they raged with indignation at the idea of the Yankees daring to blockade the James River and Hampton Roads, and they said evil things of General Scott, "Old Fuss and Feathers." It reminded me of the man who spoke disrespectfully of the equator.

The night before I left Montgomery, I dined with Judah Benjamin and some gentlemen of New Orleans (Creoles). The conversation, more in French than in English, was confined to one topic. Mr. Benjamin walked with me to my hotel, and ap-

plied himself to press upon me that a blockade of the Southern ports was illegal, and that the English law officers must advise the British government to that effect. "It does no harm now," said he, "for all the cotton is shipped; but in October, when the Mississippi is bearing tens of thousands of bales, and all our wharves are piled up with it, the Yankees must come to grief." Many long years afterward I walked with Mr. Benjamin from a pleasant dinner party in Mayfair and reminded him of our conversation in Montgomery. "Ah, yes," he said, "I admit I was mistaken! I did not believe that your government would allow such misery to your operatives, such loss to your manufacturers, or that the people themselves would have borne it. And, let me tell you, though I have done now with politics, thank God! I consider your government made a frightful mistake which you may have occasion to rue hereafter."

Senator Wigfall, on the other hand, declared that Europe knew nothing of the South. "In England you only know of us through Northern writers! We are a primitive but a civilized people. We have no cities, we don't want them; we have no literature, we don't want it; we have no press, we are glad of it; we discuss public questions from the stump with our people. We have no shipping, no navy, we don't want them! Your ships carry our products, and your navy must protect them. We want no trading, mechanical, or manufacturing classes. Our rice, sugar, tobacco, and cotton enable us to purchase all we want from friendly nations; but we will never trade with the Yankees, never!"

Mr. Toombs, one of the pillars of the South, original, eloquent and earnest, an Anglomaniac in some respects, told me he considered our English policy "damnable." His only anxiety with regard to the coming war, which he looked upon as inevitable, was about the supply of gunpowder in the Southern States—a matter which troubled Wigfall, Rhett, Major Calhoun, Major Deas, Captain Ripley, and others; but Mr. Walker, the War Minister, seemed a very Gallio on that head. "Come back and see us when we have kicked the Yankees to ——, and when our government is established in all its grandeur at Richmond!"

W. H. Russell.

(*To be Continued.*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

TO PURGE THE PENSION LIST.

It is always painful and humiliating to expose the weaknesses and shortcomings of the members of one's own profession, but the truth, like a severe surgical operation or a very bitter dose of medicine, often proves of great advantage in the long run.

I refer to the part played by the medical profession in constructing the fraudulent pension list which the tax payers of the United States have had saddled on them. Every man who sustained a mental or physical injury which in any way impaired his usefulness in after life should be liberally pensioned for such impairment, provided the injury was received while in the discharge of his duty as a soldier in the defence of the Union. This was the orginal theory of our pension system; it is common justice, and no one could object to it. When the war ended and the government started in to find out who had been permanently injured in its defence, it had to employ medical examiners. And just here politics and a false economy worked their most baneful influence. The position of examining surgeon for pensions became a reward for political activity in the interest of the party in power. But worse still is the fact, that the niggardly fees established by the government in payment for examinations and reports on the physical condition of applicants for pensions made it utterly impossible to secure anything like the best medical skill and experience.

No better proof of this latter statement is needed than the fact that the fees of a pension examiner in New York City, where the work is most arduous, averages less than one thousand dollars per year.

Maudlin sentimentality, the fact that the applicant for a pension happens to be the political or personal friend of the examiner, or that the examiner is his family physician, ought not to have any weight or influence on the report and recommendation of the medical examiner in a given case. The reports of the medical examiners should in all cases be made without fear, favor, or affection, and should turn entirely on the question: Did the applicant, while in the discharge of his duty as a soldier, receive an injury or contract a disease which has to any extent resulted in permanent disability? This is a question easily determined by honest and competent examiners.

Another fact should not be overlooked in this connection, viz.: A large percentage of mankind have one standard of honesty when getting money out of the treasury of an individual man, and quite another standard when getting it out of the nation's treasury, which is nothing but the joint property of all men.

If the officials selected by the people to seek out and properly compensate men who were disabled in the defence of the Union had exercised one-

half the care that the life insurance companies do in avoiding bad risks, the pension roll would present a very different appearance from what it does to-day. Not only should the pension roll be the "nation's roll of honor," but the individual pensioner should point with pride to the fact that he had been honestly deemed worthy of the practical thanks of his countrymen. A pension should be regarded as the Republic's badge of nobility.

There has been too much secrecy and deviousness connected with the pension business of this country, and I blush to own that my profession has taken no small part in it. Here is a method by which frauds and pretenders can be gotten rid of. Let Congress pass a law requiring a re-examination of every pensioner, or applicant for pension, who bases his claim on physical disability contracted while discharging his duty as a Union soldier. A board of medical examiners should be established in each State—two or more boards might be required in some States to facilitate matters. Each board should be composed of two members, one a surgeon and the other a physician. They should be selected solely for their eminent and acknowledged professional ability and their honesty and standing in the State. They should give all their time to this work and be paid a salary of twenty thousand dollars each per year.

They should carefully examine every pensioner in their respective States and report to the government exactly the physical condition of each, and how much, if any, disability in any case was the result of service in the war of secession. They would be influenced by nothing except the physical facts presented, and always give the applicant the benefit of any doubt. Such a re-examination would require about one year to complete it, and would cost the government from two to three millions of dollars.

No man can predict certainly what the result of this re-examination would be. My experience for twenty years in the practice of my profession has made me familiar with the physical condition of a number of pensioners, and basing my opinion on my own experience I believe at least one-third of those claiming to have been permanently disabled while in the discharge of duty will be found to be frands, and would be dropped from the pension roll. In any event it would silence criticism, remove the stigma from deserving pensioners, and establish better relations between the general public who pay and the veterans of the war who receive pensions.

JOHN H. GIRDNER, M.D.

ARE THERE TOO MANY CHURCHES?

IT is scarcely a grateful task to criticise an institution, which, though it bears no political relation to the community, is nevertheless most intimately and vitally connected with its welfare. Yet it is safe to assume that many of those who love the Christian Church most and best, and who have ever cheerfully given largely, both of time and means, to promote its interests, are coming to recognize, albeit with pain, that very serious attention must be bestowed upon ecclesiastical economics. The conviction is growing that churchly luxuries are becoming an onerous tax upon communicants; that in many sections church buildings are obviously too numerous, and the expense incident upon their maintenance a constant drain upon their supporters. Too frequently also, in the struggle to meet such expense, questionable and even pronouncedly discreditable methods are resorted to.

It must be regretfully acknowledged that the particular thing which the great evangelical prophet rapturously extolled as being "without money and without price" has become decidedly expensive in many quarters, and of even fabulous value in not a few. Indeed, a bird's eye view of the state of the Church, while embracing many fair stretches of sunlit evangelical scenery, also discloses some sombre perspectives which cannot but induce disquietude and alarm. The financial obligations of the Kingdom are great not because of the cost of telling the gospel story in far-away lands, nor—where it is needed quite as materially—in the great home centres of sin and degradation, but because of the erection and maintenance of too many, and too sumptuous edifices of worship, which exhaust the purses of those who assemble within their walls, and paralyze all other efforts than those of mere self-preservation.

It is literally as well as metaphorically true that the Kingdom—be it affirmed with all reverence!—is a sadly mortgaged one. And since it is so much holier than any demesne of mere terrestrial royalty, it consequently suffers the greater embarrassment and depreciation. True pastors of the flock, whose entire time ought to be devoted to various spiritual ministries, are frequently compelled to spend a large portion of it in devising means of relief for their financially distressed constituents and their official boards, while the subtle influence of the Kingdom, potent under normal conditions is irremediably negatived, much as the highly polished surface of a mirror is bedimmed by a breath.

The year-books of the various denominations tell a significant tale. Take, for instance, the statistics of one of the most influential bodies among the middle classes, in a highly populous and flourishing district. Upon fewer than two hundred churches (about two-thirds of the whole number) there is a mortgaged indebtedness of a million dollars. The annual interest is not less than fifty thousand dollars, and how to raise it is, in the majority of cases, a perennially perplexing problem. It is well known that in many churches promptness in meeting such obligations, as well as accounts due to tradesmen, is not a conspicuous characteristic.

The church mortgage is not a respecter of denominations; although, curiously enough, there is at least one body of Christian believers, which, whether from doctrinal peculiarity or economical considerations, erects no houses of worship, but appoints its meetings wherever they can be entertained—often, in rural communities, in barns! Conventional ecclesiastical æsthetics stand aghast, but in accordance with the eminently practical philosophy of the Book of Proverbs, it may be averred that an unconsecrated barn free of debt is preferable to a heavily mortgaged cathedral.

It is an open question whether it is ever justifiable to build exceedingly costly churches, even when they can be paid for. The exactions of the royal builder of the far-famed first Temple probably helped to pave the way for the disruption of his kingdom. A tithe of the money spent in the erection of fashionable churches, into which the poor will not go—another feature to be profoundly deprecated—would provide a host of neat, inexpensive edifices in neighborhoods where none are now found; or assist struggling societies in their very shadow, which are doing good work under adverse circumstances.

The exquisite New Testament incident of the alabaster box of precious ointment has often been wrested from its true setting to serve as an apology for lavish church adornment. But we dare not for a moment cherish the

conception that the sweet gift of penitence and love had been purchased "on credit."

Some of the means used to provide for current church expenses are unseemly in the extreme. While there are, of course, some entertainments which tend to edification, there are many others which bring a blush to the cheek of the lover of the exalted dignity of the Church. A "bazaar" is almo t invariably a monopoly of the business of little shops, whose keepers keenly feel the intrusion, even though they may not resent it. A church supper, or other form of sociable, when held occasionally to promote church fellowship, may be an actual means of grace; but rarely will it thus result when designed as a mercantile venture. The true principle of acceptable offerings should unvaryingly be taught, both by precept and example; and the measure of the gift should not be determined impulsively, after some eloquent and fervent appeal, but after deliberate meditation upon both the need and the available resources of supply.

The employment of children to canvass homes and places of business for the sale of tickets for church entertainments is open to grave criticism. More humiliating still, is the custom prevalent in many localities, of peddling from door to door all kinds of mysteries of cookery, and sundry other small merchandise, the profits to be applied to "clearing the church debt." Recently a confectioner besieged young people's societies throughout the land, with advertisements of "cough medicine" at low wholesale rates, to be sold in behalf of church support. This novel method of complying with the injunction to heal the sick is mildly suggestive of the materialistic tendency of the Church. But there are more flagrant practices —as, for instance, the popular minor lotteries—which the law of some States accounts gambling, and which the Head of the Church might be expected to rebuke with the whip of small cords, were He to appear in its midst.

It will, of course, be protested that a very small amount *per capita* is spent upon religion, when compared with the sums squandered upon luxurious dissipation. But this has not the slightest relation to the matter in question. It is admitted that many persons appear to have no adequate comprehension of obligation to "support the Gospel." But they cannot be compelled to subscribe to the treasury of the Church, nor has the spirit of Christianity ever contemplated such coercion. Let the Church do missionary work among such laggards, but meanwhile let the coat be cut, inexorably, according to the cloth; for the strain upon its conscientious and faithful supporters is often a crushing one. The laborer sorely feels the loss sustained by a week's enforced idleness, and the unavoidable expenses of the home are frequently severe upon the far more well to do. Low wages, the oft dearth of employment, the cost of medical attendance, the expensiveness of mortuary customs, precipitate many a family into a slough of despond from which it never emerges.

Under such circumstances there is little opportunity for "putting by for a rainy day;" yet the only salvation is to insist upon saving a little of the weekly earnings. Would it not be wise for the pulpit, whose advertised themes are not rarely widely divergent from the old-fashioned messages of the Gospel, to call the attention of the pew to the savings-fund system? There would be little risk of infracting the command not to lay up treasures upon earth, and there would be great gain in some quarters in rectitude of individual character, in general social conditions, and also in the world's estimate of the value of religious profession.

The discouraging circumstances which confront us compel the conclusion that many communities are overchurched; and that the struggle to maintain the buildings and secure the stipend of ministry—sometimes too large and oftener painfully meager—is too great to be endured by people of scanty means. Although it is frequently contended that the churches in the cities could not accommodate a tithe of the population, were it to become universally church-going, were it not wiser to wait until the present edifices are filled before building more? There is a maximum of spare space in the majority of them which might be occupied, who can tell, if it were not so costly. And in rural communities and small towns, especially in the eastern section of the United States, any thoughtful observer must admit that denominational zeal has far outrun discretion.

There was a time when a most efficient system of pastoral supply was maintained by certain denominations, by the grouping together of a number of churches in a "circuit," with a single pastor. It is quite credible that the preaching, infrequent as it was, was better digested and discussed than in these days of luxuriant pulpit diet, when every hamlet clamors for its convenient church and pastor; and villages which might creditably sustain a single church are hampered with four or five, because of the strong impulse of denominationalism. Surely in these days of felicitous interdenominational relationship the great-hearted leaders of the various folds could agree upon some such arrangement regarding the planting of churches at home as that which so wisely prevails in foreign missionary fields; so that a feeble church founded in a sparse community might be stimulated by hope, and not disheartened by rivalry. Perhaps it is too much to hope that the mint and cummin of the organizations may be altogether laid aside; but in view of the dissemination of the Scriptures, which are absolutely free to any one who is willing to accept a copy, of the wide circulation of religious newspapers, of the large purveyance of religious news by the secular press, and especially the generally evangelical character of the various denominations, is it too much to ask that when one of these has secured a foothold, its sisters shall not at once attempt to share the single cherry of constituency? No Utopian scheme of organic unity is hereby proposed, for the integrity of each denomination would be conserved, rather than weakened, and the cause of the general church immensely promoted.

And perhaps, with the new and genial environment which would ensue, meretricious methods of finance would disappear; and "Jonah's umbrella," raised occasionally by some minister driven to desperate straits to secure a congregation, be lowered and put permanently in a corner, while the simple themes of the Sermon on the Mount—as fresh and practical at the present day as they were when first delivered—would be presented to wondering and delighted flocks, which have long suffered from the malady of gospel indigestion, and the nightmare of the church mortgage which has so often succeeded the feast of fat things.

ALDEN W. QUIMBY.

SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS OF SCHOOL TEACHING.

MANY persons who know something of the trials and difficulties which a public school teacher encounters in governing her school of fifty or sixty pupils, are yet unacquainted with the real problems of her real mission as a real guide and instructor who is responsible for the moral, intel-

lectual and physical development of those under her care. In the training of the minds committed to her charge she must employ the usual subjects of instruction—reading, arithmetic, science, geography, grammar, music, drawing and others; and it is oft-times thought that the use of these agencies is a very simple matter when once they are acquired by the teacher herself. The average laymen does not, and perhaps cannot, appreciate the difference between *knowing* a subject and understanding how to use it so as to secure proper development of the child mind; and he will accordingly judge that when one has finished his scholastic training he will have to think no more about the things he is going to teach, because he is already acquainted with them. This view has been quite commonly held in the past, but is being rapidly, and very rightfully, abandoned in our own day. The first requisite of a successful teacher now, aside from her ability to organize and control a number of pupils working together, is not be technically familiar with such subjects as reading, arithmetic, and the like, but be able to present them in such manner that the pupil will not only acquire them readily, but will be deeply interested in the process and will receive valuable discipline thereby.

A teacher in our times, then, must understand the minds of her children; she must comprehend the relation of the physical and mental, and must be a student of the influences of heredity, home life and environment upon the mind of each pupil whom she instructs. If she finds defects or deficiencies either emotional or intellectual, she must diligently and conscientiously single out the elements which make up the child's personality to see if she cannot find the cause, so that she may modify or eliminate the effect in a proper manner. This is of infinitely more importance than to possess technical knowledge of the branches of study—such knowledge, for example, as the lawyer has of law and the mechanical engineer has of machinery. There is great difficulty connected with this work also, for the study of the mind is necessarily very abstract, and no one can hope to attain much success in it unless he apply himself in the most diligent and watchful manner. In a way, of course, every one studies human nature, but yet very few know much about the workings of the mind. It is one thing to be able to judge in a general way of the character of individuals with whom we are associated; but it is an entirely different matter to know how that character may be developed or changed, and to understand the laws of mental action, so that when any certain effects are desired definite agencies can be applied to bring them about.

Besides these intellectual qualifications the successful teacher must possess other characteristics that are not thought to be absolutely essential for prosperity in most callings. Being as she is a model before the eyes of childhood at a time when everything is observed and imitated, she must possess graces of heart and person which will make her not simply an example worthy to be followed, but which will enlist the sympathy and affection of her pupils. Her features must be expressive and sympathetic; her voice gentle and modulated, and her manner gracious, quiet, and restful. Her dress must be attractve and becoming, and her whole bearing and personality such as will not only command the affection but the respect and confidence of her children. She must herself have affection and be ready in its expression. She must be glad and cheerful, ready in making friends, easy to approach, and social in nature. This may seem to be an ideal, but it is one that is constantly held before every teacher now, and if she fall far short of it her

tenure of office cannot be long, at least in positions that are at all desirable.

It would seem in view of these things that the teacher ought to be the best paid person of any profession; for when so much is required of her in the discharge of her arduous responsibilities in the schoolroom there is necessity for spending much time and money in preparation, and also in securing those aids toward physical and intellectual relaxation and comfort that will make it possible to endure the strain of hard and exacting labor. Even though the teacher possess the spirit of a missionary and receive a portion of her reward from the good she can do, still she cannot fly in the face of nature a great while without making restitution in some manner. Yet it is a lamentable fact that teachers on the average receive far less for their work than do the members of most if not all other professions. There are to-day in the public schools of elementary and secondary grade in our country over three hundred and eighty-eight thousand teachers who receive an average of fifty dollars per month. Among these are included many who have been trained in seminaries, colleges, and universities, and a large number who are graduates of normal and high schools. Most of them are obliged to reside away from home the greater part of the year, and so are at comparatively large expense in the maintenance of daily life. It can be seen that what is left after necessities are provided for must be very meagre indeed.

If it were possible now to ascertain the average income of the lawyers, doctors, and other professional men in the country it would in all probability appear to be a number of times that of the average school teacher. It is a fact of common observation that young men of ambition but of limited means who engage in public school-teaching continue at it but a short time—only long enough to accumulate a sufficiency to pay off debts, or to prepare for some other profession; and it is universally admitted that in a financial way a young man has far greater advantages as a lawyer, even of the pettifogger sort, than does a teacher of the finest quality. If we compare the salaries of those in the employ of the government in its various departments with the wages of public school teachers as already given we see that the most moderately paid positions yield at least twice as much as does school-teaching, while the most lucrative places yield many times as much as do the majority of places in public schools. Of course it would be hardly reverential to compare the highest positions in the gift of the state, as the presidency, headships of departments, judgeships in high courts, governorships, memberships in the national legislature, etc., with the best places in the public school service; but it would seem reasonable for teachers to expect that they should receive as much for their labors as a clerk or a typewriter in the employ of the government.

For the purpose of illustration an example is furnished in the case of the postmaster and the superintendent of schools in a town or city of any size, say 10,000. Here the postmaster will receive $2,500 and is allowed an assistant who performs nearly all the labor attached to the position, thus leaving the one at the head of affairs free to engage in other lines of business, as merchant, editor, or lawyer. In this same city the school man will receive at the most $2.000, and will be expected to spend every moment of the working hours of day and night in furthering the educational interests of the city, incidentally looking after the teachers, pupils and parents thereof. He must be a college-trained man of broad experience, have splendid executive abilities, and be a model in moods and

manners, so that the youth of the city may profit by his example. Another illustration may be found in comparing the county school commissioner with other county officers. At the time of election the superintendent is always put last on the ticket, or practically so; and in the matter of salary he hardly ever receives more, but rather usually less, than the county attorney who, to make a safe and modest estimate, does not do one-tenth the amount of work for the public that falls upon the school man. The man of law has abundant time to attend to private practice for private ends, and is at no expense for horses, carriages, and other means of conveyance that the county superintendent is obliged to possess; and if he had to endure such hardships as the superintendent ordinarily does there would probably not be enough legal men left in many counties after a time to fill the offices. The representative from the county to the state legislature receives ten dollars and upwards per day (with expenses allowed) for his presence in the comfortable rooms of the capitol; while the county superintendent of schools receives from two to five dollars per day (bearing his own expenses) for a life of trial and privation in endeavoring to elevate the educational tone of his community.

It may be said that a lawyer in the employ of the state, like a soldier, is an exceptional man and his services should be especially recognized; but it cannot be true that it takes better men to make lawyers or soldiers than it does to make teachers—men with more intelligence, or pluck, or courage, or physical endurance, or ability to act instantly upon emergencies. Public school-teaching is and has been discriminated against in the distribution of financial rewards for labors performed.

The effect of this is very unfortunate, not so much on account of the deplorable condition which public school-teaching is in, but because of the far greater benefit that might result to the community if it received its just deserts. As it is now, teaching is ruinous to the health and spirits of a large number of those who are engaged in it. Their incessant and arduous labors without opportunities for needed relaxation, and even the ordinary comforts of life, keep them in a worn and nervous condition which has already become so characteristic of the American public school-mistress that it is said to be possible to tell her wherever you see her. As a class they are known to be a plain folk, exceedingly modest in dress, too much so, indeed, to enter polite society; and the cause is evident—that the returns from their labors will not permit expensiveness of any kind, in dress, food, entertainment, or any of the things that bring relaxation and restfulness. When a gathering of public school teachers takes place in a town or city of considerable size, there is sometimes much merriment on the part of the citizens at the expense of the plain, commonplace appearance of the "wielders of the rod," as the newspapers put it.

The effect of this discrimination is most unwholesome upon pupils, for they are obliged to associate for six hours of the day, and nine months of the year with a teacher who, in far too many instances, is not a fit companion at all for childhood, because she has lost that cheerfulness and spontaneity which hard, unremitting labor with many cares and anxieties have been accountable for. There is apt also to be that severity and impatience in the classroom which comes from the worn condition of the teacher; and surely no influence could be more harmful to the child whose disposition and character are in a large way formed by the things his eyes and ears feed upon during his educable years.

It must be apparent that these conditions seriously retard the true development of our commonwealth, because they encourage those who are lacking in qualities that would win them success in other fields to enter the profession of teaching. One must be blind who does not see that the principal criterion of worth and work in our times is the amount of money that services can command; and it may not be expected that those with superior endowments will remain where, if they continue, conditions will deprive them early of the use of their powers because of the arduousness of their duties, while at the same time they will be more poorly rewarded than in almost any other profession they might enter. Thus it has come about that in a way the less able and qualified persons in any community fall into the teaching profession because the most capable do not care to enter; and in many cases those in the profession who possess natural abilities leave it as soon as an opportunity offers itself, feeling that they might keep better company elsewhere, as well as have a more comfortable and satisfactory life.

It is not necessary to search far for the causes that have brought about this condition of affairs. In the first place, a vast amount of public money has been and is now appropriated for educational purposes; and there is a conviction among statesmen and public officials that a due proportion of the people's funds, considering other public interests, is already devoted to the cause of education. But a serious difficulty lies in the fact that there are more persons engaged in teaching than in all other matters of public concern combined; and when it is remembered that practically every adult in our country has passed from six to twelve years in a public school, the great magnitude of this business as compared with any other under public control can be appreciated.

But there are other factors which have operated to place teaching at a disadvantage, important among which is that it has not even yet attained the dignity of a profession in the eyes of the public, but is generally regarded as a makeshift, being done by those who for lack of better opportunities are driven to this as a last resort. And further, teachers as a class have not been considered an influential element in establishing the political or social tone of the community, so that those who make the laws, and in a way distribute public endorsement and patronage, are apt to overlook them, seeing only the lawers or business men who tower far above them. Tradition has in some way limited the teacher's activity to the schoolroom, and fear of public criticism finds it quite closely centered there even in our own time; and since it is only by active participation in all political and social matters that any individual or class of individuals can receive the attention due them by the public, it can be seen that because of his isolation from public affairs the teacher has a comparatively small showing. It may be that his business unfits him for much fighting in the political arena, for his purposes and methods are not often in harmony with those of the common politician; but however it be, it is evident that teaching has suffered because of the failure of its professors to show a strong hand in the establishment of laws and customs by which they are themselves governed, and by which their relations to the rest of the body politic are determined.

It is in a way a remarkable fact that everyone connected with the law, either in its making, its interpretation, or its execution, receives great rewards for his services; and all of the buildings and other equipment

necessary for the administration of law are always of the most elaborate and expensive kind. This may be accounted for partially by the fact that those who make the laws are in many cases engaged also in their interpretation and execution, and it is but natural that they should have first thought of themselves and their posterity; and this sort of thing is going on in every community at the present time. But in addition to this, however, there has always been a peculiar reverence for law and lawyers in our land, and in the times when every lawyer was a statesman perhaps this reverence was well placed; but in our own day it is probable that men who are not especially worthy or have responsibilities beyond what most other individuals of the community sustain are profiting by the favor which custom has always shown their species.

How now may matters be improved so that teaching will be rated higher in public estimation, and receive due financial rewards? The answer seems simple, that legislators must recognize the importance of the teacher in determining the safety and well-being of the state. However much may be professed by those in places of authority in regard to the education of the people being the safeguard of the nation, yet in practice they often fail to show the practice of their belief. The truth probably is, however, that legislators and statesmen have the cause of public education upon their minds less than they really think they do, or at least avow they do; and that those other matters of public interest,—the administration of law, improvements in various kinds of business enterprises, as agriculture, commerce, and so on—have absorbed most of their thoughts and sympathies, and so have profited best at their hands. From the teacher's point of view there seems to be no factor in American life which is now, and must ever continue to be, so influential in determining the course of national development as the public education of the people; and as worth and efficiency in any calling are secured only by adequate rewards it is evident that public school teaching will never attain the position it should take until the present discrimination against it in financial matters, at least, ceases to exist.

It is not alone legislators and statesmen who fail to behold education in its true relation to other interests of public concern, but the people at large must themselves answer to the charge of short-sightedness in placing teaching in the position that it occupies in most communities. It is not unjust to say that in a large proportion of public school positions the cheapness of the teacher is a more important element in securing her election and retention than any qualification of scholarship, pedagogical insight, or character. This apathy on the part of the public is no doubt due to a lack of appreciation of the actual difficulties of the schoolmaster, as well as the importance of his work in the schoolroom; and until a right estimate of these can be arrived at and believed in by those who determine the character of public school-teaching in the various communities, there can be little hope for any improvement upon present conditions.

M. V. O'Shea.

MASTERS AND SLAVES IN THE OLD SOUTH.

Professor Lombroso's article in a recent number of the Review contains a statement that is inconsistent with the facts. What prejudice or misinformation may have influenced him I do not know, but his words are

a slander, peculiarly unkind because aimed at a people already much and unjustly abused. I refer to the old slave-holding class of the South. Professor Lombroso is laboring under a wrong impression when he says: "The same may be said of the former slave-holders, who were so used to disposing of the lives of their slaves that no more importance was attached to the life of a negro than to that of a domestic animal in Europe." That the slave-holders were in the habit of, or "used" to, disposing of the lives of their slaves is absurdly false, and such a statement does the slave-holder of the old South grave injustice.

The first few years of my life were passed with those who were among the largest holders of slaves in the South—the Sea Island cotton planters. I never heard of but one case where a slave was killed by brutal treatment and that under heavy provocation. I recall very distinctly in what horror the deed was held, and that the man who committed it was socially ostracised—the severest punishment possible under the then existing law. There were, no doubt, other instances, but that the slave-owners were used to killing their slaves is a statement needing revision in the interest of truth. One of the most remarkable eatures of the war was the affectionate loyalty of the slaves for the families of their masters. While the men were at the front the negroes guarded the unprotected homes and supported the wives and children. At any moment, in thousands of homes, the slaves might have risen unopposed and killed these families. That they did not do it testifies at once to the affectionate and loyal disposition of the slave, and to the kindly treatment of master and mistress.

J. H. LA ROCHE.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCXCVII.

APRIL, 1898.

IRELAND SINCE '98.

BY JOHN E. REDMOND, M. P.

THE history of Ireland since the insurrection of 1798—the centenary of which will be celebrated this year not only in Ireland itself, but in every land in which Irishmen or the descendants of Irishmen live—is not the least interesting portion of a story which, though not presenting such great imperial issues as make up the record of Greece, Rome, France, England, and other countries, is yet full of dramatic situations and of serious lessons for statesmen. I regret to be obliged to add that it is not the least sad. I propose to sketch that history in broad outline in the following pages.

The immediate result of the insurrection, as it had been the undoubted object of its real authors, was the Union of 1800. A good deal of controversy has hung round this ill-starred Union, the motives of those who promoted it, the means by which it was carried, and the results by which it has been attended. On none of those points is there practically any controversy now. Charles Kendal Bushe, afterwards Chief Justice of Ireland, declared that the Union was "the denial of the rights of nature to a great nation from an intolerance of her prosperity." Ireland, according to the confession of Lord Chancellor Clare, himself one of the prime promoters of the Union, had, under the free constitution

Copyright, 1898, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

of 1782, progressed more rapidly in every element of prosperity than any other country in Europe during the same period. England had always been jealous of every advance made by Ireland on the path of social or political progress, and had shown her jealousy by laws which denied the people of Ireland all the ordinary means of self-advancement and extinguished one after another all their industries which could in any way compete with her own. No doubt she also remembered the fact that Ireland was a distinct nation from herself and, as such, had hopes, expectations, and desires of her own; that she had shown herself inclined to hearken to the doctrines of Swift and Molyneux who taught her that, by natural right and even by constitutional law, she ought to be as free as England itself; that she had actually taken advantage of England's weakness in 1782 to wrest from her in that year, by the arms of the Volunteers, her legislative independence; and doubtless, also, England was afraid of the possible developments of Irish policy under the guidance of a free Parliament, although, as a matter of fact, Ireland had not used the freedom it won in 1782 to the disadvantage of England, but the contrary.

For all those reasons, the policy of the Union was resolved on, and it was determined to carry it through, whatever the means that might be necessary. The conversion of a perfectly constitutional agitation for reform of the Irish constitution into a so-called rebellion was the initial step. Into the history of that cold-blooded performance it is not within my purpose to enter here. The second step was to bribe the Irish Parliament to commit suicide, it having been found that even the terrors of '98 were not sufficient of themselves to bring about that consummation. That the Union was accomplished by the most open, base, and profligate corruption that has ever stained the annals of any country, is now an admitted fact. The Peerage, the Episcopal Bench, the Bench of Justice, the Civil Service, the Army and the Navy were all commodities trafficked in for the purchase of votes for the Union. "The caitiffs of corruption," as Grattan said, "were everywhere—in the lobby, in the street, on the steps and at the doors of every Parliamentary leader; offering titles to some, offices to others, corruption to all." "The basest corruption and artifice," said Lord Chief Justice Bushe, "were exerted to promote the Union; all the worst pas-

sions of the human heart entered into the service; and all the most depraved ingenuity of the human intellect was tortured to devise new contrivances of fraud." It is only a wonder, under these circumstances, that the project of the Union was defeated in the first session of the Irish Parliament in which it was brought forward. It was carried in the second, and with that event commenced the epoch with which I am now about to deal.

The political results of the Union claim attention in the first place. What the hopes or expectations of English ministers were it is difficult, even after all that has been made known to us during the last ninety-eight years, to say. They probably believed that, by the combined effect of intimidation, cajolery, and false promises, Ireland would eventually become a willing serf, or a willing partner in the firm of "the United Kingdom." No similar difficulty is experienced in arriving at the thoughts and feelings aroused in the minds of the great majority of Irishmen themselves by the accomplishment of the Union. "I tell you," said Plunket, afterward a peer and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, addressing the Irish House of Commons, "if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this Act, it will be a nullity, and that no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it." "You may," said Saurin, afterward Attorney-General for Ireland, "make the Union binding as a law, but you cannot make it obligatory on conscience. It will be obeyed as long as England is strong, but resistance to it will be in the abstract a duty, and the exhibition of that resistance will be a mere question of prudence." Plunket and Saurin themselves, as well as others, who, with them, thundered against the Union when it was proposed, afterward took service under England, and the Protestant minority in Ireland to which they belonged became, with but few exceptions, advocates of the new state of things. But the bulk of the nation imbibed the doctrines of Plunket and Saurin, and have acted upon them to this day. From the very moment of the accomplishment of the Union down to the moment I write, Ireland, broadly speaking, has been either actively or passively in revolt against the usurpation of 1800, and England has been at the same time engaged in a constant effort to buy off its opposition by periodical concessions or to put it down by force or fraud.

The abortive effort of Emmet may have been, to some extent, a

continuation of the '98 movement; but, even if we take that view of Emmet's gallant attempt to break the bonds of his country's servitude, what followed showed that the Union had not killed Irish aspirations for liberty. The nation was stunned, indeed, by the events of 1798 and 1800, and lay, for a time, quiescent; and the hope was indulged in England that the long struggle of centuries was at last over. But appearances were delusive, and the hope was vain. The struggles for Catholic Emancipation and Repeal of the Union came in due time to show that Irish national spirit was not yet dead. They were both, no doubt, mainly the work of a single man; but even the genius of O'Connell would have failed to rouse Ireland as he did on both questions, if he had sown the seed on unfruitful soil. As it was, he marshalled the nation in an array, the mere sight of which actually won part of the battle, and, if he himself had been then a younger man, he might have won outright. The O'Connell era may be said to have extended from the defeat of Emmet and Lord Edward Fitzgerald to the Liberator's death in 1847. It was followed almost immediately by the attempted insurrection of '48. That effort also was in one sense a failure, and once more Ireland relapsed into a state of political torpor which may be said to have continued for nearly twenty years. In the interval she yielded herself up, apparently without a struggle, to a gang of political prostitutes who sold their country to one or other English party for personal profit, and allowed every national interest to be sacrificed to English party needs. Again pæans of joy were raised in England and by England's agents in Ireland over the laying of the ghost of the Irish difficulty. Lord Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland so lately as the early sixties, went from dinner to dinner, from the Castle in Dublin to the Mansion House, from the Mansion House to various Irish cities, proclaiming the glad news that Ireland was prospering, and that at last all was peace after centuries of struggle. But again prediction was falsified by the event. At the very moment that Lord Carlisle was speaking his pleasant and confident prophecies, a vast and formidable conspiracy had mined the ground under his feet. It has been customary with Englishmen to sneer at the Fenians and the Fenian movement; but there were periods when the Fenians were not only not sneered at, but absolutely dreaded, and it took years

and all the arts of intimidation and legal chicanery to suppress them. If they did nothing else, they proved, at least, that the national spirit was not dead, and they sowed the seed of future struggles against foreign domination. Again failure was followed by torpor, and again it was hoped that Ireland would henceforth cease to trouble. How vain this fond hope was, Charles Stewart Parnell showed in his turn. Although the disproportion between the resources of Ireland and England had immensely increased since the days of O'Connell, the latest and in some senses the greatest of Irish leaders not only called out into active life the immortal spirit of Irish nationality which was so often supposed to have been killed, but extorted concessions from England of the highest practical value and led the nation to the very threshold of freedom. Since Parnell's death torpor has once more supervened; but it is only torpor, not death. Deep down in the very heart of the nation the Union is still, after nearly a hundred years, regarded as a usurpation. In the words of Saurin, resistance to it is still in the abstract a duty, and the exhibition of that resistance is a mere question of prudence.

The Union was proposed and advocated professedly as much in the interest of Ireland as of England. The Catholics were promised Catholic Emancipation, and some of them, including even some dignitaries of the church, were deceived by that promise. The country was promised prosperity—greater prosperity, indeed, than it had achieved under the free constitution of 1782. The era of social strife was to be closed. The law was to be administered in a spirit of impartial justice. How were those pledges and promises redeemed?

Take the last point first. Scarcely had the Union been accomplished when the very fountains of justice were polluted by the appointment to the judicial bench and to every legal office of ferocious partisans of the Orange ascendency. No Catholic obtained or could hope for fair play at the hands of those agents of English law. If by chance, as happened on one or two occasions, an honest man obtained a seat on the bench and happened to give expression to his indignation at the travesty of law which he witnessed on all sides, a dead set was made upon him and he was hunted from his place. In the first ten or fifteen years of the century, two judges of the Superior Court—

Justices Fox and Johnson—suffered this fate for merely rebuking high-placed aristocrats for gross acts of partisanship and illegality. As the law proved insufficient even in the hands of such partisans for their vile purposes, it was continually strengthened by the passing of Coercion Acts. Down to the enactment of the perpetual Coercion Act of 1887 it has been estimated that there was nearly one such Act for every year of the century. Some of them provided for the wholesale disarmament of the people; some of them for the establishment of tribunals resembling Courts Martial; some of them for the suspension of Habeas Corpus and imprisonment by *lettres de cachet;* some for the more easy packing of juries, and two at least, including the last, for abolishing trial by jury altogether in certain cases; some for legalizing domiciliary visits, and some creating new crimes not heard of before in English jurisprudence. Law, in short, came to the Irish people not only "clothed in a foreign garb," but displaying the hateful features of partiality and corruption. The consequences were inevitable. Executions often became in the eyes of the people judicial murders; it was thought no crime to violate the law when there were wrongs to be redressed or rights to be vindicated; and justice as administered in England's name was a by-word.

The history of the struggle for religious equality is specially disgraceful to England. The authors of the Union who promised Catholic Emancipation as the result of the Union deliberately broke their words. They not merely neglected to effect emancipation, but they actively opposed it. Nor did their successors change their tactics till the very last when the fear of civil war, as the Duke of Wellington himself admitted, compelled them to do so. Even then the "concession" was incomplete. The Emancipation Act of 1829 has been talked of as a great measure, and, of course, it was; but, read in the light of the closing days of the century, it really looks as much like a measure of pains and penalties for Catholics as like a measure of freedom. Quite a number of its clauses or sections expressly impose disabilities for certain professors of the Catholic faith. The religious orders, for instance, are banned by it, and up to a few years ago no Catholic lawyer in Ireland, no matter how competent or how distinguished, could occupy the highest post in his profession—namely, the Lord

Chancellorship. When at last partial emancipation was granted it was accompanied by a sweeping measure of disfranchisement. Catholics were rendered capable of election to Parliament; but in order that as few as possible of them might be able to get there the forty-shilling freehold vote, which carried O'Connell's election for Clare, was absolutely swept away, and not again till fourteen years ago were the bulk of the householders of Ireland, in town or country, admitted to the franchise, though the English established household suffrage for their own boroughs in 1868. The Catholics in Ireland, it need hardly be said, have all through the century been three to one of the entire population; but it took seventy years after the passing of the Union to put all the denominations on a level by disestablishing the Church of the minority. In the affair of education the story of English policy is of a piece with the policy of England toward Ireland in everything else. Forbidden to learn at all in the seventeenth century, Irish Catholics were offered, for more than thirty years after the Union, the alternative of still going without education altogether or obtaining it in institutions which their consciences prevented them from attending, and this is actually the alternative still presented to such of them as desire the higher education imparted in universities. Finally, though religious equality in the abstract now prevails in Ireland, in the concrete it is largely a myth; for even still an undue proportion—it may be said a large majority—of all the posts of power, emolument, or honor in the country are held by professors of other faiths than that of the great majority of the people.

Has social peace been restored to Ireland since or in consequence of the Union? Let the history of the Irish land question be the answer. It may not be generally known, but it is nevertheless a fact, that the land laws of Ireland which were enacted by the Irish Parliament were actually in some respects, though made by landlords, more favorable to the tenants than some of the enactments passed for Ireland by the Imperial Parliament after the Union. They made, for example, eviction a more roundabout process and to some extent recognized local rights. But under the fostering aegis of Imperial rule the land code gradually became altered for the worse, till in 1860, under the guise, forsooth, of a measure of relief, an Act was passed which,

by abolishing all rights derived from custom and tenure and placing the relations of landlord and tenant entirely on the basis of contract, opened the way for the wholesale robbery and extermination of the tenants. To substitute for equitable rights those derived from contract in any country where freedom of contract does not exist, is manifestly a farce so far as the change is alleged to be intended for the benefit of both the parties concerned. In Ireland, owing to the fact that the tenant, generally speaking, had no alternative but to accept the landlord's terms, whatever they might be, such a change amounted practically to a decree against his welfare, and, in some cases, against even his very existence. It worked, in almost every case, a confiscation of his property in his holding, for it enabled him to be rented on his own improvements. The landlord, of course, took advantage of his new powers and in many cases exercised them to the full. He raised his rent with every improvement made by his tenant and ruthlessly evicted the tenant if he did not pay. To make matters worse, the way was laid open two years before for the entry on the scene of a new class of landlords worse than any of the members of the old.

This result was attained by the Incumbered Estates Act of 1858, under which insolvent estates were peremptorily sold to the highest bidder to satisfy incumbrancers. This act also, forsooth, was proposed as a benefit to Ireland? How did it work out in practice? Speculators, oftentimes without capital of their own, came in and bought estates with money secured by mortgage of the lands. No sooner were they installed as owners than they proceeded to double or treble the rents. If they were not paid they evicted wholesale, turned the vacant holdings into big grass farms, and let them to big graziers. Cattle and sheep were calculated to give less trouble than men and women, and, moreover, they had no votes. The consequences were inevitable. The oppressed peasantry, finding no protection in the law, took the law into their own hands. In many cases they murdered their oppressors and the agents of their oppressors. A social war arose instead of the blessed peace promised by the authors of the Union. Outrages were met by brutal coercion. Coercion in turn bred further crime, and crime was followed in due course by still more severe and relentless coercion. For years and years things went in that vicious circle. Appeal after appeal was

made in Parliament for legislative relief for the tenantry, but in vain. Even such moderate demands as that for compensation for a tenant's improvements on eviction were rejected and denounced as projects of confiscation by the just and beneficent Parliament of the United Kingdom. Nor was it till 1870 that the first real step was taken to remedy a state of things which would have done discredit even to Turkey, and it was not till Parnell arose that the axe was laid to the root of the upas-tree of exterminating landlordism. Even yet, however, the work of justice in this matter remains to be completed, for it is even still possible to confiscate a tenant's improvements in part, though he is no longer subject to capricious eviction.

It may be easily imagined that under those circumstances prosperity did not come upon Ireland under the Union of 1800. For how could Ireland become prosperous when agriculture was its main industry and when the agriculturists of the country fared for more than seventy years of the Union in the manner I have described? But there were other causes than those mentioned for the commercial and industrial stagnation which prevails even to the present hour in unfortunate Ireland, and I now proceed to direct attention to one which has of late assumed and promises to continue to assume a more than usual importance in the eyes of the Irish people of all classes. I mean the fearful drain on the resources of the country caused by over-taxation for Imperial purposes.

The Seventh Article of the Act of Union is that which regulates the financial relations of the two countries of Great Britain and Ireland. It is an elaborate provision and was, of course, recommended to the Irish Parliament by its English authors as the very essence of fairness. It was rendered necessary by the disproportion at the time of the Union between the British and Irish debts. The former amounted to 422 millions of pounds sterling; the latter to only 24 millions. It is not necessary here to enter into the causes that raised the Irish debt to that figure; but it may be mentioned briefly that not long before 1800 Ireland was practically free from a national debt and that the burden was brought into existence solely through English policy. England practically compelled Ireland to contribute beyond her means to her iniquitous foreign wars, and the very millions that were employed in fomenting and repressing the insurrection of '98 and

in corrupting the Irish Parliament to pass the Union were also extracted from Ireland herself by the same agency. More than twenty millions were in this way added in a few years to the debt of Ireland. All of this addition to the Irish national burden was, therefore, rightly England's liability; but, of course, the outrage on Ireland was committed and could not be undone, and so at the Union the two debts stood to each other as I have stated. In consequence, it was proposed and enacted that Ireland should henceforth contribute to the common expenses of the United Kingdom in the proportion of 1 to 7½—that being the proportion which her relative ability to bear taxation showed, according to the promoters of the Union, to be the just one. It was at once pointed out by the chief opponents of the Union measure—Grattan, Foster, and others—that the relative taxable capacity of Ireland was put at too high a figure, and the contention was made good by indisputable facts and figures.

The arrangement, however, was carried, with additional proposals to the effect that, whenever the debts of the two countries should reach a certain defined proportion to each other, and when the circumstances of the two countries became similar, the two exchequers should be amalgamated. It was also agreed that further debt incurred after the Union should be regarded as joint debt. Observe now what happened. England continued to wage war on the Continent of Europe, and fresh borrowing was necessitated. The very first thing that was done was to violate the provision making that further liability joint liability. A certain proportion of it was charged to the separate account of Ireland. The result was that in sixteen years the debt of Ireland was raised to 113 millions. This sum brought the debt of Ireland to the proportion required for the amalgamation of the two debts and the two exchequers, and as Ireland was unable to bear the annual charge for it—her ability to bear taxation having, as was predicted in 1800, been over-rated—the amalgamation took place, although the circumstances of the two countries had not become similar, but on the contrary had become more dissimilar than ever. The best of it is that this transaction was represented at the time and has been represented since as a piece of beneficence to Ireland. Ireland was first deliberately made bankrupt; in return for England's undertaking to become responsible for her 113 millions, Ireland was then made

responsible for England's 700 millions; and finally, she was henceforth to be taxed on the high British level. Such beneficence would in any other country be called robbery.

The system of equal taxation in the two countries was not, indeed, carried out in its entirety at once. The policy of exempting Ireland from some taxes imposed in England and of taxing one or two of her products on a lower scale than that insisted on in England in the case of similar products, was not adopted for a few years; but at last—in 1852–3—Mr. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, took the final plunge by proposing an equalization of all taxes throughout the whole extent of Great Britain and Ireland. He did more. Four millions had been advanced at the time of the Great Famine of 1847 to relieve the distress in Ireland and charged on the ratepayers of Ireland. It ought to have been an Imperial charge; but it was not made so; and, in 1852–3, Mr. Gladstone wiped out the charge and, as a set-off, extended the Income Tax to Ireland, which has since yielded nearly thirty millions sterling! The result of this fresh act of "beneficence to Ireland" was soon apparent. While the taxation of Great Britain was raised by Mr. Gladstone's proposals 18 per cent., Ireland's was raised 52 per cent.! The further result, as ascertained by a recent Royal Commission, is that Ireland since that date has been and is now overtaxed, her taxable capacity compared with that of England being taken into account, to the extent of nearly three millions of pounds sterling a year.

Imagine the effect of such a drain on a small and poor country like Ireland. But this over-taxation was not the only device of England for crushing the commercial and industrial prosperity of Ireland. To pass over minor matters, such as the special aid given for many years to the Scotch fisheries—aid similar to which was afterward expressly denied to the Irish fisheries—I come to the Repeal of the Corn Laws. This was a great and beneficent measure, so far as concerned Great Britain, which was largely a manufacturing country and depended for its food on supplies from abroad. It had a totally different effect on Ireland, which was mainly an agricultural country, which produced its own food supply, and which depended for its prosperity mainly on a good market in England and elsewhere for its agricultural products. The artisans of England benefited immensely, accordingly, by the Repeal of the Corn Laws; the farmers

of Ireland were eventually ruined by it, and, with them, all who depended upon them, the landlords of Ireland included. Meanwhile, the rich manufacturers of England entered into competition with the impoverished manufacturers of Ireland. The result was inevitable. The Irish manufacturers unable to protect themselves went under in the struggle with the overwhelming capital of their English competitors. By degrees the manufacturers of Ireland disappeared except from two or three centres, and the population at the same time kept dwindling. In the last fifty years it has decreased from over eight millions to about four and a half. It now numbers less than it did in '98, while that of England has increased from ten millions to considerably over thirty millions. If I add to this record of disaster the ravages of the Great Famine of 1846-7—the result of English policy, and not of the failure of the potato crop—I shall not have exhausted the catalogue of Irish sufferings, but I shall have made it at least sufficiently full for my present purpose.

This is, in broad outline, the history of Ireland since 1798. The Union, the accomplishment of which was the main object of the men who fomented, nurtured, matured, and eventually brought about the Insurrection of that year and then repressed it in a sea of blood and with every circumstance of cruelty and brutality, has been to Ireland an unmixed curse and even to England itself a source of constant trouble and dishonor.

Of course, the advocates of the maintenance of the Union have something to say for themselves, and it may be well to notice their plea here very briefly. They cannot and do not deny that all through the century Ireland has been practically in revolt against the Union. They cannot and do not deny that, in consequence, England has all through the century governed Ireland as if it were an unwilling slave chafing at and trying to burst his chains. They cannot and do not deny that every reform passed for Ireland during that period has been wrung from the Imperial Parliament by agitation and disturbance in Ireland. They cannot deny that the Union has produced a war of classes instead of social peace, and that religious antagonism has often been actually more acute since the Union than it was in the days of Grattan's Parliament. They cannot and do not deny the fearful reduction of the population of Ireland —a reduction unparalleled in any civilized or progressive country

on the face of the earth, and that nevertheless there have been one appalling famine, recurring periods of distress, and a chronic state of poverty all along the Western seaboard of the island. They do not deny that the manufacturers of Ireland have dwindled almost out of existence and that the main industry of agriculture is always in a more or less depressed condition.

But they say that, in spite of all those things, Ireland has yet on the whole prospered in the last hundred years. The deposits in the Irish banks have greatly increased. The tonnage of the principal Irish ports has also increased. The people are better housed, better fed, better clothed, and better educated than the Irish people were in 1798. Granted all this for the sake of argument, and yet what does it prove? That Ireland has progressed as it ought to have done—has progressed like England, Belgium, France, Norway, or any other European country? Of course not, but that it has shared to some slight extent, despite the most adverse conditions, in the general progress of the world. No one denies that Ireland has advanced in some respects since 1798; what is complained of is that she has not been allowed to advance as she would have done and was actually doing under her own free constitution between 1782 and 1796, and that nothing but the backwash, as it were, of the universal prosperity of the world outside has been allowed to touch her shores. The advocates of the Union might have made their case apparently stronger by pointing out that Ireland has now several things she did not possess in 1798—railways, and telegraphs, and the penny postage, and the telephone—but the fallacy of the argument would have been there all the same.

Ireland, however, is making way politically, at least—slowly, but surely. The blood of the martyrs of '98 was not shed in vain. The efforts and sacrifices of the men of '48, '65, and '67 have borne fruit. The statesmanship of Parnell not only achieved much, but will yet inspire the whole Irish nation to brave and wise deeds for its liberation. Even as I write, the very supporters of the Union are actually offering a wide measure of local self-government. There is no reason for despair.

"Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne;
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above His own."

J. E. REDMOND.

STATE REGULATION OF RAILWAYS.

BY HARRY PERRY ROBINSON, EDITOR OF THE *RAILWAY AGE.*

THE decision of the United States Supreme Court in what is known as the Nebraska Maximum Rate case, which was rendered on March 7, 1898, promises to be of the greatest value to the railways of the country, especially in the Western and Southern States.

If the founders of the Republic could have foreseen the extraordinary development of our railway system, they would undoubtedly never have permitted the present anomalous conditions to arise—conditions wherein there is constant conflict between the national government and the several States in matters pertaining to the regulation of rates. It would be an incalculable blessing, both to the people and the companies, if the railway system of the United States could be treated as a national unit under Federal control only. It would then be possible to get a perspective view of the network of lines as a whole and to formulate a scheme of just and harmonious legislation, under which the railways of one section would be placed in proper relation to those of other sections, and the scale of taxation and the stringency of rate-regulation could be adapted and modified in accordance with local conditions.

At present it is the ambition and endeavor of each State to secure rates no higher—and perhaps a little lower—than its neighbor. Kansas sees no reason why it should not have as favorable rates as Missouri or Indiana; Missouri and Indiana will not tolerate any disadvantage as compared with Ohio, Ohio insists on equality with Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Viewed by itself, the ambition of each individual State is intelligible and even praiseworthy; but the net result in practice is intolerable injustice to the railways of the more sparsely settled sections. The re-

cent decision of the Supreme Court will go a long way toward protecting the companies against this injustice.

Briefly, what the Supreme Court says is that a State legislature has no right to impose any rates for the carrying of freight or passengers which are not high enough to produce a "fair return" on the "fair value" of the property of the railway companies; also that the question whether any given rates are adequate or not is not a matter which a legislature can decide, but must ultimately be a subject of judicial inquiry.

This is far from being new doctrine. Former decisions had declared that the States' right of regulation "is itself not without limitation;" that railways "have the right to live;" that they cannot be compelled "to carry persons or property without reward;" that they are entitled to "some compensation" for their services over and above the cost of operation. In so far, therefore, as the court declares the right of railway companies to receive a return on the value of their properties it only re-enunciates well-established principles.

The court also, however, makes a definite approach to an authoritative definition of the basis on which the "fair value" of the properties is to be calculated. The decision says:

"In order to ascertain that value, the original cost of construction, the amount expended in permanent improvement, the amount and market value of its bonds and stock, the present as compared with the original cost of construction the probable earning capacity of the property under any rates prescribed by statute and the sum required to meet operating expenses, are all matters for consideration, and to be given such weight as may be just and right in the particular case. What the company is entitled to ask is a fair return upon the value of that which it employs for the public convenience."

One other sentence must be quoted:

"In our judgment, it must be held that the reasonableness or unreasonableness of rates prescribed by a State for the transportation of persons and property wholly within its limits must be determined without reference to the business of an interstate character done by the carrier, or to the profits derived from that business. The State cannot justify unreasonably low rates for domestic transportation, considered alone, upon the ground that the carrier is earning large profits on its interstate business, over which, so far as rates are concerned, the State has no control."

That is to say that the rates imposed in Nebraska (or in any other State) by the State Legislature must be such as will give a fair return on the railway properties *inside the State of Nebraska*

measured by the volume of business *in Nebraska*. A railway company—say the Burlington road—cannot be compelled to do Nebraska business at unprofitable figures, on the ground that its lines in, perhaps, Illinois are so profitable that the company as a whole will still make money. There are some results, not yet generally recognized, which follow from this decision.

In the first place, the amount of that "fair value" of the railway properties is a question which will now press for authoritative settlement, even more urgently than heretofore. That it is an extremely large and complicated question is sufficiently shown by the fact that not long ago a scheme was formulated for presentation to Congress providing for the appointment of a commission to ascertain the present value of the railways of the country, which commission was to be allowed three years in which to complete the work and a million dollars for its expenses. Meanwhile, in the absence of any authoritative guidance, two widely differing sets of opinions are held on the subject. Railway officers and engineers with practical unanimity say that the railways could not be reproduced for, and are worth, the full face value of their capital stock and bonds, about $60,000 a mile. The opponents of the railways, especially the Populist politicians in Western States, declare that from $25,000 to $30,000 would be a liberal estimate for the lines of the country as a whole. This is not a question which can be discussed in this article, but we are at least safe in assuming that the lowest estimate made is too low, that is, that the fair value of the railways on the average is above $30,000 a mile.

That is to say that, on the average for the whole country, no schedule of rates which will not, on the volume of business done, produce a "fair return" on $30,000 a mile can be legally imposed on the railways.

This, as has been said, is on the average value of the properties of the railways of the United States as a whole. But the Supreme Court says that in any State the reasonableness of rates must be determined with reference to the railway lines and earnings in that State only. Henceforward, therefore, the statistics of the individual States are to be of importance. At present such railway statistics as are obtainable in the respective States (with the exception of a very few) are most unsatisfactory. Of the Western States, Texas is the only one which has made any effort

to arrive at an accurate valuation of its railway properties, and the Texas valuations are not regarded with much confidence. Railway companies could not, except at enormous expense and inconvenience, make their operating divisions coincide with State boundaries; and to segregate accurately the right proportion of the earnings of all traffic passing over the lines inside State borders would be an almost impossible task. Only 32 States have any board or office—Railroad Commission or otherwise—which makes even a pretence of collecting and publishing the State railway statistics. The reports of some of the existing boards are entirely valueless, while from nearly all general conclusions for comparative purposes can be deduced only approximately and by laborious calculations of mileage and percentages.

None the less, we can with patience arrive at some figures from a majority of the States which will give us a nearly accurate idea of the relations of the railways of the different sections of the country to each other from the standpoint of their earning capacity, from which, by reference to such assumption as we can make of the "fair value" of the properties, we can in general terms see what possibilities there are, in view of the recent decision, of any legislative rate reductions in each State.

The public is pardonably distrustful of railway statistics as they emanate from the offices of individual companies. One item there is, however, in railway accounting which is never suspected of being manipulated, and it is the item which is most valuable for our present purpose. This is the total receipts from all traffic before those receipts are subjected to deductions in the companies' offices. The earnings before they appear in the form of "net income" may be frittered away in extravagance or mismanagement. The "balance available for dividends" is a deceitful and elusive quantity. But in the "gross earnings" we have one positive and trustworthy index. Given the gross earnings of all lines in a State, it is easy to find the average to the mile of road. This average is the *maximum* which, for purposes of State legislation, it is possible for the roads to earn. In practice some lines may earn more than their share and some less; but from the point of view of a legislature legislating for all roads alike, this average earning is the highest gross return which it is practicable for the railways to receive for their services.

Moreover (again recognizing that in practice there will be

variations in the capacities of different roads) there is no difficulty in finding, so far as the State as a whole is concerned, what net profit these gross earnings ought to represent.

If a company pays all its expenses and taxes for 70 per cent. of its gross earnings, it is doing reasonably well. In the average Western State it is unusual for more than 7 or 8 per cent. of the gross earnings to get to the stockholder as dividends. But interest charges and other things have already been paid. If we allow 30 per cent. of the gross earnings as a balance available for all payments on capital (whether interest or dividend), as well as all "sinking fund" and "surplus" requirements, we are treating the railways fairly. The New York Central last year operated for 66.96 per cent. of its gross earnings; the Chicago & Alton (an admirably managed and economical road) got below 63 per cent.; the Wabash in its last report pointed with pride to the fact that it had its operating expenses down to 69.22 per cent.; the Boston & Maine spent 67.39. The Chicago & Northwestern got down to 61. According to the Interstate Commerce Commission, in the last six years the ratio of operating expenses to gross earnings on the railways of the country has varied between 66.6 per cent. (in 1892) and 68.14 per cent. (in 1894), the ratio last year having been 67.2 per cent. Taxes amounted to 3.5 per cent. of the gross earnings. The two together last year made 70.7 per cent. If we allow the companies, therefore, 70 per cent. of their gross earnings, on the average, for operation and to pay taxes, the remaining 30 per cent. is a fair allowance for net income. An average company—especially in the West—which keeps its expenses and tax payments inside of 70 per cent. of its gross, cannot be very extravagant, and legislators and the public have assurance that there are no excessive salaries or illegitimate profits, nor any "corruption funds" or other questionable items smuggled in to increase expense and keep down the dividend showing.

Of the 32 States which have railroad commissions (or similar bodies) there are 28 from whose reports it is possible to arrive at the gross earnings of all railways in the State with something like accuracy.

The following table shows these earnings per mile in each of these States, together with a calculation of the 30 per cent. available for net income, and, finally, on how much capital that net income will pay interest at the rate of 6 per cent.

State.	Gross earnings per mile.	30 per cent. of gross earnings.	Being 6 per cent. upon:
North Carolina	$2,864	$859	$14,320
South Carolina	3,125	937	15,620
North Dakota	3,419	1,025	17,090
Georgia	3,484	1,045	17,420
Nebraska	3,487	1,046	17,433
Texas	3,742	1,122	18,710
Alabama	3,781	1,134	18,900
Michigan	3,835	1,150	19,170
Kansas	4,482	1,344	22,610
Missouri	4,768	1,430	23,860
Iowa	4,792	1,437	23,960
Wisconsin	5,346	1,603	26,730
Maine	5,446	1,633	27,230
Kentucky	6,003	1,800	30,010
Virginia	6,393	1,902	31,710
Minnesota	6,592	1,977	32,960
Illinois	6,806	2,041	34,030
California	8,199	2,459	40,990
Ohio	8,363	2,508	41,610
Massachusetts	10,118	3,035	50,590
New Hampshire	11,361	3,408	56,800
New York	13,787	4,136	68,930
Pennsylvania	15,103	4,530	75,510
Connecticut	15,698	4,709	78,490
Rhode Island	16,223	4,866	81,110
New Jersey	18,777	5,633	93,880
Vermont	18,932	5,679	94,660

This will be found to be an extraordinarily interesting table. Here we have that perspective view of the country as a whole which is necessary before any broad handling of the railway problem is possible.

The 30 per cent. of income to profit in each of the last two States is, it will be seen, larger than the whole gross earnings of any one of the first thirteen. Nothing could better illustrate the necessity of having some such basis of comparison than does the table itself. It is the demonstration of its own importance. To legislate for railways in a State where they cannot earn interest on $15,000 of capital on the same basis as in States where they can earn interest on over $94,000 is obviously absurd, though, as an abstract proposition, Western States will rarely recognize the fact.

In a general way railway men know that a road that earns $10,000 a mile, gross, is in moderately easy circumstances—or ought to be. With $8,000 a mile or less, there is need of economy. If the gross earnings are below $5,000 a mile, there must be difficulty in making both ends meet. The above figures show why this is so.

A road which earns $5,000 a mile, gross, after operating economically and paying its taxes, has not enough left to pay 6 per

cent. interest on $25,000 a mile. That is a condition which sooner or later means bankruptcy.

A road which earns $8,000 a mile, gross, can operate and pay taxes and then have 6 per cent. left on $40,000 a mile. That is not a condition which permits of extravagance, because no road running through a region sufficiently populated to produce $8,000 a mile, gross, can have cost less than $40,000 a mile to build. But such a road should keep solvent.

A road which earns above $10,000 a mile ought to be able to operate and pay interest on $50,000 a mile without difficulty.

The States in the above table, then, fall naturally into three groups :

1. Those wherein the railways earn, gross, less than $5,000 a mile. This includes eleven States. The railways in the most prosperous of the eleven (Iowa) cannot as a whole earn interest on $24,000 a mile, while in the poorest (North Carolina) they cannot earn it on $15,000. Here we have certain concrete facts. These facts cannot be manipulated. There is no question here of watered stock, or of salaries, or dividends. The gross earnings are the maximum that the railways have to divide among them. The 30 per cent. balance is what each company, if it is alert in a business way so as to get its full share of the gross, and then operates economically so as not to spend too much, *ought to* be able to have left. When, on this basis of computation, a railroad, no matter how it behaves, cannot earn interest at six per cent. on $25,000 it is in a bad way. For the people of the States wherein the railways are shown to be in these circumstances to attempt to compel any lower rates than are now in force or to lay any other additional burdens on the companies, is, setting considerations of justice and the recent Supreme Court decision aside, most injudicious from the standpoint of public expediency. A company which (no matter how hard it works or how economically it operates) is permanently confronted by an inability to earn interest on $25,000 a mile cannot possibly continue for any long term of years to give the public adequate and safe service. However hard it may strive to keep up appearances, the condition of the property must deteriorate ; accidents will grow more frequent ; depot facilities will be inadequate ; passenger accommodations will grow poorer, and, most certainly of all, there will not be cars and engines enough to move crops or

handle any extraordinary business when the emergency arises. It will not be the fault of the railway company. The responsibility rests on the conditions of the territory in which it operates. It cannot furnish a first-class service on an inadequate volume of business any more than a general store in a small town can offer the same advantages to its customers as are furnished by a great New York house. There is probably no other country in the world wherein railway companies attempt to operate on a business which will produce less than $5,000 a mile gross earnings, unless they have a guarantee of aid from the government. In this country it would be a far wiser policy for the people—through the federal government or through the States—to assist the roads in unprofitable localities than to talk of imposing new burdens. In almost all—so far as is known, in all—other countries this is done.

The States in which, as we see from the above list, there is not business enough to produce a profit on railway operation are the following:

North Carolina,
South Carolina,
North Dakota,
Georgia,
Nebraska,
Texas,
Alabama,
Michigan,
Kansas,
Missouri,
Iowa.

Other States there are for which the figures are not available, but which undoubtedly fall in the same category. These are:

North Dakota,
Montana,
Washington,
Oregon,
Arizona,
Oklahoma,
New Mexico,
Nevada,
Utah,
Wyoming,
Florida,
Mississippi,
Indian Territory,
Colorado,
and probably
Louisiana.

In all of these States it would be an incomparably wiser policy to lighten the burdens of the railways as much as possible, and to encourage them to keep their properties in fitting condition to give adequate public service, rather than to attempt to further curtail revenues which are already inadequate.

But it is not necessary now to reason only on grounds of public expediency. The Supreme Court of the United States has furnished a more powerful argument. The recent decision places an absolute veto in the way of any legislation in any one of these twenty-six States which will reduce rates or cut down earnings.

In each and every one of them, no law which by any amount, however small, adds to the burdens of the railway companies can be constitutional.

2. The next group of States is that wherein the railways receive on an average between $5,000 and $8,500 a mile, gross. As we see from the above table, a company which earns above $5,000 a mile, gross, may, if it is properly managed, pay interest on an investment of $25,000 a mile. If it earns above $8,000 a mile, gross, it ought to be able to pay interest on $40,000 a mile. The average bonded debt of the railways of the country is $30,126 a mile. The figures given above (see Kentucky) show that it takes $6,000 a mile gross earnings to earn 6 per cent. interest on this amount. Roads, therefore, which earn between $5,000 and $6,000 a mile, gross, are likely to have need of rigid economy before they can meet their interest payments. With more than $6,000 a mile gross earnings, there is a possibility of earning some dividend on stocks. With $8,000 a mile, gross, a company should be able to pay 6 per cent. on the average bonded debt, and, in addition, 6 per cent. on $10,000 (or 3 per cent. on $20,000) of stock to the mile. This is by no means affluence. Take Ohio for example, where the average gross earnings are $8,363 a mile, and California, where the gross earnings are $8,199 a mile. In the former State the number of large cities, where terminals are costly, and in the latter the heavy mountain passes with their great engineering difficulties, and the expensiveness of labor and supplies, have made the railways there cost considerably more than the $41,810 and the $40,990 a mile on which the volume of business permits an earning of interest at 6 per cent.

The Supreme Court, it has been seen, plainly stipulates that in addition to the "original cost of construction," the "amount expended in permanent improvements" and "the market value of the stocks and bonds" are also to be taken into consideration in ascertaining the "fair value" of the properties. In at least two of the States in this group legislation is now threatened to reduce passenger fares. The railway companies will have no difficulty whatever in showing any such legislation to be plainly confiscatory and unconstitutional. The States in this group are:

Wisconsin,	Minnesota,
Maine,	Illinois,
Kentucky,	California,
Virginia,	Ohio.

To which may be added:

West Virginia,	Delaware,
Tennessee,	Maryland.

3. There remain on our list eight States which show an average earning capacity of $10,000 and upward. In these the question of whether any legislation could be enacted which would reduce earnings, without cutting below the limit of a fair return, is less easily decided. The opinion of the writer is that on the Eastern lines as a whole, with very few exceptions, the cost of permanent improvements out of capital, since the lines were originally built, has been so great that even the present earnings do no more than make a fair return on the value of the properties. It is not, however, in these States that the pressure for anti-railway legislation is most active. It is in the States of the South and West, and the magnitude of the benefit of the Supreme Court's decision to the railways of these sections will only come to be understood slowly and with the passage of time.

HARRY PERRY ROBINSON.

WOMEN AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

BY M. E. J. KELLEY.

An observant philosopher discoursing on the labor movement in America remarked, somewhat disconsolately: "With the women of the country rests much of the blame for the slow progress of the labor movement. Upon womankind falls the greater part of the purchasing and in her efforts to secure bargains she overlooks the true economic feature of the case. She thinks only of the present. It is a case where the so-called economic guiding motive of self-interest overreaches itself. The self-interest of the present defeats the self-interest of the long run. Any state of things for which women can be induced to make a concerted demand will be forthcoming. It is only ignorance on the part of women that stands in the way of rational progressive living for the great mass of human beings. The real labor problem is how to bring women to a knowledge of their social responsibilities and duties."

While there is an Adam-like tone of blame for the woman about the labor-philosopher's remarks, they voice a growing appreciation of woman's importance as an economic factor. The changes in economic thought which tend more and more to place the emphasis on consumption and to consider women as the great factors in determining what shall be consumed, indicate that women must be very seriously considered in the solution of the problems of industrial production. The economic and sociological needs of the time furnish an overlooked argument for the cultivation of the mental powers of women. Since they are the determining factors in consumption they need, even more than men, the power of generalizing, ability to see the broad field, and estimate the general effect of particular deeds.

All sorts of people talk a great deal about the labor move-

ment nowadays, but there seems to be a general hazy vagueness about their terminology. As a matter of fact there is no regularly organized labor movement with definite aims and plan of action. The Knights of Labor represent one movement, the American Federation of Labor another, while the Social Democracy and the Socialists, idealist, materialist, Christian, or Marxian are seeking a similar goal by quite different routes. All have points of agreement, to be sure, and of late there seems to be a growing tendency on the part of the more powerful labor organizations to make themselves class factors in politics.

Everywhere the labor movement means the struggle of the workers and their sympathizers to secure a better home-life, more healthful conditions in workshops, educational opportunities, and all the rights and privileges of citizenship for men and women, time and opportunity to develop the spiritual and the beautiful side of their lives and characters as well as the money-making side. Broadly speaking, the labor movement means simply the sum of all the efforts of all sorts of people to elevate the physical, mental, and moral character of the producers, through the improvement of the material conditions which surround them. In this sense the college settlements, the social settlements, the Church Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, the farmers' grange, the social reform clubs, the Christian Socialists, the working-girls' clubs, are all a part of the labor movement, as well as the American Federation of Labor and the assemblies of the Knights of Labor.

Two classes of women are more or less prominent in all these organizations—those doing and those done for; those who are wage-earners and those who are not. The wage-earners may be classed in the trade-unions, Knights of Labor, and working girls' clubs; the non-wage-earners in college and social settlements, Women's Christian Temperance Union, farmers' granges, Consumers' Leagues, etc.

Perhaps a third class should be added—the women who are neither wage-earners nor women of leisure—the home-keeping wives and mothers of workingmen. Sometimes, to be sure, their influence is all against the union and the labor movement, but in most instances they back their breadwinners with heroic fealty in any fight for more wages, shorter hours, or anything else the union thinks it right to ask. Upon them,

too, falls the brunt of the fight. They know better than any statistician how much wages are lost and how little food a family can live on during a strike. And rarely does their faith or hopefulness waver. Not infrequently, as in the case of the coal miners' strike last summer, they not only bear the suffering incidental to all strikes with heroic patience, but they bring mother-wit to help in the solution of the problems of the strikers. They picket shops and try persuasion on renegades; that failing they take advantage of the partial immunity their sex gives them and use measures to disable the "scabs" who have taken their husbands' places.

The woman of leisure is a comparatively new factor. It is scarcely a generation since titled ladies in England began to use their wealth and position and superior education for the betterment of the conditions under which their wage-earning sisters were employed. In the United States the appearance of the woman of wealth or leisure or culture in the labor movement is of still more recent date. The sudden development of the Knights of Labor in the early eighties began it. Many teachers, women physicians, and other women following intellectual pursuits found themselves drawn by that force into the militant labor movement. Miss Dodge, daughter of a New York millionaire, followed with her working-girls' clubs as a scheme for the improvement, through the development of character, of factory workers. About the same time Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, widow of Gen. Charles Russell Lowell, turned her attention to the organization of Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration in trades already having strong unions, with such success that there have been few or no strikes among the bricklayers and masons in New York, Boston, or Chicago for fifteen years.

The development of college and social settlements drew to the movement women of wealth and culture, particularly in Chicago and Boston where the settlement workers are in close touch with the trade unions. In Boston the women of Dennison House are members of a federal labor union and have organized a union of women engaged in the tailoring trade. The head-worker at the settlement is a delegate to the Central Labor Union. Hull House, Chicago, is likewise represented in the local federation of trade unions. It also furnishes a meeting place for unions and courses of lectures on economics.

Women of social position have lent their influence to the agitation for legislative inquiries into the conditions under which women are employed, the establishment of bureaus of labor statistics, the passage of factory inspection laws, and the appointment of women factory inspectors, all of which are of recent accomplishment and testify to the influence of women in the labor movement. Nowhere else indeed are the college graduates, the women most representative of the advantages and opportunities gained by women in this century, more conspicuous than among the social reformers.

The labor movement in this country may be divided into two periods, the first extending from 1800 to 1861, and the second from the Civil War to the present time. With the first period women of any class had little to do, and women of leisure, wealth, or culture, nothing at all. It was not until the 40's, when the tide of immigration set in, that women began to be factors worth considering at all in industrial production, and it was not until after the war that inventions and changes in methods, together with the great number of women thrown on their own resources by the death of the breadwinners in the war, made women of importance in economic affairs. While the economic position of woman was being revolutionized, democratic ideals were changing, organization was progressing rapidly among workingmen, middle-class women were wringing opportunities for higher education from the conservative keepers of colleges, the agitation for political privileges for women reached a stage where it began to be taken seriously, and all these things together tended to bring women to the front and to interest the public in their affairs.

Odd enough it must seem to those who believe women chronically opposed to warfare, that in the period before the war woman's appearance in the labor movement was usually as a riotous striker. Strikes were not infrequent and they were nearly always hopeless in those early days when imprisonment was apt to be the portion of the daring spirit who injured his employers by refusing to work for whatever his benefactor chose to pay him. But in spite of the danger women were in the thick of the fray. There were women among the mill hands of Paterson, N. J., who struck in 1834 for a reduction of hours. The factory regulations required all hands, men, women, and children, from seven years upward, to be at work at half-past four in the morn-

ing. The strikers were willing to work thirteen hours a day, but they drew the line at that. Their demands were finally conceded. Less successful were those famous mill girls of Lowell of whom Dickens and Harriet Martineau spoke with such admiration. They have been held up as models for all future generations of mill girls. The fact that they went on strike in 1836 is rarely mentioned, however. The ringleader was an eleven-year-old girl. It is said, when a reduction of wages was announced, she led her comrades out of the mill, and mounting a pump made an inflammatory speech. She was promptly chastised and sent back to her work, and the revolt ended then and there.

The first definite step toward an organized labor movement was the holding of a convention of representatives from workingmen's associations in Baltimore in 1866. The anti-slavery and women's rights agitations had accustomed the people somewhat to women as speakers on public platforms, but they were not women of the working class, and it was, perhaps, too much to expect women delegates to be present at that first convention. Even at this time, however, there were some strong trades organizations having women on their membership rolls. One of the most powerful was the Order of the Knights of St. Crispin, a union of shoemakers. The women of the trade were organized in a special branch called the Daughters of St. Crispin.

Although there were no women representatives at the convention of 1866, the women wage-earners were not overlooked, though the remedies proposed for their wrongs could hardly have conveyed much hope to those of them who interested themselves in the proceedings.

In the platform of principles to which the delegates declared their fealty there were two planks relating to women. The first ran thus: "Resolved, that with the equal application of the fundamental principles of our republican democratic government and a sound monetary system, there could be no antagonism between the interests of the workingmen and the workingwomen of this country, nor between any branches of productive industry, the direct operation of each, when not prevented by unjust monetary laws, being to benefit all the others by the production and distribution of the comforts and necessaries of life; and that the adoption by the government of the financial policy set forth in this platform will put an end to the oppression of

workingwomen and is the only means of securing to them, as to workingmen, the just rewards of their labor."

A greenback financial policy could hardly have conveyed much uplift to the poorly paid sewing women who were suffering just then not only from insufficient wages but from inability to collect the too small price of their hire. The sudden outpouring from the home into the market of women unused to the ways of the business world was probably too tempting an opportunity to the unscrupulous to be allowed to pass. So great was the evil that public attention was drawn to it, and in New York the Working Women's Protective Union was organized for the express purpose of collecting the wages of which women were defrauded.

The most important feature of the convention at Baltimore, so far as its doings related to women, was the changed attitude shown by workingmen toward the women who were rapidly invading the trades hitherto monopolized by men. Women were taken up on a level with men as wage-earners. Outspoken antagonism to their entrance into trades and trades-unions was classed as out of order. Woman's right to equal wages for equal work was clearly recognized. Her wrongs were noted, and the desire to help her to help herself was recorded. Another resolution was adopted: "Resolved, that we pledge our individual and undivided support to the sewing women and daughters of toil in the land, and would solicit their hearty co-operation, knowing as we do that no class of industry is so much in need of having their condition ameliorated as the factory operatives and sewing women of this country." Still again, it was resolved that "women are entitled to equal pay for equal services with men; that the practice of working women and children ten to fifteen hours a day at starvation prices is brutal in the extreme, and subversive of the health, intelligence and morality of the nation, and demands the interposition of law."

Altogether the convention marked an epoch in the relation of the American workingwoman to the labor movement. Workingmen recognized her as an economic factor. Objection to her entrance into trades could no longer be organized or official. Her eligibility to membership in trade unions was hereafter to be based on the same grounds as applied to any other worker. Immigration no doubt had considerable effect on the situation. The

establishment of new industries after the war attracted many skilled workmen from England and Scotland and Germany. Among other things they brought with them their trade-union notions. Women were members of the German cigarmakers' unions and the American cigarmakers' union was very young, indeed, when women were first admitted to membership. The textile industry developed amazingly in the years following the war and thousands of English and Scotch spinners and weavers came to work in the mills. It was among these people and in this particular industry that modern trade-unionism first developed. Women had always been members of the unions; in fact, at Oldham, in England, one of the centres of the industry, the membership was almost equally divided between the sexes.

With the coming of the Knights of Labor the distinctively American woman became for the first time conspicuous in the labor movement. One of the marked peculiarities of the phase of the labor movement which flowed and ebbed in the decade of the eighties was the position of the Knights of Labor on the woman question and the attitude of women towards the order. Possibly because the founders, being tailors, were personally intimate with the sewing trade, the order was convinced that workingwomen were even more oppressed than men and that no permanent good could come to the masses until this lower layer of the social structure should have been elevated. Consequently Knights of Labor everywhere endeavored to ameliorate the conditions under which women were employed. Woman was urged to throw off her traditional yoke of meekness and dependence, and encouraged to become the valiant woman, strong in the cause of righteousness. When girls struck either against indecent treatment—no unusual cause apparently ten or fifteen years ago—or for fair conditions or wages, large sums of money were raised to support them. In other directions the Knights of Labor took up the cudgels in defence of women. The order demanded from its members proper treatment of women, and failure to fall in line with the general enlightened view of the rights of woman, even when she was a member's own wife, was sometimes followed by a social boycott. The story is told of a Knight of Labor who abused his wife in spite of many warnings. Finally he was expelled from the local assembly. Unable to get work in his own town, he went to Canada to escape

the opprobrium in which he was held. But even there he found that word had gone ahead of him to the Canadian Knights to have nothing to do with "the unworthy scoundrel, who was a disgrace to the order."

Any estimate of the total number of women who have been Knights of Labor must be pure guesswork, as the number constantly fluctuated. One hundred and fifty, even two hundred thousand would probably be quite within bounds. In New York alone, in 1887, it is said there were 60,000 women in seventy-five local assemblies. In 1885, in Haverhill, Mass., a centre of the shoemaking industry, there were seven assemblies, one having a membership of 800 women. The women in the Knights of Labor were not all workingwomen. All classes were admitted to membership except bankers, lawyers, and saloon-keepers, and many women of leisure and others distinguished in intellectual ways were active workers in the order.

To the strict trade-unionist who believes that only by a thorough organization of all trades can any real good come to workingmen or workingwomen there is something particularly discouraging in the history of women in the labor movement, considering it in its narrow sense. It has been with all women's trade-unions as with the Knights of Labor. A sort of fever of enthusiasm possesses the members for a year or two. They plan and dream glorious things and act rashly. Then they fall back into their old apathetic attitude, and the labor movement, so far as they are concerned, appears to be retrogressing until a new generation of workers appears. Five years after the Knights of Labor was at the height of its power, and had 150,000 women in its ranks, it would have been difficult to find 10,000 women Knights of Labor from one end of the land to the other. The Federation of Labor has never appealed to women as strongly as did the Knights of Labor. Except in trades in which both men and women are employed, there are very few women in the Federation. At present it is estimated that about ten per cent. of the workingmen of the country belong to some sort of a labor union, and only one per cent. of the women.

The influence of a labor organization, however, cannot be measured by its membership at any given time, nor can its influence upon the position or condition of women wage-earners be measured by the number of women in its ranks. While it is dif-

ficult to point to specific concessions from employers in the way of reduced hours or increased wages, a broad view of the field shows that the labor movement in the second period of its development has brought great improvements for working women. Out of the agitation and co-operation of the many forces which go to make the modern labor movement, have come the factory laws and the women factory inspectors, laws which give married women the right to their own wages, laws which help them to recover their wages from dishonest employers.

Public opinion is after all the great power in the improvement of conditions, and the most important effect of the agitation aroused by the Knights of Labor and continued by the American Federation, the moulding of public opinion, is often overlooked. Leonora Barry, a mill girl of Schenectady, who was blacklisted for her prominence in a strike, was commissioned by the national officers of the Knights of Labor to investigate the conditions under which women were employed. It was the first systematic inquiry of its kind, and the widespread publicity given her findings was most influential in calling public attention to many evils, and in forming public opinion on labor questions. The National Labor Bureau, then only recently formed, set its machinery at work on a similar investigation. Several State bureaus undertook to unearth the facts within their own territory. Shocked individuals and disbelieving private societies began investigations on their own account. Legislation to remedy flagrant abuses speedily followed.

The reiterated declaration that women should receive equal pay for equal work has not been without results. The injustice of the present inequality is more generally recognized, and there is a growing tendency toward equality of wages—in public employment at least. The attitude of men toward the problem is changing. That a man is supposed always to have a family to support, and a woman never, is rarely urged nowadays, as it was once, as sufficient reason for paying women smaller wages. Recently the Mayor of New York came out boldly in favor of equal wages for equal work for men and women teachers in the public schools. Public education associations have been formed for the purpose of bringing about equality of wages for teachers. Indirectly this must influence other occupations. "Equal wages for equal work" is more important now than ever, because the easily

operated machine makes women as skillful workers as men. If the notion that women ought to receive less wages prevails the man's standard must come down toward hers.

The labor movement has always stood for greater educational opportunities for the workers, and this phase of the agitation is having its effect on workingwomen and on the home. Technical training, art education, the teaching of domestic economy, which are gradually being made a part of the public school system, will have much to do with raising the standard of living. The club movement among women is teaching the value of organization and co-operation, is unconsciously broadening women's sympathies and breaking down false ideals and artificial barriers. The impetus toward all these things was given by the labor movement, and they are gradually bringing women into the labor movement. From it all is coming recognition that the greatest need of the time is education on sociological questions and the development of the idea of social responsibilities. Two classes of women have become factors, and a third (or is it a fourth ?) class, the most important of all, remains to be reached. For, after all, the women who are in the majority, the women who are the great industrial power, are those who are neither rich nor poor, neither students, nor society butterflies, nor working girls, the great body of ordinary women whose time is given up to taking care of their households, to buying the supplies for their families, and thereby keeping the whole industrial machinery in motion. Could they once be brought to a knowledge of their importance in the economic circle, made to feel that the buying of so small a thing as a spool of thread is a social function, a lot of vexing problems would speedily be solved. The labor movement of the past has concerned itself with women as producers; the labor movement of the future must deal with womankind in her more important capacity as a consumer.

M. E. J. KELLEY.

THE DECAY OF COBDENISM IN ENGLAND.

BY JOHN P. YOUNG.

In December, 1845, at a meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law League, held in Manchester, England, it was resolved to raise $1,250,000, to be used in forwarding the free-trade movement. Three hundred thousand dollars were subscribed in one day. Twenty-three men put down their names for $5,000 each, and the secretary could hardly record the subscriptions fast enough to suit the eager subscribers. M. M. Trumbull, who wrote the story of "The Free-Trade Struggle in England," says: "Nothing could stand against such earnest public opinion as that." Manifestations of earnestness which take the form of liberal subscriptions are usually impressive, and often achieve their object. This one did, for on the ensuing 28th of February the Free Traders carried their point, the House of Commons abolishing the corn laws by the decisive vote of 337 to 240.

It is a little more than half a century since this action was taken by England. During the interval the kingdom has made tremendous progress and is now rated as the richest country on the face of the globe. Its manufactures have expanded enormously, and until very recently its external commerce was continuously increasing. The population, which was less than 17,000,000 in 1846, now exceeds 40,000,000, and the financiers of the city of London are the dominating influence in the monetary world.

These facts are known to all Englishmen, yet it may be safely asserted that if Richard Cobden were alive to-day, and should attempt to raise a subscription fund in Manchester to buttress the free-trade idea, he could not secure pence where formerly pounds sterling were subscribed with alacrity. On November 30, 1897, the annual meeting of the Cobden Club was held in London, and

there were just thirteen persons present. The total income for the year amounted to the insignificant sum of £668, mostly contributed in the form of dues by men who are animated more by the pride of opinion than by a glowing conviction that the interests of England would be subserved by adhering rigidly to the gospel of free trade as formulated by the Manchester school of economists.

This apparent lack of interest in Cobdenism might be attributed to a feeling of assurance of success, if the English reviews and the daily press of that country were not teeming with articles tending to discredit the theories of the Manchester school, and manifesting a decided uneasiness regarding the commercial future of Great Britain. The men most ardently committed to the free trade idea a few years ago are now admitting that it is possible that their theories were at fault. Prof. L. L. Price, in a recent discussion of "The Present Condition of Economic Science," epitomizes the state of English opinion on this subject when he says that professed economists "may still insist on the practical objections existing to governmental interference in the shape of protection; but they would be prepared to admit that the contentions of many free traders had been expressed too absolutely, and that a broader review of possibilities and a wider survey of facts might suggest modifications in the current doctrines."

When we consider this statement closely it is at once seen that it amounts to an admission that the fundamental ideas of the Cobdenites have been overturned. A very slight familiarity with the writings of the Manchester school of economists exhibits the fact that their system was based on the assumption that the adoption of free trade by England would compel other nations to resort to the same system as a measure of self-defence, and that they were profoundly convinced that it would be impossible for a people to artificially develop an industry with government aid so that it could rival or compete with those established at the time the corn laws were abolished. That this does not overstate the case the remarks of Professor J. Thorold Rogers, in his paper on "Free Trade" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* demonstrates. This distinguished champion said: "Protection discourages all kinds of improvement, and indeed it does not appear that the phenomenon of sudden, vast and permanent progress

has ever been witnessed in economical history except during the latter half of the eighteenth century in England."

If Professor Rogers were alive to-day he would carefully avoid such an argument and might even be induced to admit that he made a serious blunder in assuming that "protection discourages all kinds of improvement," and that he was totally in error when in 1889, in the course of one of his lectures delivered in the hall of Worcester College, he declared that, although "thirty years ago and more the American people were noted for the invention of labor-saving machines, the faculty . . . has been notoriously discouraged and is in no way so prolific as it used to be."

If Professor Rogers, with all of the opportunities of a specialist to obtain information, could be deceived on so vital a point as this, it is not surprising that the mass of Englishmen who were content to accept without question the assertions of their leading economists should have been misled. What would be more natural for a British manufacturer than to despise a rival who, he was assured, was constantly deteriorating in ability because he was the victim of an erroneous commercial policy? What could be better calculated to continue the delusion that the adoption of free trade by England had made it impossible for rivals depending upon protection to successfully compete than an apparently well authenticated statement that the effect of state aid was to sap the energies and weaken or destroy the inventive capacity of a people? How different an impression would have been produced had the English economic authority frankly given the figures which show that the number of patents issued in the United States had increased from 4,504 in 1859 to 24,158 in 1889, and admitted that a very large proportion of the inventions of the later years were in the field in which he declared we were growing negligent.

The English economists, who eagerly adopted his view of decadence under protection, also misled their followers in another fashion. They persistently affirmed that in protective countries the consumer was obliged to pay extravagantly for the privilege of being protected. "I do not deny that British manufacture and trade are hindered by the protective tariff of other countries," said Professor Rogers in one of his lectures. "The law allows the subject of it to buy one pair of boots where he might buy two

pairs, and stints him in many ways." No Englishman could seriously accept such a statement as this, and fear a rival working under a system so repressive of consumption as protection was then declared to be. It is true that Professor Rogers occasionally made admissions which negatived the idea that the mass of people in protected countries were any the worse off for paying higher prices for what they consumed while the process of building up a manufacturing industry was in progress, but they were overlooked by the Cobdenites, who eagerly accepted as true every charge discrediting protection. Such assertions as that "the voluntary emigration (from England) of colonists anxious to better themselves in their own way of life" was a phenomenon worth noting, and that the movement was "in the largest degree to the United States," were unheeded, and the British manufacturer and the English people continued to hug the delusion that protection must ultimately work the ruin of those who depended upon it, even though they might temporarily appear prosperous.

In addition to the propensity to underrate the achievements of rivals present and prospective, the English economists were guilty of erroneously attributing to the operations of free trade, a prosperity which might easily have been traced to a wholly different cause. Singularly enough writers like Rogers could speak of "the discoveries of Arkwright, of Watt, of Hargreaves, of Crompton, giving England a practical monopoly of textile fabrics, and subsequently of other products nearly as important," and fail to perceive that it was this practical monopoly which really secured for England the lead she obtained when the gold discoveries in America and Australia revivified commerce. Professor Lecky, in his recently published *Democracy and Liberty*, tells us that "it is more and more repeated that the great rush of prosperity that undoubtedly followed the repeal of the corn laws was largely due to the gigantic discoveries which kept up prices while they stimulated enterprise," but the allusions to such a contributory cause were few during the period of English prosperity, and when made they fell on unheeding ears.

John Stuart Mill, who wrote his *Principles of Political Economy* at a time when the effects of the discoveries of gold in California and Australia were just beginning to make themselves felt, was astute enough to perceive and predict that they might prove "the commencement of another period of declining value

of the metal." The effect of such a decline, or, to put it in another way, of the increased abundance of gold, is described by him in Book 3, Chapter VIII., paragraph 2, where he used this illustration :

"Suppose, everything else being the same, there is an increase in the quantity of money, say by the arrival of a foreigner in a place, with a treasure of gold and silver. When he commences expending it (for this question it matters not whether productively or unproductively), he adds to the supply of money, and by the same act to the demand for goods. Doubtless he adds, in the first instance, only to the demand for certain kinds of goods, namely, those which he selects for purchase; he will immediately raise the price of these, and so far as he is concerned of these only. If he spends his funds in giving entertainments, he will raise the prices of food and wine. If he expends them in establishing a manufactory, he will raise the prices of labor and materials. But at the higher prices more money will pass into the hands of the sellers of these different articles; and they, whether laborers or dealers, having more money to lay out, will create an increased demand for all the things which they are accustomed to purchase; these accordingly will rise in price and so on until the rise has reached everything."

Had Englishmen carefully studied the import of these words they might have avoided a serious blunder, but unfortunately the disciples of Mill concentrated their attention on the last clause of the paragraph, which carries the argument that prices would ultimately be equalized in the event of a rise such as that described, and completely missed the significance of the observation that during the time the rise was in progress great profit might be derived by those ready to take advantage of the situation. The English were prepared. Professor Rogers tells us that the discoveries of Arkwright, of Watt, of Hargreaves, of Crompton, had at this time given England a practical monopoly of textile and subsequently of other products equally important, and when the facts regarding the development of trade in the period immediately succeeding the discoveries of gold referred to are investigated we find his observation amply justified. Inquiry shows that in 1848 English manufacturers were so vastly in advance of those of other nations that the latter were practically non-competing. For many years Englishmen held a virtual monopoly in the iron and steel trade. They supplied the major part of the material consumed by the United States in the construction of its vast system of railways, and at prices which yielded them enormous profits. How great these profits were may be gathered from a table prepared by the writer a number of years ago for the purpose of displaying the fact that they

appeared to be governed solely by the American demand for rails and other supplies of iron and steel. When activity in railroad building began in the United States the prices of English rails were at once advanced nearly to the point prohibitive of use, and as soon as signs of depression exhibited themselves in this country they were at once marked down. The fluctuations were enormous during the period between 1850 and the date when American production began to make its influence felt. Mulhall furnishes tables of English prices which show that rails were sold in Liverpool in dull periods for half the price obtained for them when railroads were being constructed in the United States at the rate of eight or ten thousand miles a year.

What is true of iron and steel is equally true of textile and other manufactures. The development of these industries in England was so much in advance of that of other countries that during the period when the mines of California and Australia were yielding a hundred million or more annually that nation was in a position to derive the chief benefit of the discoveries of treasure. They exchanged their manufactured goods for Californian and Australian gold, and waxed immensely rich in consequence. The jargon of the economists has a tendency to disguise this fact, but it cannot deceive the investigator who seeks for causes and studies effects, and who will not be put off with phrases. Mr. Mill's assertion that "money is a mere instrument for exchanging things against one another," and his declaration that "the pounds or shillings which a person receives weekly or yearly are not what constitute his income, but are merely a sort of tickets or orders which he can present for payment at any shop he pleases, and which entitle him to receive a certain value of any commodity that he may make choice of," coupled with the observation that Great Britain acts on the principle that it is not wise to allow treasure to remain unemployed, have caused most Cobdenites to overlook the fact that it was during the time when England was in a position to almost monopolize the markets of the world that she accumulated and invested the greater part of the $15,000,000,000, which is said to be now owing to her by foreigners, and the earnings of which account for the major portion of the $630,000,000 annually drawn from the rest of the world, in excess of the value of the yearly exports of British produce.

It is the rude awakening of the English public to the errors

of the free trade economists which must be held responsible for the contempt into which Cobdenism has fallen. The Briton still lustily contends that free trade would be the best thing for mankind if the whole world would accept it, but he is rapidly abandoning the idea, carefully inculcated by Cobden, Bright, and others, that British prosperity would force other nations to follow her example in this particular. He now sees the fallacy of the expectation once entertained in England that other peoples, would attribute the start gained by the British in the commercial race to the superiority of English artisans over all others, and he is beginning to perceive that the most elaborately formulated economic maxims will be rejected by practical men if their instincts tell them that the lessons of the teachers and the logic of facts are not in harmony.

The extent of the revolution of sentiment in England may be inferred from the fact that Cobdenism scarcely finds a defender in that country at present, while the reviews and newspapers are filled with articles confessing the disappointment of the writers and urging plans to arrest the decadence of trade. In June, 1896, Edward Salmon, in a sketch entitled "From Cobden to Chamberlain," published in the *Fortnightly*, said: "Cobdenism is less and less recognized as an impregnable fiscal fortress, and the attack becomes more and more confident. Cobdenism is on the defensive." Sir Howard Vincent, in a letter written to the London *Times* in the latter part of 1896, complained that £80,504,991 worth of foreign manufactures were imported into the United Kingdom in a single year, and pointed out that "the £40,000,000 of British wages paid to foreign workers (for making these goods) came in part from the interest of millions sent to foreign countries to enable them to compete with us (the British) in manufacture and to oust us from their markets, instead of being employed in the development of domestic (British) resources." Canon MacColl wrote in the *Fortnightly* in December, 1895: "Let Russia, for the sake of argument, get possession of Asia Minor, and let her impose protective duties to her heart's content, she would nevertheless so develop the boundless resources of those countries that England, the carrier nation in chief of the world, would benefit incalculably;" but his attempt at consolation was rejected, and it was pointed out that rival nations were also developing their carrying trade, and would soon

be in a position to compete with Englishmen on the ocean. In an article in the *New Review* of November, 1896, Williams, the author of "Made in Germany," pointed out that "when the last attempt was made to get rid of foreign sugar bounties, nearly every trade union in the country (England) petitioned in favor of the bill for ratifying the convention," which is only another mode of saying that the British workingman no longer finds the "cheap-loaf" argument alluring.

Professor Lecky also has something to say regarding the change of opinion on this subject. In his *Democracy and Liberty* he declares that "even this last article (of the free-trade belief, cheap food) is not generally held without qualification. Cheap food, it is beginning to be said, does not necessarily mean the very cheapest, and a system under which the greatest and most important of all national industries is almost hopelessly paralyzed, under which land is falling out of cultivation, and the agricultural population flocking more and more to the congested towns, cannot be really good for the nation." No one attempted to controvert his statement, but many bitterly recalled the fact that Cobden and his fellow free-traders had, during the "fifties," assured the English farmer that he enjoyed a natural protection which would always give him the command of the British markets. Captain Lugard, an English army officer, whose experience in Africa qualified him to speak, wrote several articles on "New British Markets," which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1895. In one of these (September, 1895) he said: "Cotton is another product which it would be of great importance to our industries to obtain from within the bounds of our own empire, instead of being dependent for the raw material on which the chiefest of our manufactures depends upon a foreign country and a commercial rival;" and in another place he argued that all the coffee Englishmen required could also be produced within the boundaries of the empire. His suggestions were received with applause, and, so far as we know, not one Cobdenite lifted up his voice to protest against the assault on the free-trade tenet that it is necessary to buy from rivals in order to sell to them.

The *Westminster* of May, 1896, contained a paper on "Agricultural Depression Unmasked," by Hopkins, whose socialistic writings have attracted some attention. In it he derided the

remedy suggested by Gladstone, and said: "To bring about an alteration in these matters, to destroy the components of agricultural depression, would necessitate the enactment of State control or supervision of agricultural tenancy, with plain and uncomplicated rules and regulations, entirely independent of the caprice or selfish motive of landlord or agent." The significant thing about this rebuke is the fact that it was meekly accepted, the free-traders recognizing that a condition of affairs had been brought about by Cobdenism which they saw could only be mended by abandoning the doctrine of *laissez faire*. Mr. Gladstone's action in the case of Ireland and his recommendations regarding small land holdings show that he had completely lost sight of a fundamental theory of the Cobdenites, that State assistance to an industry must be pernicious. W. R. Bousefield, in the December, 1896, *Contemporary*, discussing the problem of unemployed labor, pointed out that while the free-trade policy had conferred benefits on England it had "at the same time enlarged the element of instability." He says: "We have ceased to produce for our own consumption a large number of articles which we can obtain more cheaply from abroad, and the industries concerned in the manufacture of the goods which we exchange for such articles has become correspondingly inflated. This is all for the best, so long as the products of these inflated industries are taken in exchange by the foreigner, but the moment his hostile tariffs exclude these goods our inflated industries collapse and the workers join the unemployed. This is one of the penalties we pay for the advantages of free trade, but it is daily becoming a more urgent question whether we cannot keep these advantages at less cost." The only rejoinder to this from free-traders is the one framed by Mallock, who retorted that if England was not capable of sustaining a greater population than 15,000,000, her surplus workingmen would have to betake themselves to other countries.

These quotations illustrating the decadence of Cobdenism could be multiplied indefinitely, but it is not necessary to pile up the evidence when we have the declaration of Lord Salisbury, made a few months ago in an after-dinner speech, that "the collective Briton is as timid as a woman when the barest suggestion is made of continental activity." In this brief sentence was recorded a mighty change. From being at one time the most

bumptious and self-confident people in commercial matters, the English have become the most timid. Instead of, as formerly, proclaiming that "the world is their oyster," English writers now scare their readers with stories of the superior abilities of rivals and dark hints of future decay. The attitude of the whole nation is profoundly pessimistic, and even during the brief period when poets were singing the glories of the Victorian reign they occasionally sang out of tune, as, for instance, Sir Edwin Arnold, who was compelled to make 1884 his apogee in industrial matters.

In a debate in the House of Commons some time ago, Joseph Chamberlain said:

"I regard many of our colonies as being in the condition of undeveloped estates, which can never be developed without imperial assistance. I shall be prepared to consider very carefully myself, and then if I am satisfied, to confidently submit to the House any case which may occur in which, by the judicious investment of British money, these estates which belong to the British crown may be developed for the benefit of their population and for the benefit of the greater population which is outside."

This declaration was generally accepted as foreshadowing the abandonment of the principles of Cobdenism, but it evoked only a feeble protest from free-traders. It would have taken the British public by storm if sober second thought had not brought to mind the fact that English colonists have constantly moving within them the perverse desire to build up manufactures in their own land, and have manifested a readiness to do so even though the mother country suffer a loss of trade in consequence.

The contemplation of this peculiarity suggests that the promised benefits of an imperial zollverein may be illusory. If Englishmen could persuade themselves that imperial federation offered the advantages its advocates say it does, free trade would be abandoned at once. But even though English ports may be kept open, and the goods of the foreigner allowed to pass through them freely, no candid person will dissent from the conclusion that the spirit of Cobdenism, which was a jumble of false economic ideas, prompted by selfish desires and masquerading under the garb of "Peace and good will to all men," is almost extinct in England. Lecky candidly admits that educated Englishmen now recognize that Cobdenism was devised in the "interest of a great commercial country which did not produce sufficient food for its own subsistence, although its manufactures

might almost supply the world," and he adds "that because the rest of the world could not be deluded into believing that a policy designed to secure the commercial supremacy of England, by making the people of other nations dependent upon her for manufactured articles, it was foredoomed to failure." The prosperity enjoyed by England, because it was ready to take advantage of the great impulse given to trade by the gold discoveries, averted this doom for a long time by obscuring the real workings of Cobdenism; but now that it is plainly seen that every advanced nation is determined to maintain its own workshops, the English have lost heart, and, economically speaking, Great Britain is drifting no one can tell whither.

JOHN P. YOUNG.

FRANCES ELIZABETH WILLARD.

BY LADY HENRY SOMERSET, ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD'S WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

It is difficult sometimes to gauge, as we turn the pages of current history, what are the events and which are the lives that are making an indelible mark on our day. Only from time to time when some crisis arrests our thought do we begin to disentangle from the multitude of current events those salient features that stand out as special landmarks. I believe that when the record of the nineteenth century is read by those who can form truer estimates because distance will give a juster sense of proportion, the name of the woman who has just passed out from her field of work in this world will remain as one of those who moulded the history of our time not only in America, but throughout the world. There is no other life to-day that could be so widely mourned, except the Queen of England, and the grief that will come to thousands of hearts when she has left us will be one less personal in character than the bereavement that has fallen upon tens of thousands of men and women all the world over. When the news of Frances Willard's death was announced in the great city of London, no other name coming to us across the Atlantic would have been so widely known or so dearly loved. English newspapers are not as a rule enthusiastic, more especially about celebrities of other nationalities; but there has not been one single paper that has not recorded in its columns the life work of Frances Willard and the irreparable gap that she has left in the ranks of philanthropists.

It should be the pride of America that no other country could have produced her and no other age understood her, but it will be for future generations to realize what her life has meant

to humanity. It is not because Frances Willard toiled for twenty years in the temperance cause that she is famous, not because she gathered round her an association of women more fully organized and with probably a stronger *esprit de corps* than any other woman's society in the world; but rather because she was a woman who saw ahead of her time, who realized that the evils that were round her must be grappled with by an entirely new conception of woman's responsibility to the world. She has discovered that legislative results were not worth the paper they were written on unless the same moral forces that had succeeded in obtaining them had also a voice in choosing the executive that was to carry them into effect. She realized that the religious feeling of a country was of little use unless it permeated its whole executive life, and that the divorce that has existed so long between the Church, in the widest, truest sense of the word, the government of nations and the framing of the laws, was wholly disastrous to the best interests of any people. In order to endeavor to educate the coming race she did not set about a system of reform that meant a sweeping down of all existing barriers, a destruction of all that is, in order to make room for that which was to be; but she realized that, to effect great reforms, it is the home circle that must be first touched with a deep sense of responsibility for that wider circle beyond, which we call the nation. "God in government" was the motto of all the public work she did. The Sermon on the Mount was to her the Christian decalogue by which the world was to be governed, and if she was visionary and idealistic she resembled in this only the great Founder of Christianity, who has set the highest before us in order that we might ever strive after the noblest and the best.

It is a pride to us in England to know that Frances Willard's ancestors were brave yeomen of the county of Kent; and in the little village church of Horsmonden, amid the green fields and the hop gardens of that sunny spot, are still to be seen the records in crabbed handwriting on yellow parchment of the Willard family, before they left the mother-land to seek "a church without a bishop and a state without a king."

The early training of the girl who was destined to do so great a work is perhaps accountable for much of the freshness and originality which marked her in after life. Born in the State of

New York, when still quite a child her father and mother moved to a farm in Wisconsin, where they lived from her seventh to her nineteenth year; and there, surrounded by broad, rolling plains and streams and forests, the child grew among the birds and the flowers, and the memories of that happy childhood remained fresh and bright with her through after years of toil and the saddening influences that must surround a reformer's life. It was my good fortune to meet Mrs. Willard during the first visit I paid to America, and I have seldom been so impressed by the dignity of any woman. It would have been impossible in her presence to say an irreverent word of anyone, for humanity to her was sacred; and she seemed to live with such high ideals that to her the spirit of Emerson's words was an ever-present reality:

> "Oh make me beautiful within,
> And may mine eyes the good behold
> In everything save sin."

I fully realized the influence that this mother must have had upon her daughter, and Miss Willard has often told me of the unsparing pains that she gave to her children's education, the careful training, the refining influence, and the enthusiasm for right which she constantly brought to bear upon the children whom she loved so well. The early education that Frances Willard received was one that had been well thought out: the best English poetry, the biographies of great men, the classics of history and of religion formed the library which the eager spirit constantly devoured. All novels, however, were excluded, and it was not until in early girlhood she went to spend a few days with a friend that to Frances was opened a new world in the perusal of *Jane Eyre*, *Shirley* and *Villette*. "I read them all in feverish haste," she said, "closing with *Villette*, in the midst of which I was on a lovely summer evening just before twilight, when a long shadow fell across the threshold where I was sitting and unconscious of everything about me, my father's tall form bent over me. He took the book from my hand, and as he saw the flush on my cheeks his brow was clouded. 'Never let my daughter see that book again, please, Madam,' he said to the lady of the house, who not knowing his rules had hardly noted my proceedings. The book was taken from me, and to this day I have never finished reading *Villette*."

Of the happy, holy days spent in that free country life Miss

Willard has spoken constantly, and I have rarely heard her address any large audience without in some way reverting to those blessed times of childhood which gave her an enthusiasm for nature and a deep understanding of the meaning of joy. The love of an outdoor life remained with her even though she had to sacrifice her inclinations (as indeed she sacrificed them continually) on the altar of her work; but as I write I can see her now two years ago in the pleasant lanes on the sea's coast of Norfolk, and I can hear her saying, as we sat under the sweet, cool hedges, how beautiful the world was, and as she softly stroked the little flowers she would continually repeat, "Earth with her thousand voices praises God." Miss Willard's early career is too well known in America to make it necessary for me to reiterate it in this slight sketch. Her early life was given to teaching, beginning with a public school on an Illinois prairie and ending as president of the Woman's College at Evanston and professor in the University.

In 1862 came the first break in the home circle, when her sister Mary was called home; and she has given the simple, touching details of this gentle life in her charming book entitled *Nineteen Beautiful Years*. Her sister's last words to her were the inspiration of her life. "Tell everybody to be good;" and surely no message was more faithfully carried out, for it has been the life work of the one who was left for a while, and who has now joined the home circle in the Land of Light. In 1874 Miss Willard resigned her office as Dean of the Woman's College, and, as she says of this period, "made the greatest sacrifice her life had known or ever can know." She describes in her journal how, although overwhelmed with grief at the thought of leaving the work she loved so well, she had been forced to send in her resignation because she could not but be true to her principles. The last night before she laid down her duties, in an agony of tears she pitied herself as many a young spirit had done before. She says: "I tried so hard and meant so well. At last everything grew still and sweet and holy, while far into the night the deep June sky bent over me with a beauty that was akin to tenderness. The storm of my soul ebbed away slowly and the sobs ceased; as dies the wave along the shore, so died away for evermore my sorrow to lose the beautiful college that my heart had loved as other women's hearts love their sweet and

sacred homes. In the long hours that followed, the peace that passeth understanding settled down upon my soul. God was revealed to me as a great brooding Motherly Spirit, and all of us who tried to carry on the University while He carried on the Universe seemed like little boys and girls who meant well but who didn't always understand each other. The figure was of children playing in a nursery, and one little boy had more vigor than the rest of us, and naturally wanted us to play his way, while a little girl whom I thought I could identify said, 'No, my way is best!' Then a deep voice declared, 'This is the interpretation—good to forgive, best to forget.' And then the happiness that mocketh speech flowed, like the blessed tranquil river of dear old Forest Home, all through my soul, and overflowed its banks with quiet, happy tears."

In 1873-4 there had swept over America an inspiration for temperance work which has since been known as the Woman's Crusade. While still Dean of the College, Miss Willard had felt the enthusiasm of this movement, and when she resigned the presidency she threw herself heart and soul into the crusade. In vain her wise counsellors pointed out to her that, as she was dependent upon her own exertions for her current needs and temperance work pays least of all work, therefore she could not afford to take it up; that she had made for herself a successful field in higher education, and that it was simply madness for her to throw away her gifts upon a cause to which neither fame nor money was attached. Her heart had gone out after the movement; in her ears rang the old home songs which sounded so strangely in the bars of the saloons. The pathos of the women's prayers had found an echo in her soul; the baptism of a great call was upon her, and she determined to throw in her lot with the band of reformers. And so her life changed and instead of peace, she says, "I was to participate in war; instead of the sweetness of home I was to become a wanderer on the face of the earth; instead of a student in libraries, I was to frequent public halls and railway cars; instead of the company of scholarly and cultured men I was to see the dregs of the saloon, the gambling house and haunt of shame. Hence I have felt that great promotion came to me when I was counted worthy to be a worker in the organized crusade for God and Home and Every Land."

The opening way was not an easy one; it was filled with hard-

ship and privation, but all seemed trivial to the eager spirit who desired only to suffer something worthy of a disciple for humanity's sweet sake. Speaking of this time in her life later, she says: "I have never known a more lovely period. I dwelt in the spirit; the world had nothing to give and nothing to take away." Miss Willard realized, however, that her mother was dependent upon her exertions, and it was therefore necessary that her work should be in some way remunerated, and consequently she accepted the post of Corresponding Secretary for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and shortly afterward was appointed president of the society, a work which she carried on until her death. And what has this work meant? Unceasing toil for twenty years. Only by those who have shared her labor was her power of work fully realized; the long days of writing on the cars, the immense audiences to meet at night, the endless journeys resumed the next day, the women to interview, the details to arrange, the hands to shake, the difficulties to smooth away, the disputes to settle—it was one unceasing round of arduous toil; and yet I have never heard her murmur, never known her discontented; but the sweet, bright, cheery spirit forged ahead doing what there was to hand, meeting the heaviness of it all with a buoyancy born of indomitable optimism and untiring faith in humanity. The impression produced upon my mind when I first heard Frances Willard address one of the annual conventions of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1891 will never be effaced. The charm of her speech, like her own character, consisted in its many sidedness, its eloquence, its pathos, its humor and above all its humanness, its complete understanding of the lives and necessities of others. She was as some master musician who is able to sweep all chords and yet continually recur to a melody tender and restful and sweet. She was so womanly in her strength, so joyous in her earnestness, and withal so supremely spiritual, that she seemed at all times as one who dwelt apart, and indeed to most of us who mourn her to-day, the words that have been constantly on our lips are these: "We shall not see her like again." It is unnecessary for me to dwell upon the breadth of the work that she has accomplished. She has done far more than build a vast temperance organization the world over. It is true that her conception has bound the women of all lands in one great society; that her enthusiasm has fired missionaries to

start out round the world carrying with them their gospel of a pure life and a protected home; that hundreds of men and women are to-day engaged in philanthropic work who never realized their responsibility until they met her; that armies of children are enlisted in the great league for reform who will grow up to be the home guard of America's best interests: but she did more than all this—she taught the world that woman loses none of her best attributes, her gentlest influence, her strongest hold upon the affections of husband or children, neglects none of the sweet home ways, because she realizes that life holds for her responsibilities to humanity which she dare not ignore.

The essential spirit of the teaching of Frances Willard breathed in almost the last words she ever spoke before she crossed the dark river that separates us from the world of life. Her dear and constant companion, Anna Gordon, had been singing to her the old home hymn she loved so well,

"Gently, Lord, oh gently lead us,"

and when she came to the words, "If I awake among the blest," she turned to her and said, "No, Anna, not 'I,' don't sing it 'I'; sing 'we'; Christianity is 'we,' not 'I'; it is our Father. Christianity is 'we.'" That was the keynote of her life. "I can have no happiness when others sorrow and I could help to make them glad; I can have no joy when little children are ignorant of a child's heritage of joy. I cannot sit at ease while other lives are held in the clasp of sin and souls are bowed in agony of shame. It is *our* Father, for He loves them all, and in Him I love them too." It was this spirit that sent her forth upon her mission; it was in this spirit that she worked in failing health and the constant weariness of growing weakness until "she laid down her life for her brethren."

We do not forget in England that to no other philanthropist did we ever give so warm a welcome. The great meeting at Exeter Hall that was held in her honor was probably the most representative gathering that has ever assembled to greet any great man or woman on that historic platform; and we are glad to know that we laid laurels at her feet while yet the homage could bring a smile to her face and the words of praise could still rejoice her heart. And now she has gone, and to us she has left her legacy of work—work that we dare not neglect, for still we know that "Eyes do regard us in Eternity's stillness," and we have

learned our lesson from that womanly spirit whose words of sweet reasonableness have been spoken so often, whose many-sided arguments and loving pleas we will yet prove have not been "love's labor lost." Such lives are never ended, for their spirit lives on in the lives of others. Frances Willard felt that a woman owed it to all other women to live as bravely, as helpfully, and as grandly as she could.

There is an old plantation melody, the refrain of which runs:

> "Maybe the Lord will be glad of me,
> Maybe the Lord will be glad of me,
> In Heaven He'll rejoice."

and the words and the music, she says, "touched a chord very far down in my heart, and I have hummed the strange old snatch of pathos to myself times without number at twilight on the cars after a hard day's work with book and pen." And who can doubt that He who has sent some "apostles, some prophets," was glad of her who has been a ministering spirit to the needs of many. "If the story of my life," she has said, "has any force at all, I pray that it may help to hasten the coming of Christ's Kingdom, whose visible token is universal brotherhood; the blessed time drawing nearer to us every day, when in the most practical sense and by the very constitution of society and government, all men's weal shall be each man's care."

ISABEL SOMERSET.

THE GREAT LAKES AND THE MODERN NAVY.

BY LIEUT. J. H. GIBBONS, U. S. N.

THE report of the Commissioner of Navigation for 1897 contains the following statement: "The Great Lakes region, for the first time in our history, has built more tonnage than all the rest of the country. One hundred and twenty vessels of 116,937 tons, compared with 137 vessels of 115,296 tons for the rest of the United States." This statement is fraught with interest to those who are watching the progress of our merchant marine; and as this progress is intimately associated with the growth of the navy, it becomes an important question how far this industrial movement on the Great Lakes may be made an important factor in our naval policy.

The coast lines of the Great Lakes border upon nine States containing more than one-third of our population. The six large cities on this coast line will easily aggregate a population of three millions, and to this must be added hundreds of prosperous towns. Until within a few years agricultural products and lumber were the principal freights in the lake carrying traffic, but the recent discoveries of iron ore in the Lake Superior region have brought about an unparalleled commercial and maritime growth. This latter industry must necessarily prove far-reaching in its effects; for we are living in the age of steel, and whatever tends to place us abreast of our rivals in the production of steel tends at the same time to increase our prosperity, and to make us great among the nations of the earth.

Turning to the particular branch of the steel industry that is of the most importance to the navy, viz., ship building, a brief historical retrospect will show that, after years of exclusion, everything points to our again entering the contest for commercial supremacy on the ocean. In the transitory period from

wood to metal in ship construction, a period roughly estimated as extending from 1840 to 1880, the American flag practically disappeared from the high seas, while England, who had held for over two hundred years the first place as a ship-building and ship-owning power, still maintained her position. Finding her home supply of ship timber exhausted, she began to import it, and as this was necessarily incompatible with the maintenance of her supremacy, the next step was to take advantage of her increasing production of metals. The evolution of the iron ship and its successor, the steel ship, was the result. The last thirty-five years have witnessed the production of the English steam fleet, until now British steamers carry the freight and passengers of the greater part of the world. The British shipyards, too, can now undertake the construction of at least twenty battle-ships and more than twice this number of cruisers at the same time, a potential strength that adds immensely to the maintenance of her present sea power.

But England will in time be confronted with a new difficulty. The ores in that country are not suitable for steel making, and for some years past large quantities of ore have been imported from mines in the northern part of Spain. These mines are being rapidly exhausted. Four-fifths of the output goes to England, and it has been estimated that at the present rate ten years will exhaust the mines of the Biscay region. Of course there are other sources of supply, Sweden, for example; but they are not easily accessible, and cheapness of transportation is essential. The condition of affairs promises, therefore, to be very much the same, so far as materials go, as it was at that period when England passed from the use of wood to that of metal in building ships.

Let us now look at the condition of the steel industry in the United States. In 1892 there were put out 16,036,043 tons of iron ore, of which the Lake Superior region contributed 9,564,388 tons. The ore from the Great Lakes surpasses in richness the ores from any other part of the country. New discoveries are being constantly reported, and the deposits are so easily accessible as to make it possible to supply any demand. During the past ten years there has been an enormous development in this new industry in the Lake Superior region, until now the amount of capital invested in mining and transportation is esti-

mated at $234,000,000. The rapid growth of this industry justifies the prediction that with access to the ocean by a practicable deep-water way we can not only balance our domestic iron and steel trade, but also compete in the foreign market. At present many iron and steel plants on the seaboard import foreign iron ores, as the low value of iron ore in proportion to its weight shuts out transportation by rail from the West. But with a deep water canal reaching from the Great Lakes to the ocean, the ores required by the manufacturers on the Atlantic seaboard could be supplied more cheaply than the foreign ores, thus increasing the field for capital and industry, while at the same time the iron and steel of the establishments on the Great Lakes could be shipped through by water without breaking bulk and seek the markets of the world.

This brings us to the subject of deep-water canals. For several years, while the national government has been busy with the projected Nicaraguan Canal, the people of the West, through private endeavor and public discussion, have been agitating the question of deep waterways from the Great Lakes to the seaboard. The International Deep Waterways Convention held a meeting at Cleveland, Ohio, September 24, 1895, and among the delegates were business men, capitalists, and civil engineers from the Lake States, and also from the Dominion of Canada. Through the efforts of this association the matter was brought before Congress by Senator William Vilas, of Wisconsin, who, on February 8, 1895, introduced a joint resolution authorizing a preliminary inquiry concerning deep waterways between the ocean and the Great Lakes. This resolution was incorporated in the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, and became a law on March 2, 1895. On November 4 the President, in conformity with its provisions, appointed three commissioners, James B. Angell, of Michigan, John E. Russell, of Massachusetts, and Lyman E. Cooley, of Illinois. Soon after this, the Dominion of Canada appointed a similar commission, and a joint meeting was held in January, 1896. The United States commission spent a year in thoroughly investigating the canal question, and submitted their report to the President January 8, 1897. In his letter transmitting the report to Congress, President Cleveland says:

"The advantages of a direct and unbroken water transportation of the products of our Western States and Territories from a convenient point of

shipment to our seaboard ports are plainly palpable. The report of the commissioners contains, in my opinion, a demonstration of the feasibility of securing such transportation, and gives ground for the anticipation that better and more uninterrupted commerce, through the plan suggested, between the Great West and foreign ports, with the increase of national prosperity which must follow in its train, will not long escape American enterprise and activity."

Meanwhile American "enterprise and activity" have been giving the world an object lesson in canal building. The Chicago Drainage Canal designed primarily to furnish an adequate system of drainage for the city of Chicago, but containing all the features of a ship canal, is a municipal undertaking that is particularly valuable in showing the immense improvement in excavating machines and the resultant low cost of canal building. The main drainage channel extends from the west fork of the south branch of the Chicago River southwest to Lockport, a distance of about 29 miles. The width at the top is from 162 feet to 300 feet, and at the bottom from 160 feet to 200 feet. The depth of water varies from 23 feet to 26 feet. According to present estimates, it will cost $27,303,216. A statement has been made that the work of excavation will be carried out for less than half the cost of similar work on the Manchester ship canal, the dimensions of which are, length, 30½ miles ; width at top, 172 feet ; width at bottom, 120 feet ; depth, 26 feet.

President Cleveland's prediction, therefore, that the feasibility of deep water transportation from the Great Lakes to the ocean will not long escape American enterprise, bids fair to be realized. If the City of Chicago can demonstrate practically that deep water canal building has been brought within the bounds of reasonable cost, the general government must, in response to urgent appeals from a large section of the country interested, soon pass beyond the stage of preliminary investigation to that of definite action. Thus far the question of cost has not been thoroughly dealt with, but valuable data have been collected. Among the more important conclusions reached by the United States Deep Waterways Commission are the following :

1. That it is entirely feasible to construct such canals and develop such channels as will give 28 feet of water from the Great Lakes to the seaboard.

2. That, starting from the heads of Lakes Michigan and Su-

perior, the most eligible route is through the several Great Lakes and their intermediate channels and the proposed Niagara Ship Canal (Tonawanda to Olcott) to Lake Ontario. From Lake Ontario the Canadian seaboard can be reached by the way of the St. Lawrence River, while the American seaboard can be reached by way of the St. Lawrence River, Lake Champlain, and the Hudson River, or by way of the Oswego-Oneida-Mohawk Valley route and the Hudson River.

3. That while our policy of canal building should contemplate the ultimate development of the largest useful capacity, and all work should be planned on that basis, at the same time it is practicable to develop the work in separate sections, each step having its economic justification. The Niagara Ship Canal should first be undertaken, and incidentally the broadening and deepening of the intermediate channels of the lakes.

Such then is a brief résumé of this important industrial movement and its collateral engineering undertakings. From a military point of view, a series of canals entirely within the limits of the United States could be more readily defended. But the advantages of following, as far as possible, the natural waterways will at first probably outweigh the question of defense. If the lake coast line of over 3,000 miles is brought into deep-water connection with the Atlantic seaboard, its permanent defense will be a question for the Army. On the other hand, if permanent arbitration is to be depended upon as a warrant for following natural commercial routes without any thought of ultimate defense, the international character of parts of the work and the riparian interests involved will make the readjustment of the existing treaty relations a question for our statesmen.

Coming now to the direct interests of the Navy in this politico-economic question, it will be found that under existing conditions there is little hope of any immediate addition from this new source to our war vessel tonnage. The Rush-Bagot Convention of 1817, entered into by the United States and Great Britain, provides that the naval forces to be maintained on the Great Lakes shall be confined on each side to one vessel on Lake Ontario, one vessel on Lake Champlain and two vessels on the Upper Lakes. These vessels are limited to one hundred tons burden and an armament of one eighteen-pounder cannon each. This treaty has not taken the shape of a formal international

treaty, but has been practically accepted as binding by both countries for a period of three-quarters of a century. Its stipulations have twice during its history been notably disregarded, once by each country, but only on occasions of serious public emergency. In view of the great progress made in ship building and marine engineering, it is not strange that there has been an evasion of the spirit of these antique stipulations, if not a direct violation of the letter of the law. The U. S. S. "Michigan," now in service on the Upper Lakes, is of 685 tons displacement, has a main battery of four six-pounder guns. In the building up of the New Navy, some of the ship builders on the Great Lakes, whose energy and enterprise had gone so far as to build whale-backs that were towed through the canals in sections and put together at Montreal, began to inquire whether these methods would not be extended to war vessels. In 1890 F. W. Wheeler & Company, of West Bay City, Michigan, were the lowest bidders for the construction of an armored cruiser, one protected cruiser, and a practice ship. In 1895, the Detroit Dry Dock Company proposed the construction of parts of vessels of war. Both of these bids were rejected by the Navy Department as being in violation of the Rush-Bagot agreement. The clause of the agreement which was adjudged to prohibit such construction is as follows: "All other armored vessels (besides those authorized to be retained) on these lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, *and no other vessels of war shall be there built or armed.*" On account of this decision, the activity in ship building for government purposes has been confined, on the Great Lakes, to revenue cutters and light ships. The Mississippi Valley, unhampered by these restrictions, has built one torpedo-boat, the "Ericsson."

Although vessels of war cannot be built on the Great Lakes, the building there of merchant vessels that by means of the projected canals will be able to reach the seaboard will have an indirect bearing on the future of the navy. Captain Mahan and other writers have pointed out that we have practically reversed the natural order of things in building vessels of war before building up the merchant marine. For more than twenty years the government has been a steady customer of the ship builders on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. As a result ship building plants have been improved, workmen have been trained, and contributory industries have been developed. But it is claimed by these

builders that the patronage of the government is a temporary help only and that the demands of our coastwise trade are insufficient to promote ship building on a large scale. The main demand for ships must be created by an extensive foreign trade carried on in American bottoms. It has been demonstrated that the economic changes which will be brought about by a deep-water route from the Great Lakes to the seaboard will enable us to compete with England in the ocean-carrying trade. Since the Civil War all our energies have been directed toward purely domestic development, and capital has sought investments in the extension of railways, the settlement of new territory, and the industrial regeneration of the South. The events of the past few years force us to look beyond the limits of our own shores, and our diplomacy has made the Monroe doctrine something more than a rhetorical declaration. If we boldly aspire to commercial and political supremacy in the western hemisphere, and to the creation of a foreign carrying trade, we must admit the absolute necessity for a steadily increasing navy.

The canal-builders and the shipbuilders of the Great Lakes have shown that, if they are accorded the proper encouragement by the national government, the country may rest satisfied with its resources for establishing a foreign commerce carried in domestic bottoms and to provide naval war material to protect it. Behind these industrial leaders stand, as has been said before, more than one-third of the entire population of the United States. Nothing can be more gratifying to the navy than the growth of a sentiment favorable to it in a region that a few years ago was most apathetic. To-day the citizens of the middle West show a lively interest in naval affairs, and are taking a prominent part in naval militia work. Chicago, Saginaw, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, and Rochester have large, flourishing naval militia organizations. The Detroit organization recently took the old "Yantic" from Montreal to Detroit without either State or national aid. In Rochester the boat reconnoissance work on Lake Ontario performed by the local organization has received well-merited praise from the War College. These are only two instances, but they show the existence of a patriotic spirit that ought to be fostered and directed to the proper ends. Here is a new field for recruiting the naval *personnel*.

There is a vague idea among many naval officers that we

really possess a strong naval reserve in our seafaring population. Careful investigation will prove that this is not a fact. In the merchant marine and deep-sea fisheries from 50 per cent. to 70 per cent. of the men are foreigners, and the number of men available, even if they all enlisted, which of course would be impossible, would not serve to put the navy on a war footing. The Naval War College has been investigating the various phases that war on our coast might assume, and has found that we shall need a great number of officers, in addition to those of the regular navy. Where are these additional officers to come from? The sources from which they were obtained in 1861 no longer exist, for our deep-sea merchant shipping has practically disappeared. Captain Taylor, of the War College, has given the following brief summary of the present condition of affairs:

"... The same conditions do not exist now as did during the Rebellion. That war, especially on the part of the navy, was offensive and attacked an enemy upon its own coast, and required a large number of deep-sea ships and deep-sea officers.

"The wars for which we must plan, at least for the next few years, are defensive for our part, and to be waged against enemies probably superior to us on the sea. This throws upon us as a principal *role* the defence of our coast and the supplementing of our small seagoing navy by a formidable flotilla of small craft, which, when thoroughly organized and drilled, shall dominate our channels, sounds, and bays, and make their comfortable or permanent occupation by hostile fleets an impossibility."

Our small sea-going navy is now manifestly undermanned. As additions are made to its *material* the deficiency in *personnel* is partly made up by stop-gap legislation—always an unsatisfactory process. As a business proposition there has been among our legislators a desire to build up an adequate navy, but as a purely naval undertaking there has always been opposition to providing the necessary *personnel*. England is now going through an interesting experience, of which we may well take heed. For the past ten years the naval policy of that country has tended towards maintaining in time of peace a *personnel* that is practically on a war footing. The objection to this policy has been that it involves an immense expenditure in pay, provisions, and pensions, besides the maintenance of ships to give the necessary instruction at sea. The alternative has been to develop the efficiency of the Naval Reserve. But here the supporters of such a plan have met with the same difficulties that beset us, *i. e.* the merchant marine, which ought to be the

chief source of supply of the Naval Reserve, is becoming honeycombed with foreigners. Reliable calculations show that the number of foreigners in British ships has increased $22\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. in eight years. Poor wages and the natural discomforts of sea life have caused men of British birth to seek employment as skilled workers ashore.

But the United States has one advantage over England. The latter, in inspecting the source of supply for the Naval Reserve, has turned to her widely scattered colonies, and reasonably expects that in time of war they will contribute their share of men. The United States has no colonies, but its peculiar system of federal government permits it to rely, in a measure, upon the States to organize and maintain volunteers for national defence, although until recently the system has been applied almost exclusively to recruiting the land forces. Ten years ago an unsuccessful attempt was made in Congress to create a naval reserve of officers and men from the merchant marine. Several States bordering upon the seacoast then made the matter a local issue, and what were called "naval battalions to be attached to the volunteer militia" was the result. With the Great Lakes brought into deep-water communication with the Mississippi and the Atlantic seaboard a cordon of coast line States will be formed whose similarity of interests will greatly increase the source from which the country can draw for that second line of defence required in time of war to "dominate our channels, sounds, and bays." Barred by the Rocky Mountains, the Pacific coast stands apart from any immediate benefits from interior water-way improvements, but the building of an isthmian canal will bring into closer relations with the other maritime States kindred interests that have already produced such excellent shipbuilders and such skilled seamen.

To those who doubt the possibility of recruiting inland men for general service in the navy, and who question the ultimate efficiency of the men thus recruited, it is only necessary to point out that last summer the Bureau of Navigation established recruiting stations on the Great Lakes, during the busiest part of the navigation season, and from more than five hundred applications enlisted three hundred men — seamen and mechanics. These men, according to the reports from the officers of ships to which they have been assigned, are all of very high standard.

They are self-respecting Americans. This in itself is a great gain. After recruiting the general service to three-quarters of its full war strength, which can be done as occasion demands, by the enlistment of seamen and mechanics, and by fostering the apprentice system, a naval reserve will have to be depended upon to supply the remaining fourth, and to make up the wastage of war. This is the English estimate, and it is apparently sound. Until the national government takes up the naval reserve question the business and professional men who, combining a patriotic spirit with aquatic tastes, enlist in the naval militia, will be very valuable aids in examining into and keeping informed concerning the seafaring *personnel* of their States. The energy and executive ability of the men that have taken hold of this movement in the West (many of them graduates of the Naval Academy) can be depended upon in case of sudden need to enroll a very desirable set of men, and thus relieve the regular navy of preliminary work which its scarcity of regular officers would otherwise make a very difficult undertaking.

One word more about our seafaring population. Recent investigation by the War College has developed the fact that during the Civil War a large number of men—fishermen and local water men—along the North Atlantic coast did not enlist for service in the regular navy. The long term of enlistment required, coupled with the fact that the sea had no novelty for them, may have blunted their patriotism. An inquiry among their successors confirms the opinion that they would much prefer to be utilized for local defence. Torpedo-boat flotillas, mosquito fleets, coast signal-stations, and submarine mining squads would therefore be able to obtain among this class very valuable recruits, while the cruising navy, especially with its term of enlistment extended, as has frequently been recommended, from three to four years, would not succeed in attracting them.

The foregoing propositions and the conclusions to be drawn from them may be briefly summarized as follows :

1. The Great Lakes region has developed the iron and steel industry to a degree that enables it to surpass all the rest of the United States in the important industry of shipbuilding.

2. The improvements in canal building make it only a question of time when this region will have a deep-water outlet to the sea.

3. The result of this deep-water way will be the rehabilitation of our merchant marine and the creation of an extensive foreign trade carried in American bottoms.

4. The expansion of our merchant marine will be followed necessarily by the expansion of the navy.

5. The Great Lakes region is debarred by existing treaty relations from contributing *material* for naval warfare, but, containing as it does more than one-third of our entire population, the navy should, as a peace precaution, give immediate encouragement to the naval-militia movement in that part of the United States, thus developing a source of supply for the large increase in our *personnel* that war will render necessary.

The names of Perry and Chauncey remind us that Lake Erie and Lake Ontario were once the scene of important naval battles. In the hurried preparations of those days, when officers and men were brought from the seaboard over rough trails to improvise and man flotillas on the Lakes, the frontiersman stood ready with his rifle to aid the sailor. To-day, when the brig has given place to the battleship, and the 32-pounder to the 13-inch gun, the descendants of these frontiersmen may be depended upon to furnish their quota of men that have the handiness of the seaman, the skill of the gunner, and the ingenuity of the artisan. The scene changes to the high seas, but in the ranks of the militia coast defenders will be found the same spirit that animated the volunteers at Put-in-Bay and Sackett's Harbor.

J. H. GIBBONS.

REASONS FOR INCREASING THE REGULAR ARMY.

BY LIEUT. GEORGE B. DUNCAN, U. S. A.

THE government of the United States under the Constitution is ideally democratic, guaranteeing to the States a republican form of government, establishing justice for all its citizens and assuring them protection in all places, insuring domestic tranquility, providing for the common defence, promoting the general welfare, and undertaking to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. In the consideration of these obligations one comes to an examination of the ways and means of fulfilling them, and this paper has to deal with a branch of the provisions necessary for the common defence.

The colonial experience which immediately preceded the Revolutionary War had inculcated a distrust of any power which was remote from the people. The experience of that war not only intensified this feeling, but increased inherent self-reliance. With peace there was a return to the old-time vocations and allegiance to their States, under whose laws the people had enjoyed and now continued to enjoy rights of liberty, property, and a fair measure of prosperity. There was a lack of community between the people of the different States in business interests and in sentiment, except as they met upon the common ground of ideas developed by the Revolution and antecedent oppression. There were no means of communication except by sea from port to port, and by stage and horseback on inland routes. It took a courier a week to travel from Boston to Philadelphia; and in foreign correspondence, three months to get an answer to an inquiry from London. An illimitable expanse of territory extended toward the west to be opened for settlement and cultivation. This was about the status of affairs when the Arti-

cles of Confederation were proving a failure, and the establishment of a more perfect union became necessary.

In forming a constitution which would be acceptable to the States and people, and at the same time give stability to the new government, all conditions had to be taken into consideration. There would be a wonderful accession of power to this central government, and there must be an interdiction of ability to abuse this power to the oppression of the citizen or to the destruction of the rights of the States. The history of the world and their own experience had taught the colonists that the chief instrument of abuse and tyranny was a standing army. Besides, of what possible use would be an army in a country so cut off from the rest of the world ; where every man would leave the plow and the workshop, if need be, to preserve the liberty which had been the reward of indomitable pluck and perseverance under the magnificent leadership of Washington ? There were no near neighbors from whom to expect invasion ; there was no desire of extended empire through conquest ; a mighty ocean separated them from the turbulent atmosphere of European dissensions ; the people were thrifty and peaceable ; and they could see in a standing army only a threat to the liberty so dearly bought. Therefore the Constitution was almost prohibitory in touching the subject of a regular military establishment ; and while it gave Congress the power "to raise and support armies," it added, "but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years." And the early Acts of Congress specifically stated that the small force then in existence was to furnish protection to settlers from Indian depredations. To the people, through the militia, it was left "to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasions." Emphasis was given to this sentiment in the second amendment to the Constitution, which declares : "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

This view of the influence of a standing army was a tremendous stride in advance of the then accepted theories.

A narrow stretch of sparsely settled country with the Atlantic Ocean as a bulwark against the military force of Europe, the United States looked for prosperity to the peaceful pursuits of industry. All that was desired was an opportunity to develop our

principles, our industries, and our institutions. Thinking men early saw the destiny which would ultimately push us on to the Pacific and to the status of a great nation. The 3d of April, 1803, saw the French province of Louisiana added to our territory. The treaty with Spain of February 19, 1821, ratified the cession of Florida. Texas was admitted as a State on the 29th of December, 1845, and the resultant war with Mexico gave us the magnificent domain of California, and this was again added to by the Gadsden purchase of 1853. The Alaska purchase of 1868 brought us to our present extent of territory.

Adhering to the advice of Washington, the United States has ever held aloof from entanglement in European politics. As to wars, the respect due us as a nation warranted the attitude assumed with France from July, 1798, to September, 1800, and in the affair with Tripoli from June, 1801, to June, 1805; honor demanded war with England in 1812; the war with Mexico was but an incident in the onward march of the Union to dominant power upon this western hemisphere. The only foreign policy developed has been that of President Monroe in his message to Congress in December, 1823, entering a protest against European conquest on this continent, and asserting that here at least should flourish the democratic principles that rulers derive their powers from the consent of the ruled, and to this doctrine the recent action of President Cleveland has forever pledged us.

The growth of the Union during the years preceding the civil war was that of peaceful industries, protected by geographical position from the influences of European politics. But divergencies of sentiment regarding matters of internal policy arose, and State after State undertook to throw off federal authority. And in civil war the wisdom of having refused to keep a standing army was put to the greatest possible test. The national unity was saved by supreme effort and at a cost of nearly 300,000 lives and millions of money. Of course, this war could have been crushed in the beginning by an efficient regular army, but that would not have been conducive to a final settlement of the questions at issue. To have annihilated secession by regular soldiers would have been a tyrannical use of power backed by bayonets; it would have increased hatred and strife, and led to secret preparation for a renewal of the struggle.

The Union emerged from this convulsion with military

power the first in the world ; hundreds of thousands of trained soldiers, returned to industrial occupations, were ready to respond to any national emergency. The spectacle of the disbandment of the armies of the civil war was the most perfect guarantee of the perpetuity of our institutions, a lesson to the world in advanced civilization and a tribute to the blessings of peace. And so, it is believed, the purposes of our democratic institutions were best served during the first hundred years from the Declaration of Independence by keeping a standing army no larger than was necessary for a protection of the frontier from Indian depredations, and to an enforcement of the laws especially authorized by the Constitution.

With the downfall of the Confederacy the Union entered more fully upon its existence as a nation. It could no longer be looked upon as a confederation of States to be disbanded at the will of its members. The dangers told by the immortal Washington had been encountered and swept into oblivion. Independence and equality for all men with supreme sovereignty in the central government was eternally settled. Since then our population has doubled.

The question now arises, What are the changed conditions which warrant the keeping of an increased standing army, and in what will such an army prove a source of national safety ?

The cornerstone of the superstructure of opposition to a standing army has been our isolation. Are we still isolated ?

The genius of invention has changed all the essential conditions of a few years ago. Time and space are being rapidly annihilated. The wind and waves of the ocean do not disturb the path of steam navigation. We read the events of the world's day at our breakfast table. A massacre in Armenia produces a heartache in America. The rise and fall of the money market in London finds its echo in New York. The fashions of our cities are the counterpart of those of Paris. Our citizens in the pursuit of pleasure, business, or science are to be found in every land. Our churches send their missionaries into every available spot. Commercial activity pays no attention to geographical boundaries, and the product of American manufactories is found in every market. So that in our feelings, our information, our pleasures, and our business interests we are not isolated. At the same time, foreign capital owns or controls a very large portion of our busi-

ness interests. We are being continually brought into closer contact with other nations, and will ultimately be called into the deliberations of the world.

Now look at the matter from a geographical standpoint. Distance can only be measured by time, and in this light no nation is widely separated from another. The ocean is but a highway of travel and commerce, with a time-table about as accurate as those of our trans-continental railroads. The world grows smaller and nations formerly but little known to each other now rub elbows in the march of civilization.

From a military point of view England could transport her troops to Canada much more easily and in less time than it took to put Sir John Moore's army in the Peninsula, and with as little expense as was required to furnish supplies to Wellington in Spain; and could wage war against us with greater ease than against Germany or Russia or France. Speaking broadly, our Atlantic seaboard is within a fortnight's reach of the armed camps of Europe. Upon the West, the rise of Japan to military and naval power, with the thrill of recent victory in her people, gives us a nation ready to measure her strength with ours whenever occasion in conflicting interest presents itself.

In touching the relation of the United States to the other powers, it can be laid down as a fixed rule that there are no means of preventing strife between nations; and that the more fully our people enter into the affairs of the world, the greater is the possibility of friction with other people. The Congress of Paris in 1856 adopted the strongest possible recommendations that nations would, before appealing to arms, have recourse to the good offices of friendly powers to settle their grievances. But of what avail has that action been? Since then the most destructive wars have been waged that the world has ever known, and the most quickly carried to their legitimate conclusion. And the art and science of war has steadily kept pace in improvements with the inventions of peaceful industries.

In the face of these facts, and as the exponents of a democracy which in the end will regenerate the political system of the world, our military policy, as outlined by Secretary of War Lamont, of acting in war upon the defensive "until the great armies which exist in embryo in our free citizenship can be enrolled, organized, and put into the field," is hardly abreast of ex-

isting conditions or conformable to the self-respect and dignity of a great nation, which should possess the ability to punish transgression as well as to protect its institutions. An offensive war might become necessary to obtain satisfaction for a breach of treaty, or an insult to the flag, or to an ambassador, or to our honor, or, above all, to protect the individual citizen against foreign violence; and any of these incidents is much more liable to occur than is a war of defence to protect our national sovereignity and independence. A known preparedness to send an efficient military force wherever the exigencies of just war might demand would be the safest guarantee against such a possibility. The folly of a populous nation trying to organize its army after the outbreak of war was recently illustrated in the case of China.

The object of war has been thus defined by the ablest American soldier of to-day, "to conquer an honorable, advantageous, and lasting peace." To secure these blessings it is proper that every citizen should be willing to leave his vocation and take up arms in support of the nation's right, and there is no question that in time of national danger there would be more men than equipment for battle. But the old idea that a uniform makes a soldier must be abandoned. Success in future wars will depend upon skill in the use of weapons and in fire discipline, combined with implicit obedience to and trust in commanders. These cannot become second nature, as they must to be effective, through the training of volunteer camps in the days or weeks preceding a conflict. The Union has progressed to that point when it can best be served, so far as the objects of war are concerned, by a regular army, such a force as, at least, would serve for the first line of attack. The old bugbear of a standing army being a menace to liberty should have been effaced with the settlement of the question of State sovereignty. It should never be forgotten that a soldier is a citizen in the fullest acceptance of the word; his life and training keep alive his patriotism; in his independence of party or sectarian influence his mind, perhaps, grasps more fully the meaning of democracy; his influence is non-partisan in all controversies, and his life stands between his country's flag and dishonor. What else can there be but insurance to property, life, and happiness to the body politic in the maintenance of a well-disciplined army of liberty-loving, and patriotic citizens?

Now consider the place occupied by the Union in international affairs. In sovereignty, independence, and equality all nations stand upon the same level in their relation to each other. Comity brings them into friendly commerce, its requirements being regard for the reputation of other states, respect to foreign flags upon the sea, courtesy in diplomatic intercourse, polite treatment of rulers or representatives of other countries, and the right of redress for injury or wrong to a subject by foreign aggression. Treaties usually define the relations between nations.

According to the possession of power to excite the respectful attention of other governments in the domain of international affairs, nations are divided into classes. This power depends upon their military and naval preparations for war, with further regard to their resources and ability to carry on a conflict. There are usually reckoned six first-class powers in Europe: Russia, France, England, Germany, Austria and Italy; one, Japan, in Asia; and one, the United States, in America. The future may confidently look to these nations as shaping the destiny of the world. In Europe, in the preservation of the balance of power, national existence is secured by the maintenance of immense standing armies. England adds a great preponderance of sea power. In their relation to each other, community of interest has given rise to the Triple Alliance; France clings ecstatically to Russia; England dallies with that nation which for the while best suits her purpose. All are committed to the policy that a state advances itself by territorial acquisition, and there does not exist a barren waste or fertile field in the Eastern hemisphere that is not regarded with the covetous eyes of these rapacious nations. That their gaze reaches to the Americas none can doubt. England already possesses not only the country to the north of the United States, but also parts of Guiana and Honduras, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, the Barbadoes, Bahamas, Bermuda, and other islands, and on occasion undertakes to push her boundaries within the possessions of other countries. The "Cameron line" attempt upon Alaskan territory brings this most clearly to our notice. Spain owns Cuba and Porto Rico, and France, Cayenne. But for the United States and the Monroe Doctrine, the weak republics of the Americas would be in as much danger from European greed as in the days of the Holy Alliance, or as China is to-day.

The traditional foreign policy of the United States is that of non-interference in European affairs, and hostility to European aggression on this continent. The spirit animating the struggle for independence in 1776 found deeper expression in the Monroe Doctrine, and this has been the cardinal principle of the United States in its dealings with the governments of the world. This policy has been given renewed vitality and a still deeper meaning by President Cleveland, and to-day the United States is sovereign throughout the Western Hemisphere and its will is law; and this is unequivocally the spirit of the people. Attempts have been made by authorities on international law, through the medium of the public prints, to demonstrate that this position is untenable. But the fact remains that each nation has a right to be the sole judge of the extent to which its peace and safety may be jeopardized by contact with the views and systems of other nations. The United States, as a matter of fact, is committed to this policy, and should be prepared to demand its recognition by the rest of the world, otherwise the utterances of our statesmen degenerate into a bumptious Quixotism.

In defence of this policy, an American commission was lately ordered to determine the true boundary between Venezuela and England's possessions. England at first refused arbitration within certain limits. An American decision within these limits would have had what result? War with England would have been almost fratricidal; it would have cost untold suffering and loss to both countries, but we were committed to a defence of any territory which this commission determined as belonging to Venezuela. Were we prepared for such a war? The highest military authority says no. Would this controversy with England have arisen, had the United States possessed a military and naval power such as would have inspired in England the same respect as do the first powers of Europe? Many think not. The first suggestion of this country to submit the question to arbitration would have been accepted.

In this connection it may be interesting to note the cost and strength of the armies of some European nations.

Russia maintains the largest army in the world, at an annnal expenditure of $213,000,000, which in time of peace numbers 910,000 officers and men, and 3,077,000 immediately available for any emergency, which is a nucleus for the more gigantic force

of nearly 13,000,000 men who can be called into service. The Germans come next with their expenditures, to the end that their army of 584,734 may be ready for war, when the force can be increased to 3,700,000, with, under their new law, a prospective strength for national defence of 7,697,356, of whom 4,297,856 are thoroughly trained soldiers. France expends $123,000,000 annually to keep 524,768 officers and men in training, ready to be augmented to a total of 2,930,000 for defence. England and India keep up a regular establishment of 366,000 men, and 865,000 reserves and militia; and these forces can be doubled for war. Spain maintains an army of 95,000, nearly four times larger than our own, with an available war strength of 1,334,000 men. Italy has a peace army of 222,275, and a prospective force for war of 3,397,000. Even Belgium has a force of 43,359, and Holland one of 21,500.

Now a glance at the American side of the same subject. Mexico, with a population of 11,633,000, keeps up a regular army of 35,000. Colombia, with 4,600,000 people, an army of 5,000; Brazil an army of about 24,000 in a population of 18,000,000; Chili an army of 25,600, with a population of 3,500,000. The Argentine Republic, with a population of 4,750,000, maintains 15,000 regular troops. The United States, with 70,000,000 and growing every day, keeps in training about 25,000 men, with an antiquated organization, while to the north lives a population of 5,000,000 people ready to do and die for England. In naval ability suffice it to say that the combined navies of Mexico and South America would not be a barrier to England's West Indian squadron alone.

These are some of the conditions which must be faced in the defence of all America from European aggression. Without the intervention of the United States there is not another government on this hemisphere which could live in the face of a determined foe from Europe. If we had been as little prepared for war thirty years ago as we are to-day France would never have withdrawn her troops from Mexico. Fifty years ago there was time for war after the fact, but there is none to-day. Isolation lives only as a memory. Our military dependence is upon a small, a very small, army and upon the militia. A modern war would probably be concluded before the embryo armies could be brought into being, much less reared into a state of efficiency.

Let us glance at the weakness of such great dependence upon the militia.

It must be borne in mind that there is no subject in which greater scientific progress has been made during the past thirty years than in the appliances and appurtenances of war. The non-professional reader will grasp this fact more readily by reference to the familiar circumstance of the cost and length of time required to build and equip one of our modern warships as compared with the wooden frigates of the line then in vogue. There has been quite as much change and improvement in the armament of troops for battle, and a very much greater need of discipline and preliminary training and drill to make them effective in action. Indeed, there is no comparison between these latter requirements as they exist to-day and what was formerly necessary, and it is this fact which it is so difficult to impress upon the average citizen. The old soldier who advanced to the attack in what he called a rain of bullets would now be greeted with a deluge. The mass of metal thrown from two contending lines of battle will be terrific. The skirmish preceding battle will commence at incredible distances. In the full tide of conflict, squads, sections, companies, and even battalions may in a moment be swept into eternity. In the face of such conditions, common sense would say that victory will reward that command which uses its weapons most skilfully, which husbands its ammunition, and throws its leaden hail with accuracy, and at the command of its leaders, moving ever onward to the attack, forgetting personal danger in its confidence in the wisdom of its commanders, and in final victory. Do we realize the never-ending drill, the discipline, the unceasing vigilance of instruction, the unquestioning obedience, the target practice, the field exercises absolutely necessary, all to bring the soldier to his most efficient state, or, if you please, to convert the individual into as much of a machine as possible? Such essential qualities can come only from the regular training of daily life; and so the question naturally arises, Does the militia fulfil these conditions?

In our country there exists the organized militia, composed of those citizens mustered into the military service of the States, and subject to certain drill and discipline, and the unorganized militia, or that portion of the male population subject to military duty in national emergency. The organized militia num-

bers about 112,000 officers and men, the unorganized about 9,000,000. These figures give about one man in eighty in our militia as performing State military duty. If to these figures be added the regular army, those who have gone out of the service, and those who have had experience in drill at school or college, there will remain forty-nine men out of every fifty who are ignorant of even the rudiments of military instruction.

Everyone knows that there is a great attraction in the States militia for young men who are physically benefited by the drill, who enjoy the wearing of a uniform, and the local prestige of this sort of service. The company is not unlike a local athletic club whose president is the captain; the *personnel* is of high order, and all are upon terms of more or less intimacy; a captain thinks he knows quite as much of military affairs as the colonel whom he may have helped to elect. All look forward to the summer camp as an outing and a recreation from the cares of business; in some States an encampment partakes of the nature of a frolic or picnic, with sweethearts and wives in constant attendance.

Competition in drill has given the militia a very good execution of the manual, fair alignment and step in marching. If an insurrection occur within their State, and against mob violence, they will do their best in behalf of law and order. But the fact remains that these men enlist for recreation and pleasure and the physical advantage of military exercises. To be suddenly summoned to battle would entail great hardship and suffering, and to pit them against experienced regular troops whose entire life has been given to preparation for such action would be almost murderous. The victory in future battles must be with the force having the best controlled and most accurate fire action. Without fire discipline numbers cannot avail. They become human butts for an enemy's bullets. All would recognize the madness of manning a battleship for a naval engagement with militia officers and crew; so too, to give battle with such troops would necessitate a needless waste of life. The quota from the States would be but sacrifices upon the altar of an unfortunate military policy.

There is no question of the patriotism of our people and of the fact that in time of national danger hundreds of thousands would willingly throw their lives into the breach in defence of

our institutions, and that in the end fidelity and valor would remain supreme, and that the country would rebound from any conflict more vigorous from the healthful blood-letting of war. But while the country might rise supreme from its very ashes, there would be no resurrection of the lives which had paid the forfeit of war; there could be no return to the fireside of the fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons left upon the battlefield. Upon individuals thus left to mourn does the anguish of war fall hardest. The question simply is whether it is the part of good government to demand from our citizens such a sacrifice, such a needless slaughter as would now pay the price of war; or, by a proper preparation in peace to reduce such possibilities to a minimum.

GEORGE B. DUNCAN.

GERMANY'S EXCLUSION OF AMERICAN FRUITS.

BY JOHN B. SMITH, SC. D., PROFESSOR OF ENTOMOLOGY IN RUTGERS COLLEGE.

MUCH space has been occupied recently in the daily press of the United States in discussing the orders issued by Germany that no fruit nor living plants should be introduced into that country without having been previously inspected. The reason given by the German government for this action that there is danger from the San José scale or shield louse is not accepted in American publications as a valid one. It is treated as a mere pretext, and the order itself is looked upon as a concession to agrarian demands. Nowhere to my knowledge has there been a fair statement of the case nor a dispassionate setting out of the actual facts upon which Germany's action was based.

That the matter may be thoroughly understood, it is necessary to say a few words concerning the San José, or pernicious scale, and its effect upon trees and fruits. The insect was first discovered in 1873 by Prof. J. H. Comstock in the Santa Clara Valley, California, not far from San José, in such numbers and so seriously injurious that he described it as *Aspidiotus perniciosus*—the pernicious scale. From the locality in which it was first found it became known popularly as the San José scale, and this name has clung to it. It belongs to that group of insects which live by sucking the plant juices, and are protected by a parchment-like covering or scale. Individually the insect is insignificant, measuring scarcely more than five one-hundredths of an inch in diameter, while the scaly covering may become as large as an ordinary pinhead. It cannot be easily detected on plants when only a few are present, but it becomes dangerous by reason of the numbers in which it appears. A single female may, under favorable conditions, produce, in the course of one year,

1,600 million descendants. The original home of the insect is yet unknown. South America has been charged with sending it into this country, and so has Japan. It is certain that it occurs in both of these countries, but in Japan it is a very insignificant factor.

For a time this scale was the most dangerous insect with which California fruit growers had to deal, but eventually they learned how it could be controlled. The difficulties in dealing with scale insects are due to the fact that the actual, living organisms are protected by the parchment-like covering or scale, which must first be penetrated or corroded before any poisonous material can be brought into contact with them.

Some time before 1887 a quantity of California plum stock was purchased by certain Eastern nurseries and was used largely for budding. The stock was infested by the San José scale, and by means of the buds the insect was distributed throughout the nurseries. The stock itself was sold to purchasers with the result that in 1893 it was discovered that the scale was already well distributed throughout the Atlantic States. It was assumed that California methods of treatment would be equally effective in the East, but within a year or two it proved that this was not the case; that the scale had been much more widely distributed than had been supposed, and that a large number of trees, principally peach trees, had been practically ruined by its attacks. Attention was aroused everywhere and investigations were started in almost every State in which the scale was known to occur.

As it seemed probable that the original distribution in the Atlantic States had been accomplished through New Jersey nursery stock, investigations in that State were very comprehensive. The Legislature made an appropriation of one thousand dollars for the purpose of attempting to introduce the parasite, which, it was said, had aided in controlling the species in California, and the writer visited that State during the early part of 1896 and made a thorough study of the conditions there. It was found that there were great numbers of the San José scale still scattered throughout that region in California in which deciduous fruits are most largely grown, and that the check upon the increase of the insect was largely climatic, though it was assisted by certain predatory beetles which were already natives of the Atlantic States and required no introduction there. It

was also found that the climatic peculiarities of the West Coast made it possible to use insecticides effectively in a manner which was impossible in the moister climate of the Eastern States. It is needless here to go into details; but the practical conclusion was that the insect would have to be studied in the East from a new standpoint, and that local conditions and peculiarities would have to be considered. Meanwhile new infested regions were being discovered in all the States. Where the insects had been so scarce that they were overlooked in previous years, they were now so abundant that the trees were dying, and a genuine scare resulted.

On March 5, 1897, a convention of fruit growers, nurserymen, and others interested in plant growth was called to assemble in Washington, D. C., and a two days' discussion took place, almost entirely devoted to this threatening pest. The result was a bill, which was presented to Congress, restricting the transportation of nursery stock between States, and providing for a rigid inspection of all plants and fruits to be introduced into this country. In other words it was proposed that fruits seeking entry into the United States should not be admitted without being first inspected or unless they were accompanied by a certificate that they had been inspected. Nothing was done by Congress in 1897, but in that year and in 1898 a considerable number of meetings were held in which the same matter was discussed and State Legislatures were appealed to for protective measures. The proceedings of the convention held at Washington were published by the United States Department of Agriculture; and two bulletins, with a circular, from the Entomological Division of that Department also gave information about the pernicious scale, its destructiveness, and the absolute necessity for preventing its spread, if fruit-culture in the United States were to continue a profitable industry.

At the present session of Congress a new bill has been introduced covering the grounds already mentioned, and practically excluding foreign fruits from the United States until they have been inspected and passed as clean. It carries an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars, provides for an army of inspectors and empowers the Secretary of Agriculture to make rules and regulations for the examination of nurseries, and for quarantining fruits and restricting their importation to certain ports of

entry designated by him. In other words, there is now before the American Congress a bill that is quite as drastic in its measures as the decree of the German government.

Germany maintains in the United States, and probably in other countries as well, experts in various branches, whose business it is to report to their government such facts as are considered of interest or importance. It did not escape the agricultural experts that the agricultural and horticultural papers were filled with reports of danger from the pernicious or San José scale; that in the Experiment Stations the entomologists were devoting themselves almost entirely to a study of this insect; that at meetings of horticulturists and agricultural bodies the San José scale formed the principal topic of discussion, that several States had already legislated on the subject, and that restrictive measures were presented to the legislatures of others. I am aware, personally, that information was gathered for at least six months, and probably a year, before any action was taken by the German government, and the decree was finally issued because the San José scale had been actually found upon fruit that had been imported into German territory. When protest was made by our Ambassador, he was presented with the publications of his own Department of Agriculture, of which he had not known, and with other information as to the grave danger to be feared from the insect against which the Germans were attempting to protect themselves. The fact that the restriction upon dried fruits was almost immediately withdrawn proves that it was only a danger believed to be real which was to be guarded against.

Now is there real danger in this San José scale? That it is so considered in this country is shown by the proposed legislation before Congress, which has already met the approval of the Committee on Agriculture of the Senate. Eight American States have laws providing for an inspection of nursery stock; three American States, Maryland, Michigan, and North Carolina, have laws absolutely excluding nursery stock unaccompanied by a certificate that it is free from the San José or pernicious scale. California admits neither fruit nor plants within its borders without an inspection. There is a State quarantine officer at San Francisco who visits every ship which enters that harbor, and permits not a plant to land unless it has been first examined and found to be free from insect pests. Throughout the State

there are horticultural inspectors and commissioners who have wide and arbitrary powers. Several other Pacific Coast States have followed California's lead, and in several States bills are pending to protect the horticultural interests of the States from further introductions of this same pest.

Besides infesting trunks, branches, and twigs, the scales crawl upon the fruit and set upon it, producing in most instances a little reddish spot which adds to rather than detracts from its appearance. Such fruit coming from California may be found in any of the Eastern markets at any time during the early summer. In fact, on the fruit stands the finest pears, when they are infested, are usually turned so as to show the red spots, because they improve the look of the fruit. Since the Eastern States have become infested by the scale, fruit of this character has become common in the markets.

The scales after they have once become fixed to the plant have no power of motion. It is only when they are just born, and the female produces its young alive, that for a few hours they are able to move about from place to place. If a twig or branch is cut and begins to dry, all the insects attached to it die and there is no chance for spread or propagation. The reason is that the supply of food is cut off when the sap ceases to circulate. The matter is different when a fruit is infested. The fruit is largely composed of water or plant juices, and the scales continue to feed as long as the fruit remains in sound condition. Therefore, there is nothing to prevent their breeding upon such fruits; and, as a matter of fact, I have purchased at fruit stands in New York City California pears in which the pernicious scale was present in all stages: crawling larvæ, as well as adult breeding females. There is no reason for believing that the same fruit could not have been sent to Germany, and that at Hamburg or Bremen breeding scales and living young could be found upon the fruit.

Whether, on the other hand, there is any real danger of the transfer of the scales from fruit to living plants is a somewhat different question. In the United States there is not, so far as we know, a single instance where this has happened. So far as we have any knowledge, distribution has occurred entirely by means of nursery stock or by means of birds and insects passing from one orchard to another. There is not, however, the slightest

reason to doubt that if an infested fruit were by some means carried to a living plant upon which young scales could crawl, the plant would become infested. The only safety lies in rigidly providing against such a contingency. This the German government is attempting to do, and its regulations are no more severe than those already enforced in California or proposed in several others of the United States. If the bill now before Congress becomes a law, all exporters of fruit from other countries to America will have exactly the same reason to complain of the action of the United States that American shippers of fruit now have to complain of the action of Germany.

If all the legislation, actual and proposed, in this country against the San José or pernicious scale is justified, we certainly cannot blame foreign nations for attempting to protect themselves against this same pest. Before we have any right to protest we must prove that the regulation is unnecessary and that no danger in reality threatens the German horticulturist. To do this, in view of all the publications that have already issued from the various experiment stations and from the United States Department of Agriculture, might prove rather a difficult task.

JOHN B. SMITH.

MAN'S SPAN OF LIFE.

BY LANGDON KAIN, M. D.

It is a curious fact that authorities do not agree, within a hundred years, as to the utmost limit of human life, though the question is important enough to be positively determined. A comparatively recent writer, the late Sir George Lewis, did not hesitate to affirm that it is not possible for any person to reach the age of 110; that no one, or hardly any one, ever lives to be 100. Mr. Thom and the late Professor Owen agreed that no one has ever been proved to be more than 103 years and a few months old. Haller, Bailey, Flourens, and other early writers, give accounts of persons of the reputed age of 185 years, and in one instance of 200 years.

Popular opinion, and even expert or medical opinion, is not disposed to accept the limit of Professor Owen. Every little while some eminent medical man takes people to task for dying short of a century of life. A short time before his death the late Sir Benjamin Richardson asserted that seven out of every ten sound and reasonable people ought to live to be 110 years old, and would do so if they took care of themselves. The late Mr. Proctor, the popular writer on astronomy, reports a New York physician as saying that in all his experience he had known but one man to die a natural death, his idea of that being the memorable collapse of the wonderful "One Hoss Shay."

The simple and obvious explanation of the wide differences of opinion as to how long it is possible for any human being to withstand the destructive influence of time is that observers and writers are of different degrees of credulity. It is hard to say why no serious investigation of living instances is made, instead of basing opinion on doubtful cases so long past as to make inquiry futile. Louis Carnaro, St. Mongah, and the others whose

cases are so invariably cited by writers on this subject, have been cruelly overworked, notwithstanding the power of endurance of the typical centenarian. There is no reason to think the percentage of old people is lower to-day than in the time of Haller, or that people do not live as long. On the contrary, Macaulay found that the annual death-rate of London in the latter half of the seventeenth century was one twenty-third of the entire population ; while at the time he wrote it had been reduced to one-fortieth, clearly by the increased material prosperity and the more human ways of life. That it has been further reduced since then, largely by the development of sanitary science, is a matter of positive knowledge. Since the effect of advanced civilization was to lower the death-rate, it must also have increased the percentage of persons of great age. It may be affirmed, once for all, that the power to resist disease which lowers the death-rate is also the power that prolongs life.

Another common source of error is the census return. There are persons who look upon everything official as necessarily accurate, and though they might be skeptical as to the personal statement of a reputed centenarian, if his age is reported in the census they accept it as virtually proved. They do not consider that, after all, it is the mere *ipse dixit* of the person himself, which the census-taker makes no attempt to verify. It is for this reason that Professor Owen and other careful investigators reject the census reports. The census invariably shows that wherever the intelligence and prosperity of the people are highest, the centenarians are fewest. In a Russian census a significant fact was discovered by Flourens. While the returns included 1,063 centenarians in the Empire, there was not a single one in St. Petersburg and Moscow, the new and the old capitals, the most civilized parts of Russia and the most accessible to serious investigation. The inference was that the intelligent and prosperous people have more accurate sources of information and are more trustworthy in their statements of age than the ignorant.

A striking instance of the misleading effect of the census is recent. A German statistician concludes that civilization, or rather education, is fatal to long life. His basis is the fact already mentioned, that in countries where education is general the centenarians are fewer than in countries where ignorance and poverty are the rule. England, with its 28,000,000 people, has

only 146 centenarians, while Ireland, with only 5,000,000 people, has 578. Germany, with 50,000,000 people, has only 78 centenarians, while Norway, with but 2,000,000 people, has 230, and the Balkan Peninsula, with a population of 10,000,000, has 5,542. Switzerland has not a single centenarian in her 2,000,000 population. Spain, with 18,000,000 people, has 410 centenarians. Of the alleged centenarians of Bulgaria and Servia, 290 are from 106 to 115 years old, 123 are from 115 to 125, eighteen are from 125 to 135, and there are three between the ages of 135 and 140. A summary shows that England, Germany, Switzerland, and Sweden, where education is general among the people, having an aggregate population of 84,000,000, have only 234 centenarians. Ireland, Norway, Spain, and the Balkan States, where the reverse is the case, having an aggregate population of only 35,000,000, have 6,760 centenarians.

The German statistician takes occasion to state, as a result of his inquiries, that the oldest man is not, as has been said, a Russian of 130 years, not a retired Russian cabman, Kustrim by name, of 140 years, but one Bruno Cotrim, a negro born in Africa, and now living at Rio de Janeiro, of 150 years. Though he poses as a man "bristling up with small facts, prurient with dates, a braggadocio of exactness," it is significant that he is not surprised that the last figure in the age of each of these candidates should be a cipher, which is against the laws of chance; and that the age of the second should be just ten years more than that of the youngest, and the age of the oldest just ten years more than that of the second, which is also in violation of the laws of chance. He sees nothing strange in the similarity of the names Kustrim and Cotrim, though here again the laws of chance are brutally outraged.

The inference which the German statistician draws from the census returns is contradicted by every list of persons compiled to show the effect of occupation on longevity. Men of thought are most often at the head for length of years. He forgets, too, that even in Germany, though reeking with culture, there are always many thousands who do not partake of the deadly fruit of the tree of knowledge, but are healthfully illiterate. Yet they rarely escape the common fate, dying before their hundredth year. Adam was warned against the fatal consequences of knowledge, but everything else points to the inference, not that edu-

cation and comfort are favorable to early death, but to that already noted—the lack of accurate information as to their own ages and sometimes the mendacity of the ignorant classes. There is the same cause of vanity in being phenomenally old as in being phenomenally anything else.

Whether the excesses of the rich and the well-to-do are so grave as to make their chances of long-living inferior to those of the illiterate, and especially of paupers, has been often and fully discussed. Most observers will agree with the conclusion of Sir George Lewis, and, later, of Mr. Tollemache, that centenarians will generally be proportionally more numerous in the higher social strata than in the lower ; and that the apparent reversal of this by census returns and other centenarian records is due to the ignorance of the illiterate poor, especially paupers, to their love of the marvelous and to their self-interest.

Reputed centenarians in this country whose ages exceed a hundred by more than three or four years have no documentary or satisfactory evidence to offer. The oldest, of whose age there is little room for doubt, though the documentary proof is not complete, was Mrs. Emily Robins Talcott, of the age of 105 years and 4 months. She was born near Hartford, Conn., where she spent most of her life, and died of bronchitis April 20, 1896. Her memory, health, and eyesight were good, and she took care of her own room. She had shaken hands with Washington and Lafayette, and had seen Fulton's first steamboat ascend the Hudson. She said her great-grandmother was 107, and that her mother was within a few weeks of 100.

Hiram Lester, who was alleged to be the oldest man in the United States, was a pauper who died in a North Carolina almshouse in the summer of 1896 at the reputed age of 128 years. His only evidence was the statement of his father, who died in the same almshouse many years ago at the age of 115 years, it was said. Noah Raby, also a pauper, an inmate of the almshouse at Piscatawa, near New Brunswick, N. J., celebrated what he said was his 125th birthday on April 1, 1897. He was born in Gates County, North Carolina, his father being a full-blooded Indian named Andrew Bass. He says he was discharged from the man-of-war "Brandywine" eighty-four years ago, but has lost his discharge papers ; that he heard Washington make an angry public address at Norfolk ; that he began smoking when he was five

years old, and has continued to smoke ever since, and has always been a drinker of liquors. It is on his unsupported statement that the people of the neighborhood regard him with local pride. Mrs. Margaret Bowen died near Chicopee Falls, near Springfield, Massachusetts, in May, 1896, at the reputed age of 121 years. She was born in County Clare, Ireland, and came to this country in 1865. Her husband, still alive, is now 78 years old. James Oney, who died in Knott County, Kentucky, in April, 1896, said he was 115 years old, though there are no records in the case. He was born at Mount Vernon, Virginia, near the home of the man who could not tell a lie, had twenty-three children, three of whom were born blind. Of his 178 descendants, thirteen were born blind. He died virtually a pauper, and was fond of whiskey toddy, getting "jolly" to the end. His oldest son, blind, is now living in Knott County at the age of 90, which age is also unsupported by evidence. The father had seen Washington often. Louis Darwin and his wife, French Canadians, living at Saint Paul, Canada, aged respectively 107 and 101 years, have been married 81 years, according to their own account. "Jack" Casar, a negro, who was a slave in New Jersey, the body servant of Mr. John Quackenbush, died at Ridgewood, in that State, December 19, 1896, at the reputed age of 106 years. Mrs. Yetta Gerber died in March, 1897, at 52 Suffolk street, New York City, at the age, it is said, of 106 years. She was born in Poland, and distinctly remembered she was 21 years old when Napoleon passed through the village in which she lived on his way to Russia, and again on his return. A few days before her death she entertained visitors by cracking a filbert with her teeth, of which she had never lost one. Joseph Field, there is good reason to believe, was 104 years and 6 months old when he died, April 1, 1897, near Red Bank, N. J., where he had always lived. He was a farmer with a fortune of half a million. He had remained a bachelor until he was 75 years old, when he married a young woman who bore him three daughters. He was able to walk about until a few months before his death. He had always used whiskey in moderation. Mrs. Goings, who professed to be 109 years old, died at Indianapolis in February, 1896. She said her father was 111 at the time of his death and her mother 106. William Taylor, of Augusta County, Va., died at the reputed age of 105 years and 2 months, at Baltimore, where he had gone in search of work as

a painter. Mrs. Lorena Huntley, of Moira, Franklin County, N. Y., who was born at Peru, in the same State, died in December, 1896, at the age of 104 years. There is an early family Bible record of her birth.

Hester Jackson, colored, was an inmate of St. Michael's Hospital, Newark, April 16, 1897, which she said was her 104th birthday. She was born a slave at Rahway, N. J., and distinctly remembered that her master, Elston Marsh, was an officer in the war of 1812, and also that she had seen Washington. Jane Brown, also colored, was an inmate of the Home for Aged Colored People in Brooklyn in the summer of 1896, when she celebrated her 103d birthday. She was born a slave in New Jersey, spent much of her life in Philadelphia, and saw Washington. Mrs. Angelique Galipeau, a neighbor of the centenarian Darwins, is said to be 102. She sews without glasses, and walks a mile to church. Her father is said to have lived 110 years. John McKenzie died at Jersey City in December, 1896, at the age of 102. He was called "the best-natured man in the world," and it was to his amiability that his long living was due in the opinion of his friends. Mrs. Martha Squires, of Nelsonville, a small settlement near Peekskill, New York, celebrated her 102d birthday October 11, 1896. She has lived there for seventy years, and her neighbors are confident she is as old as she claims to be. Her oldest child is now 85. Mrs. Clarissa Stebbins Lawrence, of Marlboro, near Keene, New Hampshire, was 100 on January 25, 1896. Mrs. Lydia Turner, of West Concord, New Hampshire, was 101 December 8, 1896. She is in good health, and has "all her faculties." Mrs. Hannah Bartow was 101 May 1, 1896. She lives at New Brunswick, New Jersey, and is the great-grandmother of a child which weighed less than five pounds at nine months of age. This old lady does not wear glasses and keeps a small candy store. Mrs. Cox, of Holderness, New Hampshire, died of whooping cough in 1896 at the age of 101. Elisha Boulden Glenn, of Newark, N. J., was 100 years and 4 months old November 7, 1896. He walked to the polls the same week. Emanuel Schwab, of East Fifty-sixth street, New York, received each guest at the door on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of his birth, December 14, 1896. He sang a song and read a poem which he had composed the same week. He walks two miles every morning and smokes a long German pipe. John

Lockhart, aged 100, walked into Parkersburg, Pa., in October, 1896, from his home on Lee Creek, fifteen miles away. While in town he danced a jig.

It is interesting, and it may be profitable, to note some of the cases of extreme age to be found in the older records. Not all of the centenarians were paragons of all the virtues. Thomas Whittington, for example, who lived to be 104, was an habitual drunkard, drinking only London gin, of which he consumed from a pint to a pint and a half daily. Philip Laroque went to bed drunk at least two nights in the week until he was 100. At 92 he cut four new teeth. John de la Somet, 130 years old, was an inveterate smoker. Several famous old people were extremely addicted to matrimony. Owen Duffy, who lived to be 122, married his third wife at 116, "by whom he had a son and a daughter." Francis Hongo, a Venetian, was five times married and was the father of forty-nine children. At the age of 100 his white hair fell out and a new crop of the original color came in. At the age of 112 he had two new teeth. Margaret Krasiowna, a Pole, married her third husband at ninety-four. "She bore to him two sons and a daughter, as proved by the parish register." Margaret McDowal, 106 years old, married and survived thirteen husbands. Among the recorded centenarians are two dwarfs, Mary Jones, 100 years, who was 2 feet 8 inches in height and terribly deformed, and Elspeth Watson, 115 years old, who was 2 feet 9 inches in height. Among the most agile were Mrs. Barrett, who, at the age of 116, climbed a ladder to repair the roof of her cottage; and Elizabeth Alexander, who was particular about her dress at 108, and was used to a daily walk of two miles. Several had peculiar habits. Mrs. Lewson, 117 years old, never washed her face for fear of taking cold, but greased it with hog's lard. John Hussey, 116 years, drank only balm tea as a beverage. John Wilson, the same age, supped always off roasted turnips. Judith Banister, 100, lived entirely on biscuit, bread, and apples during the last sixty years of her life. Old Lord Scarsdale and Lord Combermere, both of whom lived to a ripe age, thought the wearing of a tight belt habitually about the waist had much to do with their excellent health. Macklin, the centenarian actor, abandoned regular hours of eating in the last sixty-seven years of his life, taking food when he was hungry. Two interesting married couples are reported. Mr. and Mrs Cot-

terell, aged respectively 120 and 115 years, were married 98 years and "never had a quarrel." They died within a few hours of each other. John Rovin, a Hungarian, and his wife, aged 172 and 164 years, lived together 148 years. At the time of the husband's death the youngest son was 116 years old.

The case of Louis Carnaro, first reported by Flourens, is famous for its services to the cause of temperance. He published several books on the benefits of an abstemious life. Born with a sickly constitution and living a dissipated life until he was 40, when he was near dying, he became so moderate in his diet that at last the yolk of an egg sufficed for two meals. It is uncertain whether he lived to be only 99, or whether he reached the age of 104, though he was reputed to be much older. Kentigern, or Saint Mongah or Mongo, is also an evidence of the value of temperance. According to Spottswood his age was 185. One Lawrence, 140 years old, was another temperate man. The Rev. Peter Alley is said by Bailey to have been 111 years old and to have conducted services regularly until a few weeks before his last illness. He was the father of thirty-three children. Other very old persons were Thomas Winslow, aged 146 years; James Bowels, aged 152 years; Margaret Foster, 136 years, and her daughter, 104 years; Zartan, a Hungarian and a proper neighbor of the Rovins, above-mentioned, 189 years; and Joseph Budge, 107 years, who cut new teeth just before his death.

It may be well to explain here the phenomenon of new teeth so often mentioned in the case of centenarians. Professor Owen investigated several instances and found that the gums had receded, as they tend to do in old age, until the stumps of old teeth were exposed and were mistaken for new teeth.

The absence of trustworthy vital statistics is distressing to all who pursue the subject of longevity. The suggestion of Mr. Galton is worth attention, that each family keep a comprehensive record of important facts.

LANGDON KAIN.

THE SIEGE OF PARIS AND THE AIR-SHIPS.

BY KARL BLIND.

THE day is perhaps not far off when the discovery of proper means for steering balloons will revolutionize both our modes of locomotion and the warfare of nations. Napoleon I. treated the idea of a steamboat as a sheer absurdity on which he wanted never to be spoken to again. On his part, Franklin, who tore the lightning from the clouds, exclaimed, after having seen the first aëronautical attempt, "This is the birth of the child!"

Owing to the risky nature of those attempts, ascents in air-ships were, however, for a great many years so little encouraged that, a generation or so ago, they had mostly become a mere show for public amusement. Only a few men of science continued their studies and their experiments as regards the guidability of balloons. To this day, the problem has not been solved; but I firmly believe that it will be.

In the meantime, public opinion, especially in France and Germany, has become very much awake on the subject. "Since our defeats," writes Wilfrid de Fonvielle, the well-known French scientist and aëronaut,* "things have changed very much. There is no hamlet now in which people do not ask what part the balloons will play in the future war. The novelists, who use their talents for picturing the successes which we shall gain, without fail, through the use of air-ships, may toil ever so much in the way of describing battles sprung from their imagination: their readers will never be tired by it. There is no peasant now who does not follow, with more or less eagerness, in the innermost room of his hut, the question of the navigable balloon. Among the rural population, the air-travellers are, therefore, always sure of the most sympathetic reception." The hope of some in-

**Le Siège de Paris: vu à vol d'oiseau. Par Wilfrid de Fonvielle.*

vention being one day able to destroy hostile armies by explosives scattered from above occupies even the mind of the otherwise stolid French peasantry.

M. de Fonvielle warns, it is true, against the notion of science being a perfect magician, able, with one stroke of its wand, to alter suddenly all the conditions of war. At the same time he is himself one of the most zealous, as well as personally most courageous, promoters of that science, having given his proofs in that line during about thirty years. I have known him since the stormy revolutionary days of 1849, when he took part in the unsuccessful rising led by Ledru Rollin against Louis Bonaparte, in aid of the Roman Republic assailed by a French army. Our friendship was renewed when, having been transported to Algiers after the state stroke of 1851, he escaped to London, where for a time he lived as an exile.

With him I made an ascent in the gigantic balloon which, towards the end of the sixties, had been brought over by a number of well-known French aëronauts, Messrs. Yon, Godard, Mangin, Chavantier, and Tissandier. Mr. Glaisher, the celebrated meteorologist, who, in one of his ascents, had attained the greatest height (seven miles), took the direction of the enormous air-ship on that occasion. Shortly before, a balloon of moderate extent had been brought to England by Mr. Giffard. I was accidentally prevented from accepting the invitation to take part in the ascent. On the next day, the balloon exploded through a fire.

When we ascended afterwards in the great captive balloon, the volume of which was no less than 424,000 cubic feet, and its height 121 feet, during such stormy weather that Mr. Glaisher thought at first the enterprise should be given up on that day, we had rather a strange experience. At a great altitude we were bumped about so badly, and at such suddenly changing and precipitous angles, that one of the passengers near me was seized with an insane kind of giddiness. All at once he felt an irresistible impulse to throw himself overboard into the ocean of the air! He was pulled down by those about him; whereupon he sank sideways on his knees, his eyes being then shut in as by blinkers.

There were no seats in the car. We stood like so many bottles in the narrow wickerwork ring, which only reached to the lower part of one's breast, and which was hollowed out in the middle,

so that the ever-shifting landscape could be seen through it: rather a trying aspect for those given to sea-sickness. The altitude reached was such that the manifold sounds below gradually merged into a music of the spheres, and then into absolute stillness. The jerky movements of the air-ship became at last so abrupt that the danger signal had to be hung out. The hideous part of the voyage was the coming down. It was effected in short but violent pushes, and one felt ever and anon as if the head were thrust into the stomach. For all that, I greatly enjoyed the trip.

"The strong wind," it is said in the work edited by Mr. Glaisher and M. Fonvielle,* "blew at the rate of sixty miles an hour. It whistled through the ropes, the balloon lay over, and the car oscillated violently. We were blown about 600 feet beyond the boundary of the enclosure below. . . . The sky presented an admirable aspect. The sun appeared in the midst of mountains of cloud, and its brilliant rays transformed the Thames into a river of fire. Houses, trees, and streets appeared no larger than children's toys, and the general aspect of things was the same as we experience in ordinary balloon ascents. In some of our aërial excursions we have been to a height of 9,843 feet, and the landscape seen from this altitude is not more striking than from the car of the captive balloon."

This ascent in London had been undertaken for meteorological purposes. Our French friends, Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc, the earlier members of the government of 1848, had also been invited to a seat, or rather a standing place in the car of that balloon, but both politely and thankfully declined. Afterwards, another ascent, in the same air-ship, was proposed for a fresh meteorological investigation at night with the aid of electrical light. This time, only the Duke of Sutherland and three others—I and my son again among them—accepted the invitation. But M. Yon, as the director, refused subsequently to allow our joining in it, as he thought a nocturnal venture was altogether too dangerous. Still I hoped that permission might yet be given. I, therefore, hastened to return from a lecturing tour in Northern England, but on arriving at Euston Station, the first news I heard was: "The balloon has broken loose!" Shooting up with the velocity of a cannon-ball—as the work quoted says—and rising to an immense height, it fell down after

* "*Voyages Aëriens.*"

some days in Buckinghamshire. A shred of the skin was sent to me as a memento of our having been so near being "transported to the stars."

Later on, M. Fonvielle kindly invited me to a balloon-voyage across the channel. My friend being rather reckless, I accepted on condition that a man like Mr. Glaisher, or some other distinguished aëronaut of scientific renown, were to be of the party. The proposed enterprise, however, did not take place. Instead of it, a curious race between an English and a French balloon, in which latter M. Fonvielle sat, was started from the Crystal Palace, ending at Havart, on the sea coast. As to who remained the victor it was difficult to decide, owing to the peculiar formation of the soil on that coast.

It is perhaps little known in general how much has been done in France, since the war, by private subscriptions as well as by subventions from communal authorities and from government, for the furtherance of aëronautic science. In the French War Budget, there is every year a considerable item for it. The budget for the army and navy is always rapidly passed, nearly without discussion; all parties agreeing on that point, even the most extreme groups of the Opposition being afraid of making any criticism lest they should be suspected of unpatriotic feelings. Having learned many interesting details on this subject, it struck me that Germany, which in 1870–71 was still far behind the French as regards aërial locomotion, might well look ahead. Some fifteen years ago, in an essay on "Excursions into Cloudland"—which was printed as a series of articles in the Literary Gazette of the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*—I urged, therefore, the necessity of forming a "Universal Association of German Aëronauts" (including Austria). Though only an outside observer as regards the scientific principles involved in the question of aërial navigation, it seemed to me that such an appeal should no longer be delayed. I was glad to find that an association of that kind was, after a while, really founded at Berlin.

There are some amusing and some very characteristic descriptions in Mr. Fonvielle's work of occurrences shortly before the outbreak of the war. G. Hard's captive balloon, of 1867, which made the fortune of a world's exhibition, having created much stir, Napoleon III. would fain have liked to see, for once, his capital from an Archimedean point. But before daring to rise so high,

the hero of Strassburg and Boulogne thought fit first to send up a General of the artillery and member of the Academy of Sciences, who was to report on his experience. The General appeared in the hippodrome with his Adjutant. Having carefully studied the rigging of the balloon, he concluded that the better part of valor would be to order the Adjutant to make the ascent. This young man had no choice; but during his involuntary elevation he presented a sorrowful spectacle, not speaking to any one. His statement, on coming down, was so uninviting that the General drew up a report, strongly advising the head of the state against these fearful dangers!

Many Germans, says M. Fonvielle, rose in those days in the captive balloon at Paris. He relates that he was in the car once with Professor Virchow, also with the Prussian Crown Prince, who had come several times without giving his name, until he was recognized.

It is certainly true that "the heroic perseverance of the population of Paris would not have been possible had it not made use, during the siege, of balloons and of the carrier-pigeon post, the employment of which the Emperor of the French in the beginning of the war had declined so contemptuously, and the abundant use of which Moltke's General Staff could not have foreseen. Aëronauts may, therefore, well be proud."

All this leads back again to the problem of the guidability of balloons. Here I may bring to mind that the proposal of using the alternate horizontal and vertical air-currents in the higher regions, by which birds are enabled to soar, to poise, and to come down, or to follow a ship without much exertion—a question treated in a recent important paper by Mr. Hiram S. Maxim*—had been hinted at by M. Fonvielle years ago. There is another curious fact of much significance for the solution of the problem. When M. Durnof once rose in the *Neptune*, a young chemist, after a meal taken in the car, threw a chicken-bone overboard. This was enough to make the balloon, which by the opening of the valve had sunk a little, to rise again into an upper air-current! Incredible as this seems, it is an undeniable fact. "Your chicken-bone," M. Fonvielle said to the young man, "will forever remain inscribed in the history of balloons." Movements exe-

* "Birds in Flight and the Flying Machine" (NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, of October, 1895).

cuted with such wonderful ease point to resources placed by nature at our disposition which may lead to the steering of air-ships.

That balloons will one day become really navigable, and that flying machines will finally be constructed with success—the memory of Daidalos and Ikaros being thus at last avenged—I am fully convinced. At present, it is true, travels in the air involve a risk. And thereby hangs a tale to which the writer of *The Siege of Paris* devotes much space in a chapter entitled: "The Miscarriage of a Diplomatic Mission."

To put a somewhat intricate story shortly, a rumor soon arose, after the return of Louis Blanc to Paris, that he aimed at obtaining the post of French Ambassador in London. Different from many of his French fellow-exiles—some of the most eminent of whom, like Victor Hugo and Ledru Rollin, almost refused learning English—the distinguished Historian of the Revolution had done his best to master that tongue, and to form good social connections in England. It was Fonvielle who advised Louis Blanc to address himself to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the government installed at the Hôtel de Ville being yet in hopeless confusion. This, Louis Blanc refused to do; Jules Favre having been, in 1848, an accomplice in bringing about his prosecution and exile.

An interview of Fonvielle with Jules Ferry, which at first seemed promising, not having led to any result, the press was made use of to formulate a demand that Louis Blanc "should be sent to the other side of the channel as an ambassador, not to the Court of St. James's, but to the English people." In this form, the proposition was accepted at the Hôtel de Ville. There Fonvielle was told: "Go and say to Louis Blanc that he himself should draw up the required decree. In the form chosen by him it will be published!"

So it was next morning in the *Moniteur Universel.* About the same time Thiers left England in order to go by Hull to St. Petersburg, where he hoped to have better success than in London. In England he had wholly failed. The extra-official mission of Louis Blanc to England would, it is true, so M. Fonvielle himself avows, have been "tantamount, from a diplomatic piont of view, to the spending of the last cartridge." Still, the announcement of his going had been published in the official journal; and the immediate necessity now was to act upon it.

In the meantime, Paris had been surrounded. Nothing remained but the ascent in the balloon, in order to reach London.

"But in vain," writes M. de Fonvielle, "did I entreat my illustrious friend to entrust himself, to the winds; it was impossible to overcome his obduracy. Louis Blanc was little, delicate, not accustomed to bodily exercise, and sixty years old; but he was not subject to any ailment, and if he was no longer young, he had kept up the appearance of youthfulness. His behavior made, therefore, a detestable impression upon me. When I saw that I could not obtain anything, I withdrew; and never has Louis Blanc seen me again. I was unable to forgive him his perseverance in refusals. Had I foreseen his repugnance, which showed what fears were at that time excited by aërial voyages, I would have said to the celebrated orator: 'Do not stay in Paris, which is certain to be besieged! Go to London; and in a few days, on my word as an aëronaut, I shall come and hand you the decree concerning your mission!' But could I reasonably foresee such an issue? . . . In my anger I then said to myself: 'Very well! That which Louis Blanc will not do, I shall do.' The secret of my resolution I kept to myself. I did not want to ask for myself that which I had demanded for the man whose friend I was. With my own resources, as a *franc tireur* of revolutionary diplomacy, I intended to act."

"Was this excess of patriotism excusable on my part?" continues M. Fonvielle. "At all events, the reward of my efforts was that I learnt many curious things, because I was thus enabled, like everyone of the messengers who went out in balloons, to see the siege of Paris from the bird's eye perspective. And that privilege has saved me from what has been called 'obsidional frenzy' (siege craziness), and kept me from committing many mistakes."

Truth to say, Louis Blanc's refusal might have been anticipated. I remember how, in the early sixties, my wife and I once dined with him, when suddenly and unexpectedly M. Nadar, the well-known aëronaut, came in on crutches and bandaged all over. He had had a bad fall from his car, and looked quite the dangerously wounded soldier of aëronautics. I suppose that made a lasting impression on Louis Blanc.

On the siege Fonvielle writes:

"The Germans had accomplished a miracle of strategy with a stunning swiftness. On a single day they took, almost without having any losses, three formidable positions, the whole of which neutralized the action of the forts of Montrouge, Vanves and Issy, and brought more than a fourth of Paris within the range of their cannon-balls and bombs. Clinging to their cars, the aëronauts of the captive balloons could observe with an indignant eye, but powerless, the episodes of that fatal day. They saw the Prussians forming their columns of attack, and the soldiers in zouave uniform throwing away, after a mere sham resistance, their guns, in order to fly more rapidly. With their eyes the aëronauts followed those cowards who ran through the doors of houses, spreading alarm, until the indignant population stopped them."

The first aërial post for the conveyance of letters was proposed and resolved upon in Paris on September 17; but the attempt only took place on September 21. The General Postmaster was an old member of the National Assembly which had been lawlessly dispersed in 1851 by Louis Bonaparte, and for years he had been in exile. He invited M. Fonvielle as an expert for the accomplishment of the undertaking. To his surprise the latter found that the worst possible balloon had been chosen, with which he himself had once had an unexpected fall upon the church-yard of Clichy, when a widow, praying at the grave of her husband, nearly became the victim of the accident. Everything in the balloon was in bad condition—the cover, the net, the valve, and the car. To cap the sorry arrangement, immense heaps of letters, weighing 600 kilograms, were put into a car unable to sustain such a weight. Fonvielle's protest was disregarded. The attempt to rise failed miserably, and his warning was fully justified.

Lest the aëronautic cause should be hopelessly damaged in public opinion by new blunders, M. Fonvielle afterwards recommended, in warm words, the selection of so well bred a man as M. Durnof and the use of his balloon *Neptune*. This ascent succeeded. Durnof rose and did not let himself be frightened by the shot sent after his cloud vehicle by the besiegers. From his car he let trickle down a rain of visiting cards, destined for Bismarck, King William, and Queen Augusta. He had even the politeness, as a true air-travelling boulevardier, nicely to turn down the cards at the corner before throwing them out. "Thereupon," we read, "the Iron Chancellor gave way to unspeakable wrath, and ordained that in future the aëronauts that would be captured by his Uhlans should be treated as spies and be shot from behind."

Seeing that the laws of war, as far as we know, are not made by chancellors, these things, no doubt, happened somewhat differently. "The noise of the powerless shots, cracking at his feet," it is added, "tickled Durnof's French ears most pleasantly, as if they had been so many salvos in his own honor."

However, M. Fonvielle severely blames the organizers of this ascent for "having allowed 20–30,000 letters, indiscriminately gathered together in the letter-boxes, and in which all kinds of follies dictated by fear, or even the reports of spies, might have been contained, to be put, without control, into the car of M.

Durnof. Among the multitude, on the other hand, the success of this aërial trip produced a feeling of happiness as if the enemy had been vanquished in a great battle. Immediately, some thoughtless persons proposed an enterprise the publication of which might have become most injurious to Paris itself."

The proposition, as made in the *Siècle*, was to the effect that an immense balloon, filled with explosive material, should be constructed, whose contents were to be discharged over the German camp.

"Immediately," says M. Fonvielle, "a mass of newspapers became wildly enthusiastic in favor of that plan of a maniac; praising it in words which were even more dangerous than laughable. The fact is, that which would have been quite absurd on our part, *would have been very wise, had the enemy done it.* Considering that the Germans had entirely surrounded Paris, they would have been sure not to miss their aim had they intelligently endeavored to force us to surrender by cleverly launching explosive air-ships from the point where the wind blew into the besieged city. Would this manœuvre not have been quite a simple one if the balloons had been transported by the circular railway which the enemy had taken care to establish round our defensive lines and filled at the nearest forge? Not only did we thus indicate to the besieger a manœuvre of which he had apparently not thought, but we even justified its employment by praising this new kind of bombardment. We even deprived ourselves of the right of protesting against a new means of destruction, of which the enemy could have made admirable use, because Paris formed a circle of ten kilometres in diameter, in the interior of which every projectile from a balloon-car was sure to produce devastation, fire, or death."

I will here only add that the late English General Hutchinson, from whom I have received for many years a number of communications on aëronautic problems, has often warningly written of the possibility of enemies of England using this kind of warfare from the welkin.

A balloon called *Céleste* had been made a present of, by M. Fonvielle, to the administrative authorities of Paris. When this air-ship was sent out, in 1870, he certainly had a special right to take part in the ascent. But as again a letter-post was put in the car, while he, on principle, held this procedure to be a pernicious one, he refrained from joining. He "would not be the aërial postman of the spies." In the *Céleste* an appeal of Louis Blanc to the English Democracy was placed on board in many copies. Another balloon, called *The City of Florence*, contained an appeal of Victor Hugo to the German soldiers, couched in the well-known flowery rhetoric of the great poet. The balloon had, therefore, received a well-fitting name.

Reading of the escape of Gambetta from Paris by means of a balloon, it is with a degree of amusement we find this: "Even in the opinion of well-instructed, intelligent people who were devoted to the country, the upper atmosphere seemed in those days still to be forbidden to mankind as by a jealous deity. The use of balloons was considered impossible without braving unheard-of dangers to which no reasonable individual could be obliged to expose himself, even for the sake of saving the Fatherland. As a proof that this is no exaggerated statement, the following may serve as evidence: When the Chairman of the Committee of Inquiry on the events of September 4 (1870) asked General Trochu why Gambetta had been chosen to represent Government in the provinces, the former President of the Government of National Defense answered frankly, 'Because M. Gambetta was the only one among us who could look without anxiety upon the prospect of a voyage in a balloon!'"

His eagerness of leaving Paris by an ascent Gambetta showed to Fonvielle at a casual meeting. The air-ship destined for his voyage was the *Armand Barbès*, so called after the famed Republican leader who had played a part in the history of the conspiracies under Louis Philippe and in the Revolution of 1848. For two days, however, the meteorologist of the postal administration declared that there was not sufficient wind for aëronautic purposes. "Somewhat enervated by this repeated delay," writes M. Fonvielle, "Gambetta resolved upon burning his ships. In order to make sure of his voyage, he published in the *Moniteur Universel* the decree which charged him with a mission to be accomplished by means of a balloon." And if the fear of such an enterprise was great, the ignorance of the physical conditions under which it had to take place was not less great. The directors of the Northern Aëronautic Station had advised Gambetta to take precautions against the cold with such care as if he had the ambition of recommencing Glaisher's ascent and of measuring the temperature in the highest attainable regions. The Dictator, and his friend Spuller, the trusty companion of his whole glorious campaign, presented themselves, therefore, in full wintery array. They were enveloped in enormous wadded fur mantles, which perhaps were a presage of the Russian alliance!

Bags with letters were put in the car. They were piled up so awkwardly that neither Gambetta nor Spuller could make

any move. Both thought it must be so; and fearing any reclamation might be interpreted as an indication of want of courage, they resigned themselves to a voyage in a horribly inconvenient position. Twice Gambetta was nearly falling into the hands of the Germans. Once the balloon was on the point of landing, when peasants gave timely warning. Otherwise, the Dictator might presently have had to bear company with the Imperial prisoner of Wilhelmshöhe. M. Spuller, on that occasion, sacrificed his fur coat. The balloon escaped, while shots were fired after it. Soon afterwards the captain of the air-ship imagined he saw French free-shooters who might help in the landing. He had not observed the German helmets. Gambetta and Spuller hastened to direct his attention to them. A bullet slightly grazed Gambetta's hand.

Then the captain, who seemed to have quite lost his head, was again about to open the valve. The indignant passengers prevented it, forbidding him to land without their leave. At last they gave permission when near a wood. The balloon then came down so rapidly that it caught and stuck fast in the branches of an enormous oak, from which the cloud-sailors were rescued by people hieing thither in great haste. Fifteen minutes later they would have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

The violence of the party feeling which divides France may be seen from a strange fact. The mighty tree on which Gambetta had descended became the object of many visits; but the owner of the soil on which it stood, a conservative member of the Constituent Assembly of 1849, angered by these pilgrimages, had the tree ruthlessly cut down. A column, however, erected from public subscriptions, now adorns the historic spot.

As to the measures taken for the complete investment of Paris, which did not leave any loophole, M. Fonvielle writes: "We could not make any movement whatsoever on land or in the air without the hostile army being forthwith informed of it." The telegraphic net drawn round the city by the besiegers excites his admiration as a man of science. The treatment by court-martial of those taken prisoners in the attempt of destroying this means of communication he acknowledges to be a terrible but necessary measure, from the point of view of warfare. "The Prussian General Staff," he asserts, "has in nowise indicated the part which its scientifically so excellent arrangements may have

played in the capture of balloons that fell into its hands. On this important point it has maintained absolute silence. However, we know full well that it is only by means of air-ships that some disturbance could be effected in a service which rendered it possible to keep several million people captives with surprising ease. Of this service the brainless advocates of a so-called stormflood-like sortie had no idea."

On October 12, the balloon *Louis Blanc* rose from Paris to land in Belgium. Here M. Fonvielle says:

"It was so named because the celebrated author of the *Organization of Labor* had stood godfather to it, and quite naïvely was present at its ascent, without having any notion of what would come of it. When in London it became known that the *Louis Blanc* had safely arrived in Belgium, people believed that it was Louis Blanc in person, who would now occupy his assigned post in England. Nobody suspected that it was a Louis Blanc in cotton. The friends of France who persistently expected the illustrious orator, although it appeared to them that he was rather a long time in coming, took fire and planned a demonstration for his reception. Soon the truth leaked out, and immense laughter arose in the ranks of the Parisians and their friends."

I must say that, connected as I was by intimate friendship with Louis Blanc—who repeatedly came to see us again after the war—I was not aware of any demonstration having been planned for his reception. On other occasions—if not in ballooning—he has certainly proved his courage. It should be remembered also, by way of exculpation, that the fear of aëronautic danger, as M. Fonvielle himself states, was then prevalent, Gambetta being the only man in Government who dared face what was looked upon as a dreadful venture. Nevertheless, the author of the work on *The Siege of Paris* broke off from that day all intercourse with his illustrious friend.

In 1872, during the meetings of the British Association at Brighton, we were all three there. Louis Blanc temporarily resided at Brighton with his German wife, who in Paris, during the war, had had to be passed as an Englishwoman. In the list of those wanted as visitors of the British Association Louis Napoleon's name had imprudently been entered as that of "His Majesty the Emperor of the French." He lived in the Grand Hotel and appeared at one of the sittings amidst the loud applause of those assembled. As a Republican, M. Fonvielle, angered by the apparent disregard of the new form of government of his country, occasioned a counter-demonstration before the Grand Hotel

But even then, though giving vent to the indignant feelings of Frenchmen, he could not enter any more into personal relations with Louis Blanc.* So I, being on friendly terms with both, had to inform the ex-member of the Government of 1848 as to the intended action of M. Fonvielle.

After Gambetta's ascent, another was to take place with the gigantic balloon known from the Exhibition of 1867. It was then named the *Géant*. In 1870 it was baptized *La Liberté*, in honor of Emil de Girardin, the editor of the journal of that name. "The intention was to show to the Germans this air-ship on whose board, when it was a captive balloon, their generals, their diplomatists, their princes, among them the Crown Prince of Prussia, had leisurely overlooked the great careless city which did not then suspect any trap, and which did not think even in its dreams of being one day held in the claws of a black eagle." So M. Fonvielle, though knowing so perfectly well who plotted and began the war, again speaks of a "trap" which had been laid for innocent France!

The balloon *Liberté*, however, took the liberty of escaping with an abrupt movement from the hands of the volunteers who held the ropes. The men suddenly became terrified when a gust of wind drove it sideways. Those standing on that side, when seeing the enormous ball coming towards them from the height of a four-storied house, let the ropes go, and then everybody fled. Curling upwards like a snake, the balloon broke away and fell between the French and German lines near Bobigny. "The Germans," M. Fonvielle alleges, "imagined an infernal machine had been sent towards them. Finally, its stuff was perhaps used for tents of the Landwehr."

Another balloon, the *Bretagne*, also experienced a mishap. Thinking themselves far enough from Paris not to fall into German hands, its passengers landed, and two of them indeed saved themselves. Two others, one of whom broke his hip, were captured; the latter, however, only after having been received, as a wounded man, in the house of the priest at Hermemont. There he was just able to hand over to his host a sum of 7,000,000

* In his continued wrath, M. Fonvielle wrote to me quite recently "I can truly say that you were always ready to take part in any important and sensible aëronautic attempt which was under proper direction, and you would not have acted the Louis Blanc had Berlin been invested by French armies, and had the question been to go to England, in order to endeavor getting aid for your Fatherland."

francs in bank-notes and in cheques signed by the Finance Minister, M. Picard, which were destined for the purchase of arms and ammunition. The priest carried this treasure over the frontier to M. Tachard, the French Ambassador at Brussels. The arms and ammunition were bought, and served for the new levies of troops raised by Gambetta.

In later years I met M. Tachard—who had partly been educated in Germany, and who speaks German as well as his mother-tongue—in the London International Association for Arbitration and Peace. He is the son-in-law of the late M. Jean Dollfus, the former member of the German Reichstag. In the name of Mr. Dollfus, M. Tachard exerted himself at the meeting of the Association in Brussels (1882), for the re-annexation of Alsace-Lorraine to France. As a member of the Executive Committee of that Association, I had for years to oppose similar tendencies within its Council, until at last I withdrew altogether. The resignation was followed by that of the Treasurer, Mr. George Buchanan, one of the most meritorious members, who also withdrew because re-annexation and neutralization projects concerning Alsace-Lorraine were being continually moved, instead of that Peace Association keeping to the maintenance of the Peace of Frankfort.

Within recent years the priest Thirion, of Hermemont, has been made a Knight of the Legion of Honor, on the occasion of the national festival of July 14, for extraordinary services rendered during the war. Yet, when the Constituent Assembly of 1871 met at Versailles, the head of the Postal and Telegraphic Administration, who afterwards became Keeper of the Seals, had made the astounding assertion that "the balloon service had not led to any events worthy of occupying the attention of the Assembly." On his part, Thiers had, as head of the government, declared that "all citizens who had gone out of Paris in air-ships had equally well merited of the state."

With the balloon *Egalité*, Wilfrid de Fonvielle at last went out of Paris, on November 24, with four companions. Only a few open letters were taken in, and of provisions very little—ox sausage, roasted horse-flesh, black bread, some bottles of claret and coffee. An essential part of the baggage was four cages with carrier-pigeons. About thirty bags of ballast were hooked on the outside of the air-ship. This well-conceived arrangement,

thought out by M. Fonvielle, has since then been often repeated with great success. Soon the cloud-voyagers heard the "German music"—that is, the shots sent after them. M. Fonvielle explained to his companions that at the great altitude to which they had risen all projectiles lose their power, nay, that they could be intercepted and caught up, whilst in falling down they might hurt the enemy himself.

Passing by the fortress of La Fère, the travellers heard a powerful cannonade directed against it by the Germans. At last Brussels was espied, and a landing was attempted in the neighborhood. The anchor had already grazed the earth, but a strong gust of wind drove the balloon up again over two forests. When the landing was effected the balloon split, cut in two as by a blow. With a slight spraining of the foot and an abrasion on the hand, Fonvielle and his companion Bunelle came out of the car. Scarcely three hours had been spent in travelling from Paris to Louvain.

I pass over the efforts made by Wilfrid de Fonvielle in Belgium and England to enlist active public sympathy on the side of France. They were in vain in presence of the irresistible march of events. "I became convinced," he writes, "that we had by no means effaced yet the bad impression of the declaration of war. By disembarrassing ourselves of the empire, we had not ceased inheriting the part of the original aggressor (*provocateur*), which the Vanquished of Sedan had so thoughtlessly undertaken. . . . How dearly we had to pay for the first bullet of the Prince Imperial! How much innocent blood had to be spilt in order to obliterate the ridiculous so-called victory of Saarbrücken!" This is certainly a sensible view.

M. Fonvielle states that the majority of the English press recognized the fairness of the German demands towards the end of the war. "Germany," those papers said, "which had been attacked, did not wish to prolong hostilities. She was compelled to continue them through the obstinacy of Gambetta and his set, and she was in presence, moreover, of a French government which might be overthrown any moment, and therefore offered no guarantee. She asked, besides, for nothing more than for the keys to her house when claiming Alsace. It was necessary to take precautions against a people of firebrands (*un peuple de boute-feu*), always ready to overthrow the map of the world."

In England, the adversaries of Germany at that time consisted of a medley group of disciples of the eccentric French philosopher Auguste Comte; of some Tories connected with Bonapartist financial rings at Paris; of followers of Dr. Keneally, who for years had upheld the cause of the impostor Orton ("Sir Roger Tichborne"); and of some disciples of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, who, as he himself afterward avowed, had been asked by Prince Napoleon to step forward as an agitator for the French cause. This close connection between the Bonaparte Prince and the democratic leader of the English Free-thinkers was in those days not known yet. For many years I had often defended Charles Bradlaugh by German writings; and I confess that I was rather taken aback when it came out that for a long time past he had been on intimate terms with the Napoleonic aspirant to the French throne.

In some passages the author of *The Siege of Paris* asks: "What would have happened if Jules Favre, wiping off his tears of Ferrières, had said to England—a country which knows how to calculate—by way of a final declaration: 'If our ally of the Crimean War allows Prussia to take Paris, we shall deliver over Constantinople to Russia!" M. Fonvielle here evidently forgets that such a declaration would have produced the strongest anti-French feeling in England. A Republic which showed itself ready to hand over the key of Eastern and Southern Europe to Czardom would not be a true Republic any more. Besides, France was not in a position to effect such a transfer; and she is neither in a position to do so now, in spite of Toulon and Kronstadt and the expected visit of the Czar.

But let that pass. When our French friend came to my house in autumn, 1870, after his courageous balloon ascent from beleaguered Paris, he thought "there was still a prospect of rolling back the German invasion." In the presence of Dr. Congreve, I answered that "there was no German invasion, France having declared the war; and that all that had happened since was only the natural consequence of the continuation of hostilities on the part of France. This persistence of hers had the inevitable result of making the conditions the victor must impose more and more severe. The best thing for M. Fonvielle to do would, therefore, be to return to France without delay, and to advocate the immediate conclusion of peace, instead of making

the useless attempt to excite public opinion in England." Dr. Congreve silently listened to all this. Its correctness was fully borne out by subsequent events. Personal friendly relations have, I am glad to say, not suffered from these unavoidable differences of opinion between Fonvielle and myself.

For the World Exhibition of 1900, the French government has decreed that frequent balloon ascents are to take place in the Bois de Boulogne. Until then, the author of the book hopes that new inventions will be made, exciting the admiration of the visitors. To me he writes: "I see with pleasure that Germany will take part in the Exhibition of 1900. We shall then have a contest for the record of travels in the air; and that will be highly interesting."

In this wish for scientific rivalry all those will join who have progress at heart. Whilst enough has been said here to show the importance which the development of ballooning may some day have for strategy, it is ardently to be hoped that the discovery of proper means for aërial locomotion will vastly enrich the knowledge of the human race, open up to it spheres as yet hidden from its sight, and thus increase the domain of its peaceful conquests.

KARL BLIND.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR.—III.

BY SIR WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL, LL. D., SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE TIMES (LONDON).

I left Montgomery on the 10th of April for Mobile, on board a huge, wooden, house-like steamer three stories high. For the first time I understood how one of these steamers can burn up. Fire is forever being on the point of becoming master instead of servant. At first the scenes along the banks of the Alabama were novel—cotton slides, wooding stations, cane brakes, landings with railroads running up from the river to the top of the bank, where negroes worked windlasses for loading or hoisting up goods. Selma, the only place of any importance, was passed in the night and, as far as I remember, there was no appearance of any other town in the 417 miles we traversed to Mobile, which we reached on the morning of the 11th of May.

I was very glad to leave the "Southern Republic." The company was not at all attractive, and yet I could not get away from it unless I went to bed; and even there I heard many strange oaths and modern instances of Yankee villainy through the sweltering night air. There was a diabolical steam-organ on deck called a "Calliope," which the captain made it a point of honor to put into full blast whenever the vessel was approaching even a wooding station! It was played by keys acting on valves which let steam from the boiler into metal cups, where it produced high resonant notes, and fairly blew "Dixey" into the marrow of my bones. I looked out on the quay of Mobile, fringed by tall warehouses with shops at the basement; with names French, German, Irish, Swiss, Italian, Scotch, Spanish, English, and Jewish; and I thought what manner of city is this? For there was no sign of life in the street with all these great buildings, from most of which the Confederate flag was flying.

"Yes, sir, you oughter see miles of your ships and others along here. But that Lincoln has sent down his cussed war ships on us and we're blockaded for the time! The Yankees are at Pensacola and they are at the mouths of the Mississippi. I guess Jeff Davis will have something to say to them if John Bull does not fix them presently."

On my way to Battle House I saw all the able-bodied population of Mobile drum beating, drilling, marching, the women and children and the gathering of negroes looking on; the Confederate flag flying from all the steeples; streets abounding in oyster restaurants, lager beer and wine bars, gambling and dancing saloons. I enjoyed exceedingly a drive along the Shell Road by the head of the Bay, lined by magnificent magnolias, orange trees, and live oaks, with many pretty villas on the way. Then the market in the evening! A throng of mulattoes, quadroons, Mestizos, in striking and pretty costumes, gabbling in Spanish, Italian, and French, a *lingua franca*. The most foreign looking city in the States, a very turbulent, noisy, parti-colored "Marseilles!"

The day after my arrival I was invited by Mr. Forsyth to accompany the Mayor and the principal men of Mobile in an excursion down the Bay to visit Fort Gaines and Fort Morgan at the entrance. I find in my diary, May 12: "If any judgment of men's deeds can be formed from their words the Mobilians, who represent the third greatest port of the United States, will perish to a man ere they submit to the Yankees and above all to New York." *Ay di mi!* They had no presage of the man Farragut and his doings and influence; no more had Colonel Hardee, who awaited our arrival at Fort Gaines, the author of *Tactics* (one of my friends whispered that he wrote "*Tactitus*"). A refined, delicate, student-like man who was proud of very poor defences there—there was a small garrison and little discipline. One of the gunners asked me "when them d——d Yankees would be coming. He wanted to send them a few pills he thought would be good for their constitution," and a young officer assured me it was "infernal and that he would rather have a week with the Lincolnites than a night with the mosquitoes."

I was determined to see Pensacola and Fort Pickens, the former blockaded by the United States squadron, the latter in possession of the Confederates, under General Braxton Bragg.

I heard of a schooner, the "Diana," a broad-beamed, flat-floored schooner of fifty tons, which the skipper was willing to hire for a certain sum of dollars down. The crew consisted of three loafers and a negro cook. Mr. Forsyth asked me if I could accommodate three gentlemen of Mobile who wanted to go to Pensacola with a passage as my friends.

"But they are not my friends," said I; "I cannot assent to any coming with me who are not neutrals."

"If you are asked if Mr. Ravesies is your friend, will you say he is not?"

"Certainly!"

"But surely you don't wish to have Mr. Ravesies hanged?"

"No, I do not! I shall do nothing to cause him to be hanged, but if he meets that fate, I can't help it."

The gentleman in question and his friends, Mr. Batre and Mr. Lynes, were finally accepted by myself and Mr. Ward on the assurance that they were neutrals. At five o'clock on the evening of the 14th of May, the "Diana," freighted with a small stock of stores, a British flag lent by the Consul, a table-cloth to serve as a flag of truce, left the quay of Mobile and with a favorable and steady breeze ran down the bay, so that at nine o'clock the lights of Fort Morgan were on our port beam, and we lay low on deck expecting the flash of the gun which the skipper declared was certain to be fired if we attempted to run past in the dark without lying to and reporting. The sentries were remiss, or the night favored us, for we were soon flying at a good eight knots through the Swash, a narrow channel over the bar. The water was perfectly smooth, the wind was strong off shore, and the phosphorescent surf looked like a white ribbon fringed with fire. As the "Diana" sped westwards great fish were visible cleaving their paths in flame from the shallows; one, a great shining gleam, came up fast in our wake. Its horrible outline revealed a monster shark. It accompanied us, distinctly outlined in the wonderful phosphorescence, now shooting ahead, now dropping astern, till it suddenly dashed off seaward.

One by one our cigar lights died out, and, muffling ourselves up, we slumbered on deck. I was awakened by the Captain talking with his crew. They were looking at a fire on the shore. "I guess it is some of them Yankees landed from their tarnation

boats and 'conoitering for a road to Mobile—let us put a bag of bullets in the old gun and touch it off at them!" It was most likely the watch fire of a Confederate patrol. I strongly objected to any belligerent act. Just at the first glimpse of dawn Fort McRae, Fort Pickens, and the ships of the blockading squadrons were in sight ahead. Presently we could make out the rival flags—the Stars and Stripes and the Stars and Bars—flouting defiance at each other. As the "Diana" crept along toward Fort McRae a schooner with a swaggering ensign at her peak came swooping down upon us from the guard-ship, and, rounding to, lowered a boat, which hailed us.

"What schooner is that?"

"The 'Diana,' of Mobile!"

"I thought so."

The officer came alongside and stepping on deck said, "I am Mr. Brown, Master U. S. Navy, in charge of the boarding schooner 'Oriental.' I suppose you know there is a strict blockade? May I ask who you are and what is your business? You, sir,' (to the skipper) 'make sail and lie to under the quarter of the 'Powhatan.'"

In half an hour more we were quasi prisoners in the Captain's cabin of the frigate, undergoing courteous but close examination from Lieut. David Porter, who was awaiting instructions from the flagship, the "Sabine," a 50-gun sailing frigate, the first I had seen since I bade Victor Gleichen good-bye on board the "Leander" in Balaclava, six years before. These were signalled presently, to the effect that we were to be sent on board. Captain Adams, the senior officer, a gray-haired veteran, in the gentlest possible manner made strict inquiry into our *raison d'etre*. He smiled quietly as he remarked: "You were actually running the blockade! May I ask for what object?" We each and severally explained. Captain Adams finally decided that the "Diana" was to be permitted to pass into Pensacola Harbor, and thence to return to Mobile, whilst Mr. Ward and I were to visit Fort Pickens, if Col. Harvey Brown, the Commandant, allowed us. But it was impossible to permit the gentlemen from Mobile to visit the United States fort.

When we got back to the "Diana" I told the skipper to "up stick and away for Pensacola!" He exclaimed, "Well, that beats all! I never heard of such a thing. Wonder what old Brown

and Pickens will say to it?" I had table cloth No. 1 hoisted to the peak as a flag of truce, and stood boldly on, soon gaining a view of the Confederate camp, the shore batteries and the troops moving on the wooded plains between McRae and Barrancas. "Yes," I thought, "here is a 'state of war' indeed. What will Mr. Seward say? He has been ding-donging into my ears that the Southern States are not really anti-Northern. Only a set of noisy, factious slave-owners in each State were for secession; the majority were sound for the glorious Union!" When I left he was urging Lord Lyons to promise that the British government would *never* acknowledge the Confederacy! Here it was not to be ignored. The United States Navy Yard at Pensacola, its factories, slips, storehouses, covering 300 acres; the forts at the entrance, the works which cost the United States not less than £6,000,000, were placidly flying the Stars and Bars, and rebel zouaves, chasseurs, guards, etc., were in full possession. *Beati possidentes!*

General Bragg received me very corteously. I spent the afternoon with him at headquarters, dined with him and his staff and found amusement, interest, and information in his conversation—a stern, grave man with a grim humor which gave piquancy to his talk. He looked every inch a soldier, and he talked like a man with his head well set on his shoulders and yet he made no great mark in 1861–3.

"These black Republicans of the North would," he said, "become slave-owners if they settled in Louisiana to-morrow! They would discover that they could not till the soil without the labor of the black race, and the only way to make them work is to hold them in servitude. Why, Harvey Brown, sir, at Fort Pickens over the way carried off a swarm of negroes from Tortugas the other day to work at his fortifications. Why? Because his white soldiers were not able for it! No! the North is bent on subjugating the South, and we would resist such an infamous attempt to the death."

He opened his maps and plans, explaining the position of his works and the line of fire of every gun in them. "I know every inch of Fort Pickens. I was stationed there after I left West Point and I know every stone in it as well as Harvey Brown does."

Next morning early I was on General Bragg's "war horse"

and rode all round the works in charge of an aide-de-camp. If any man says that he enjoys a ride in and out of batteries or emplacements for guns, each like one pea to another, of a hot morning in Florida, on a campaigning charger seventeen hands high, he must be an enthusiast. After a farewell visit to General Bragg I went aboard the "Diana." The skipper was utterly confused by this time and did not know whether he belonged to the Confederate States, to Abraham Lincoln, or to the Britishers.

"You don't mean to say," he exclaimed when I told him to steer for Fort Pickens, "you are going to bring the 'Diana' along side to that darned Yankee port?"

Our table cloth was again hoisted to the peak and the "Diana," with a fine breeze, ran across to the island where Fort Pickens showed its grim front under the Stars and Stripes. Major Vogdes, whom I had seen on board the flag ship; Captain Barry of the United States Artillery, and Mr. Brown of the "Oriental," received us at the jetty. I was an object of interest to them. I had come from the enemy and could tell all about them and their works if I pleased. Major Vogdes, in particular, displayed a subtlety and ingenuity in this pumping process which would have secured him a high reputation as an examiner in a court of law, but he gained nothing from it.

Exhausted by a second promenade through casements, magazines, bakehouses, ramparts, I was glad to bid good-bye to Fort Pickens. The "Diana," with her tablecloth flying, ran across towards the Confederate Navy Yard; and, having left the Mobile gentlemen on shore there, we stood out seawards between Pickens and McRae in the hope of reporting to the "Oriental," which must be waiting for us westward. I turned in, directing the skipper to call me when he saw her.

I was awakened from a sound sleep by the negro cook.

"There is a man-of-war after us."

I popped my head above the hatchway—the skipper was at the helm.

"What's the matter?"

"Well," said he, "there's been something running after us for the last two hours. I don't think he will catch us up no how if the wind holds."

"But, good heavens, man! it may be the 'Oriental.' Luff a bit and see who it is! It may be Mr. Brown."

"Mr. Brown or no, I can't help carrying on, for if I don't hold my course I'll be on a bank in a minute!"

The stranger's sail shivered.

"There, she's stuck again!" The skipper grinned with delight. "I'll lead him into a pretty mess."

Ere the "Oriental" was afloat we had shot through "the Elbow," and we glided past Fort Morgan in the early morning without a challenge. But we spent the next fourteen hours in beating up to Mobile, where I landed pretty well done up at five o'clock in the evening. I passed two days more there in society charged with Confederate electricity. I was introduced to the young ladies of the "Yankees' Emancipation Society," who spent their days sewing flannel cartridges for cannon, carding lint, preparing bandages, and expressing the most ferocious sentiments, which came with ill grace from their pretty mouths. "Wait till you hear what they say at New Orleans!" Among the most interesting of the exponents of these principles was Dr. Nott, who, with Mr. Gliddon, wrote *Types of Mankind,* a work in high repute, to which I have already alluded. The cubic capacity of the human cranium was the measure of possible civilization—a head that will contain the largest quantity of snipe shot must dominate any head of inferior capacity. Dr. Nott detested slavery. "But what is to be done with the slaves? How are four millions of negroes to be prevented from becoming twice as many, especially if their growth is stimulated by high prices for the produce of their labor?" Judge Campbell, late of the Supreme Court of the United States, was equally convinced that all sound legal arguments were on the side of secession and that the decision in the "Dred Scott" case was irrefragable.

On May 20th I left Mobile for New Orleans in the steamer "Florida," wherein I had a pretty cabin, popular with the mosquitoes.

There was a table of regulations on the wall.

"No. 6. All slave servants must be cleared at the Custom House.

"No. 7. Passengers having slaves will please report them as soon as they come on board."

I was kept awake for some time by preliminaries for duels in the saloon outside my cabin; and then I had a struggle for life with the mosquitoes, which ended in sleep from deep exhaustion.

The passengers were routed out in the early morning to take their places in the train for New Orleans, six miles distant.

The Confederate flag flying from every public building and most private houses, Turcos, zouaves, chasseurs, Lafayette, Beauregard, MacMahon guards, Pickwick, Irish, German, Italian, Spanish volunteer corps—New Orleans looked like a suburb of the camp at Chalons. It was curious to hear the conversation in the St. Charles Hotel. "Lincoln's villainous emissaries had violated the sanctity of private correspondence," in other words, the United States Marshals had seized the telegraphic dispatches of the last twelve months in all the offices of the Union. Then "the piratical fleet of Lincoln" had been seizing Confederate trading ships. The leading gentlemen of the city were by no means negligent of the reputation they had established all over the Union, where New Orleans was known to be rich in the Sallusts and Luculluses of the States, and I had full opportunity of judging of the excellence of the Creole *cuisine*. At Major Ramsey's one of the slave servants who waited at table was a son of General Andrew Jackson, who defeated the British, and he was, therefore, quite a fancy article. In that connection, Mr. Morse told me that there were no cotton bag fortifications, that only seventy-five bales had been used in the construction of a battery, and that these and some sugar hogsheads constituted the sole parapet of the trenches.

I paid visits to the estates of Governor Roman, Governor Manning, Mr. Burnside, Mr. McCall, Dr. Cotman, etc., and had an insight into the sources of the enormous wealth which in prosperous times is raked out of the mud of the Mississippi. Astounding crops of corn, sugar, and cotton! One host of mine who had come from the North of Ireland as a cabin boy to New Orleans, and was not yet fifty years of age, told me that he had in 1857 purchased an estate, 6,000 acres in one field, for £300,000 and another piece of land of 8,000 acres for £150,000; 6,000 acres grew sugar-cane, 16,000 were under Indian corn to feed his slaves, and he had still 18,000 acres to be reclaimed and turned into gold. It was difficult but necessary to escape from those hospitable planters who pressed upon me the righteous duty of advocating peace in the form of a recognition of the Confederate States and the raising of the Yankee blockade.

I began the ascent of the Mississippi from Donaldson to Baton Rouge, and on from Natchez to Vicksburg, where I took up my quarters at the Washington Hotel.

The day I arrived I was requested to attend a meeting of the principal citizens in a large room around a table graced with bottles of wine, jars of whiskey, blocks of ice, boxes of cigars, etc. It was a *Tabaks concilium* for the discussion of the news of the day, much of which was new to me. The villainy of Lincoln in suspending the writ of Habeas Corpus in the case of Merryman was particularly rubbed into me. The venerable Taney, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, had issued a writ of Habeas Corpus and yet a military myrmidon of Lincoln's had refused to obey it. Where is our Constitution? The lawyers in the room declared the judge's argument against the suspension was unanswerable, and I found it rather inconvenient to give a decision on the point when it was referred to me. "*Inter arma silent leges.*"

In the afternoon next day I proceeded by train for Jackson, highly honored by a punch on the platform given by the citizens, and in two hours I was received at the Capital of Mississippi by a namesake of mine, who had been involved in the Irish national movement of 1848, and who had left his country for his own good; for he had got to possess influence and dollars which he would never have attained in Dublin. The streets looked like schemes of builders, who intended to have them completed at some future period. Wooden houses, brightly painted, with white porticoes and pillars, churches, and chapels with bloated cupolas and spikey spires; the State House, a pile of stone with open colonnades and an air of importance, which was dissipated by close inspection. Within was the Governor, a grim, tall, angular man, who in his youth had been a Natty Bumpo or a Davy Crockett, hunting and trapping in the Far West. A stern Puritan slave-owner, content with his emoluments of £800 a year, and perfectly satisfied that he was at the top of the tree in civilized life, though there were more assassinations and murders in Jackson than there were in mediæval Venice or Florence in any year gone by. He actually said with the air of simplest conviction, "The Sovereign State of Mississippi can do a great deal better without England than England can do without Mississippi."

As I went on from Jackson towards Corinth I might have fancied I was involved in some strange crusade to destroy some infidel power. At a station where stone pillars mark the boundary of Tennessee and Mississippi I saw a two-storied house crammed with negro men and women; a fellow in flannel shirt and slippers, with long, straight hair, and a heavy whip in his hand, was standing at the door as if in charge of the house, and one of the passengers had some little talk before the train moved on. "There is as prime a lot of Virginia niggers as I have seen for a long time, and Sam wants to realize, for the news looks bad; so I advise you to have a deal if you want them."

At Memphis, on the Mississippi, there were more comforts and luxuries than there were at Memphis on the Nile. The march of empires had gone thousands of miles westward and left this remarkable exhibit, of which Gayoso House was not an unpleasant incident in its way. General Gideon J. Pillow very courteously sent an aide-de-camp to invite me to accompany him to inspect Fort Randolph and the batteries commanding the river. He had been a solicitor, in business with President Polk, but had changed his pen for the sword in the Mexican war, where he served with distinction, was severely wounded, returned to business, and engaged in it till secession summoned him to the field. A compact, clean-shaven man, with short gray whiskers and a pompous manner of speech. Shot and shell were ready beside the guns commanding the stream to prevent "Federal ruffians" from passing down from Cairo, where General Prentiss commanded. But I was not impressed by the discipline of the troops—splendid-looking fellows, tall, strong and bold. They kept up a running commentary on the speech which General Pillow thought it necessary to address to them. When one of the officers called out "Boys! Three cheers for General Pillow," the rank and file responded with war-whoops, a stentorian voice shouted out, "Who cares for General Pillow?" No one answered.

After visiting Randolph Point and Fort Pillow, I wrote what I did not say or print at the time: "Though they were strong positions, gunboats could run past them without serious loss." I returned from camp to Memphis and found letters. The Federal fleets had closed the ports. My artist friend had bolted at New Orleans, and I was left in the midst of secession when I ought to be at Washington, whence communications were open with the

world. Mr. Jefferson Davis was prepared to receive me and to enable me to see all that was most interesting at Richmond. But of what use would it be if my communications were cut? So I sat down in the steamer to write my last dispatch from "Dixey." My position, if not unique, was certainly difficult. I was received by the Southern statesmen, soldiers, and leaders as a confidential friend, whilst I was utterly unable to do them any service or to turn to account the information they afforded me. I was conducted over forts and camps and was made acquainted with general objects and designs, but I could not write what would be in the hands of the authorities of the Northern States in the columns of a London newspaper in a very few days. As to the preparations of the Federal States I could reveal nothing; but though I was accompanied by a well-known American gentleman of Southern proclivities, I was regarded with suspicion by the rank and file of the slaveowners. I had made many most charming acquaintances, some of whom were to make their names known in the coming struggle in which many were to lose fortune and life. I did not meet Stonewall Jackson, Ben McCulloch, Ewell or Twiggs; but I had seen, without knowing who it was till afterwards, the greatest of all the soldiers of the Confederacy, Lee himself. I found Southern gentlemen hospitable and kindly—men like King, Trescot, Elliot, Hayward, Pringle—well educated and accomplished, a marked contrast to the mass of the people amongst whom they lived. A universal faith upheld them against the strength and wealth of the North. The first sermon I heard at Savannah was directed to prove not only that slavery was a divine institution, but that it was the necessary foundation of civilization and good government! "England must interfere; Cotton is King." But some there were who doubted. Commodore Tatnall, a white-headed, blue-eyed, ruddy-cheeked old man, who had served under the Stars and Stripes for more than forty years—his wife a Northern woman, his friends in the North—felt, as he said, "like a man blown into the air by an explosion. But his course was clear for all that. His State had gone out and he could not fight against the country that gave him birth." When General Lawton, at Fort Pulaski, remarked that they could whip the Yankees by land, whilst the Commodore could take care of them at sea, Tatnall said: "Where are the ships? I have no fleet! Long before the South has a fleet to cope with the North, my bones

will be whitening in the grave!" So I told General Pillow that I was going to Cairo within the Federal lines and would thence proceed to Washington. I did not think it necessary to assure him that my lips would be sealed as to the military movements I had witnessed. I am bound to say General Pillow did not ask me to make any promise.

I bade the General, his staff, and the officers with whom I dined at the Gayoso at Memphis a friendly good-bye. They could not quite understand why I should be going up to "the Black Republicans at Cairo." Colonel Faxon, of the Tennessee Tigers, who edited *The Columbus Crescent*, was very angry with the Federals.

"The mosquitoes of Cairo," he wrote, "had been sucking lager beer out of the dirty Dutchmen there so long that they were bloated as large as Spring opossums! Some Columbus mosquitoes went up the other day to suck, but as they have not returned, it is probable they died of D. T. In fact, the blood of a Hessian would poison the most degraded tumble bug in creation."

I suppose every man in the camps of Tennesseeans, Missourians, Kentuckians, and Mississippians who survived the ordeal of battle has long since joined the majority. On the afternoon of the 19th of June, I embarked at Columbus.

W. H. RUSSELL.

(*To be Continued.*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

EX-SENATOR HENDERSON AND THE ARBITRATION PROJECT OF THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

In THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for September and October, 1890, I published a paper on the Pan-American Conference, which had then just met, and in which I tried to give an idea of what took place in the same, from the point of view of one of the Latin-American delegates, which I thought of interest for the government and citizens of the United States, especially in case that at a future time a similar Conference should be convened. In the second part of that paper, speaking about the arbitration project reported by the Committee on General Welfare of that Conference, of which ex-Senator Henderson, the first of the United States' delegates, was the Chairman, I mentioned the fact that that project was reported in the last session of the Conference, and therefore too late for a fair discussion, and judging from what I had heard at the time, especially from Senor Quintana, an Argentine delegate and a member of the same Committee, and from the natural disposition of Mr. Henderson to be deliberate and careful in anything he does, I thought, and expressed it in rather harsh terms in the first edition of this paper, that he was responsible for the delay of the Committee of Welfare, in reporting to the Conference the arbitration project.

When my article was published Mr. Henderson informed me that I had done him an injustice, and that he was in no way responsible for that delay. I assured him that I did not have any intention to be unfair with him or with anybody else connected with the Conference, and that if he would do me the favor of writing a memorandum of the case, I would publish it at once as a correction of my statement. He did not do so at the time, and when I prepared a second edition of this paper, I begged of him again to make his statement of the case, and he kindly sent me a letter dated on the 14th instant, containing the history of his connection with the arbitration project presented by the committee of which he was chairman, with two annexes referred to by him, all of which I am glad in justice to Mr. Henderson to append to this paper.

WASHINGTON, February 24, 1898. M. ROMERO.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 14, 1898.

MY DEAR MR. ROMERO:

In compliance with my promise to that effect, I herewith forward you a brief explanation of the action of the Committee on "General Welfare" in the International Conference on the subject of arbitration.

In February, 1890, two plans for arbitrating controversies between the American Republics were pending, one known as the plan of the Argentine and Brazilian delegates and the other as that of the United States.

The Argentine-Brazilian plan is enclosed, marked A. The plan offered by myself is enclosed and marked B.

At a meeting of the committee, held on February 19, 1890, it was unanimously agreed that the general principle of arbitration for the settlement of disputes should be accepted.

Dr. Quintana, of the Argentine, then propounded the following proposition to be voted on by the committee, to wit: "Shall arbitration include all questions of controversy present and future?"

The discussion which followed its introduction drew forth the admission of its friends that its adoption was intended to operate as an approval of the principles enunciated in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th clauses of the Argentine-Brazilian scheme of arbitration.

A declaration of this character was, of course, offensive to the representatives from Chili; and would necessarily make all the states, under any general plan of arbitration, parties to the controversy between Chili on the one side and Peru and Bolivia on the other. Its adoption, in my judgment, meant even more than this. It would suggest an invitation to wage wars by pledging to the aggressor total immunity against any possible loss of territory as the result of such wars.

My first object was to exclude the construction so palpably offensive to Chili. I therefore moved to amend the proposition as follows, to-wit: "Shall arbitration include all *new* questions of dispute which may arise after these articles shall be accepted, whether growing out of disagreements, past or present?" The vote on this (my amendment) was as follows:

Ayes—Henderson.

Noes—Cruz, Velarde, Hurtado, Quintana, Valente, Bolet Peraza.

When the Committee reached the question of the formation of the tribunals of arbitration, I offered the plan embodied in the first four articles of the bill or ordinance presented by me and herein refered to as B.

Ayes—Henderson and Hurtado.

Noes—Cruz, Velarde, Valente, Quintana and Bolet Peraza.

Mr. Quintana then proposed the third and fourth articles of the Argentine-Brazilian plan, and his proposition was adopted by the same vote as the one last recorded.

It will be seen that my views were entirely over-ruled, and that such was the understanding of the Committee; and thereupon Mr. Velarde of Bolivia moved a special committee, consisting of Quintana, Hurtado, and Cruz, "to put into shape and form the articles voted upon." The Committee again met on February 27, 1890, to receive the report of the sub-committee. The Secretary's report of the proceedings of the Committee on this occasion reads as follows: "Mr. Quintana, Chairman (of sub-committee), stated that, as it was understood that a plan would be presented by the Honorable, the Secretary of State, on arbitration, to the various members of the Committee on General Welfare, the sub-committee had deemed it advisable to defer its report until said plan had been duly considered; but his committee (sub) would endeavor to present its report before Mr. Henderson's departure for the West." Immediately after this announcement Mr. Valente again called up the Argentine-Brazilian plan, and moved that articles 2, 6, 7 and 8 thereof be considered and adopted.

I at once moved to amend Article 6 by inserting between the words "convey" and "any" the words "to the offending nation." I also moved to amend Article 7 by striking out "the" between the words "to" and "hostilities" in the first line, and in the fourth line of Article 7 to insert between the words "territory" and "they" the words "to the offending nation." I also moved to amend the first line of Article 8 by striking out the word "whether" and inserting the word "when," and in the same line to strike out the words "or the consequence" and insert the words "and purpose." After long discussion the original resolutions together with my amendments as aforesaid were referred to the sub-committee to be considered and reported on as early as practicable.

I now declare to you that the great delay of my Committee on General Welfare to make report on the subject of arbitration was wholly and entirely caused by the failure of this sub-committee to formulate the plan or scheme of arbitration for the action of the Conference. Why this delay was adopted as the seeming policy of this sub-committee I have no reason to assign. It was appointed on February 19 and did not report until April 9. This neglect is not, in any sense, chargeable to me. I repeatedly called on Dr. Quintana and the other members of the Committee, both before going to St. Louis and after my return, and urged immediate action in order that ample time might be given to the Conference for consideration of so important a subject. My views had been overruled and the whole subject removed from my charge by the deliberate action of the Committee. Principles had been enunciated by the Committee as the basis of action by the sub-committee, to which I could never give my assent. At my solicitation much of this objectionable matter was rejected and thrown out by Mr. Blaine as wholly impracticable and impossible of acceptance by the people of the United States. So far from Mr. Blaine's commanding or even requesting me or my colleagues to support the Argentine-Brazilian plan, he, at all times, considered it in its original form as wholly indefeasible if not absurd.

Yours truly,

J. B. HENDERSON.

A.—PLAN OF ARBITRATION SUBMITTED BY THE MEMBERS FROM ARGENTINE AND BRAZIL.

Considering, That the international policy of the American Conference should be characterized by reciprocal principles and declarations of mutual security and respect among all the states of the continent;

That this feeling of security should be inspired from the very moment in which the representatives of the three Americas meet for the first time, so as to show that their acts and resolutions are in accordance with sentiments of mutual respect and cordiality;

The Conference, being also desirous of giving assent to the principles which to the honor of the strong states have been established by public law for the support of the weak, and which are confirmed by the ethics of nations and proclaimed by humanity, it is hereby declared:

First. That international arbitration is a principle of American public law, to which the nations in this Conference bind themselves, for decision, not only in their questions on territorial limits, but also in all those in which arbitration be compatible with sovereignty.

Second. The armed occupation of the disputed territory, without having first resorted to arbitration, shall be considered contrary to the present declarations and to the engagements entered into thereby, but resistance offered to such act of occupation shall not have the same character.

Third. The arbitration may take place in an unpersonal form whenever the states agree to the election of only one arbitrator; but if it takes place in a collective form, there shall be appointed an equal number of judges by each party, with power to elect an umpire in case of disagreement; said election to be made at the first meeting of the Tribunal.

Fourth. The election of arbitrators shall not be subject to any limitations nor exclusions; it may devolve either on the governments represented in this Conference, or on any other government deserving the confidence of the parties, and also on scientific corporations, or on high functionaries either of the interested states themselves or of other neutral states.

Fifth. The present are applicable not only to differences which in the future may arise in the relations of the states, but also to those which, in a direct form, are now in actual discussion between the governments; but

the rules to be made shall have no bearing upon arbitrations already constituted.

Sixth. In cases of war, a victory of arms shall not convey any rights to the territory of the conquered.

Seventh. The treaties of peace which put an end to the hostilities may fix the pecuniary indemnifications which the belligerents may owe to each other, but if they contain cessions or abandonment of territory they will not be concluded, as far as this particular point is concerned, without the previous evacuation of the territory of the conquered power by the troops of the other belligerent.

Eighth. Acts of conquest, whether the object or the consequence of the war, shall be considered to be in violation of the public law of America.

WASHINGTON, January 15, 1890.

B.—ARBITRATION PROJECT SUBMITTED BY MR. HENDERSON TO THE COMMISSION OF GENERAL WELFARE OF THE INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON FEBRUARY 19, 1890.

1. If any of the nations assenting to these articles shall have cause of complaint against another, it shall cause formal notice thereof to be given to the offending nation, specifying in detail the origin and character of such complaint and also the redress which it seeks.

2. The nation receiving notice of such complaint shall as soon as practicable, and within a period not exceeding three months thereafter, furnish a full and explicit answer to such complaint, and cause the same to be delivered to the State Department or other especially accredited agent of the complaining nation.

3. If within three months from the time of delivering such answer no agreement shall have been made for the final settlement of the questions in dispute, then each of said nations shall appoint five members of a Joint High Commission, who shall meet together as soon as possible after their appointment for the purpose of hearing and considering the questions of difference. They shall adopt for themselves rules of procedure and notify each nation thereof; and they shall hear and consider the case presented by each, and within six months from the time of their first meeting they shall report to the nations interested the result of their deliberations.

If, in determining any question coming before them, the members of the Joint High Commission fail to agree, they shall select an umpire who shall then and thereafter become a member of the Commission.

4. Whenever the Joint High Commission, appointed as hereinbefore provided, shall fail to agree, or when the nations appointing them shall fail to accept and abide by their decision, either or both of the contending nations may give notice of such failure to all the nations signing these articles and becoming parties thereto, and there shall then be formed a High Tribunal of Arbitration in manner following, to wit: Each nation receiving the said notice shall immediately transmit to the nations in controversy the names of four persons, to be selected by the Executive Department of the Government so selecting them, and from the list of such persons the nations in controversy, beginning with the complaining nation, shall alternately strike out one name until the number shall be reduced to nine, which nine persons shall constitute a Tribunal.

The Tribunal thus constituted shall, by writing signed by the members or by a majority of them, appoint a time and place of meeting and give

notice thereof to the parties in controversy; and at such time and place, or at other times and places to which an adjournment may be had, it shall determine the rules of its proceedings and thereupon hear the parties and decide between them; and the decision when made or signed by the majority of the members thereof and delivered to the nations in controversy, shall be final and conclusive.

If any nation receiving the notice and request to appoint members of such Tribunal shall fail to transmit the names of the four persons as herein provided within two months after receipt of notice to do so, then the states in controversy shall each appoint two persons in their places, who shall be subject to ultimate rejection in the same manner as those appointed by the neutral states; and if either of the parties to the controversy shall fail to signify its rejection of a name from the list, as herein required, within one month after request from the other to do so, such other may reject for it. If any of the persons selected to constitute this Tribunal shall die, or for any cause fail to serve, the vacancy shall immediately be filled by the nation making the original appointment.

5. Each nation signing these articles as a party binds itself to unite in forming a Joint High Commission and a High Tribunal of Arbitration in all proper cases and to submit to the decisions thereof, when constituted and conducted as herein required.

6. If any of the said nations shall begin and prosecute war against another wrongfully and in disregard of the provisions hereby adopted for the preservation of peace, such nation shall have no right to insist on the performance of neutral duties by the governments of any of the other states; and in such a case the offending nation shall have no lawful right to take or hold property real or personal, by way of conquest, from its adversary.

"LINCOLN'S SKILL AS A LAWYER."—A CORRECTION.

In an article under the title, "Lincoln's Skill as a Lawyer," in the February number of the North American Review, appears the following—the language being credited to a Judge Bergen, of Topeka, Kan.:

"The first time I saw Lincoln as a lawyer was in the old Morgan County Court House, at Jacksonville, when he was defending Colonel Dunlap, a wealthy, aristocratic Democrat, in an action for $10,000 damages, brought against him by the editor of what was then called the abolition paper. The action grew out of a deliberately-planned and severe cowhiding administered by the Colonel to the editor, on a bright Saturday afternoon, in the public square, in the presence of hundreds of the town and country people, whom the Colonel desired to witness that novel and exciting performance. Besides local counsel, the editor had employed Ben. Edwards, who was the most noted for eloquence of all the Democratic lawyers in the State. Colonel Dunlap retained Lincoln as one of his lawyers for the defence."

Then follows what purports to be a description of a scene in the trial above alluded to, in which Mr. Edwards, the alleged attorney for the plaintiff, is represented as having "wept and made the jury and spectators weep," while Mr. Lincoln, for the defendant, is pictured as rising in an ungainly fashion, taking off his coat, indulging in "a long, loud laugh accompanied by his most wonderfully grotesque facial expression;" then taking off his cravat and repeating his laugh, and finally removing "his vest, showing his one yarn suspender," after which he began his argument, of which, as the writer states, "the result was to at once destroy the effect

of Edwards's tears, pathos, towering indignation, and high-wrought eloquence."

Now, it is my fortune to have been the editor assaulted—though not in the place or manner, or at the time, described in the above paragraph. I therefore have some recollection of the events attempted to be described with so much detail. Beyond the fact that there was an assault, a prosecution for damages, and that Abraham Lincoln appeared for the defendant, there is scarcely a single element of truth in this whole circumstantially told story. There was no such "Wild West" gala-day performance as a "severe cowhiding, . . . on a bright Saturday afternoon, in the public square in the presence of hundreds of the town and country people," as invited guests or otherwise; no "Ben. Edwards" connected with the suit for damages; no tears sought to be wrung from the jurors or the spectators by him or anybody else, and, finally, no such grotesque exhibition of buffoonery as that attributed to Mr. Lincoln.

The facts of the assault are these: In May, 1853, as editor of the *Morgan Journal* at Jacksonville, Ill.—not an "abolition," or even a political paper at that time, although it was, later, one of the earliest to join in the organization of the Republican party—I accepted and published a communication criticising the management of the Hospital for the Insane, of which one James Dunlap was a trustee. Dunlap took exceptions to the article and called for the name of the author, which was granted. He then demanded the manuscript, which was refused. Two days after, having occasion to visit the office of the Wabash Railway, I was seated alone with the ticket agent in the office, when Dunlap, accompanied by two of his friends, entered and, without notice or warning of any kind, commenced an assault, striking me one or two blows with a stick he carried, when his weapon was taken from him. There were no spectators except those Dunlap had brought with him, and perhaps a few others who arrived later, attracted by the disturbance.

The following contemporaneous account of the affair is taken from the *Western Freeman* of June 21, 1853—a paper published at Galesburg, Ill., of which Rev. Jonathan Blanchard, then President of Knox College, was editor. After stating some of the grounds of complaint with the management of the Hospital for the Insane—in which Dr. Blanchard had had an insane wife as a patient—he says:

"A member of the former Board (Mr. Becraft) handed to the *Journal* a communication (which was printed) in which some of the above facts were respectfully stated. Colonel Dunlap demanded of young Selby, editor of the *Journal*, the name of the writer, which Selby gave him. He then demanded the manuscript, which Selby declined giving up as what he had no right to ask. Dunlap then proceeded to the ticket office at the railroad depot followed by his son-in-law, McClernand (and one A. C. Dickson), and struck Selby, who was sitting there, a violent blow upon the head with a heavy staff, causing the blood to flow freely. Selby arose and took the club from Dunlap's hand, and also a whip which his attendants furnished him (Dunlap) with, when bystanders interfered and prevented further violence."

So much for the assault and the circumstances attending it, so widely at variance with the story quoted at the beginning of this article. Dunlap was fined $25 in a Justice's Court for breach of the peace, and afterward a suit for damages was instituted against him. My principal attorney was David A. Smith, a high-minded and honorable man, who, like Edward Coles, Illinois' second Governor, had removed to Illinois from a Southern State, bringing his slaves with him and liberating them on free soil. Mr.

Lincoln appeared as associate counsel for the defendant, his services consisting chiefly in a plea for "mitigation of damages," but it is due to his memory to say that he made no such farcical exhibition of himself as described. The utter improbability of his going through the grotesque performance of divesting himself of his clothing until he had exposed "his one yarn suspender," is proved by the fact that the final hearing at which he made his argument was a cool morning in the early spring—March 22, 1854.

Of Mr. Lincoln's bearing during this trial the Hon. Henry B. Atherton, of Nashua, N. H., who was present and made a record of the matter at the time in his diary, says:

"I had gone to court to hear Brown (Dunlap's chief counsel) simply because he was called a Judge. I never had heard of Lincoln before, but came to the conclusion after hearing him that he was the better speaker of the two, though I believe he was only associate or junior counsel. I should say there was absolutely nothing of the grotesque buffoonery mentioned in the printed article; no long and loud laughs; no removing of coat, vest, and cravat down to 'his one woollen sus pender'; no weeping by jury or spectators, and absolutely no 'Ben. Edwards,' whoever he might have been. I should say that Lincoln tried to belittle the injury done you, and did all he legitimately could to reduce the amount of the verdict. . . . I remember that you had the sympathy of all the best people of Jacksonville, who were not blinded by their political and pro-slavery ideas."

The Hon. I. L. Morrison, a leading attorney of Jacksonville, Ill., now the oldest member of the bar of that city, who was also present at the trial, writes of the article in the REVIEW:

"I think the writer does Mr. Lincoln great injustice in that article. I was at the time of the trial a member of the bar, residing in this city, and was present during the trial. The history of the case, as given by Judge Bergen, did not agree with my recollection, and for that reason I examined the record and files now in the office of the Circuit Court of this County." [Then after giving a history of the proceedings in the suit for damages, Mr. Morrison continues:] "Mr. Lincoln addressed the jury in behalf of his client, and urged the facts in evidence did not call for a verdict assessing vindictive or punitive damages, contending the facts appearing showed the personal injuries sustained were not serious. The address was not a lengthy one. . . . To represent Mr. Lincoln as trying to influence the jury with something not in the evidence is to place him upon the level of the pettifogger. Excepting Stephen T. Logan, none stood above him in his profession at that time. I would not be understood as contradicting anyone from memory alone, as to what occurred so long ago, but the facts in the case, as supported by the record, strongly tend to show that Judge Bergen's memory is at fault in this respect. Mr. Lincoln made no such exhibition of himself as is represented."

The occasion alluded to in this article was the first on which I had ever seen Mr. Lincoln. Later I became well acquainted with him and was associated with him in the steps which led to the organization of the Republican party in Illinois. The incident referred to never furnished any ground for feeling between us, and from the character and subsequent position of my assailants, as well as his bearing toward me personally, I had abundant reason for believing that he regretted having been brought into the case.

While exercising my right, by the courtesy of the REVIEW, to refute loose and reckless misstatements of fact of an unjust and offensive character as affecting myself, it has been none the less the purpose of this article to vindicate the memory of Abraham Lincoln from statements, put forth in the name of history, picturing him to a succeeding generation, in the years of his mature manhood, in the light of a mountebank and buffoon.

PAUL SELBY.

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

Leaning over the parapet at Cannes, looking at the French fleet of men-of-war, some even at that moment leaving for Crete, and catching a glimpse of a great English ironclad bound in the same direction, I fell to musing on this strange development of the eternal European question.

Generous minds have been astonished and irritated in America as well as in Europe by the attitude of their governments toward Crete!

You may turn the matter as you like, this charming (?) harmony of the Powers protects the oppressor at the expense of the oppressed.

The motives for which Europe fought at Navarino needed no explanation! Does any one *dare* say why the Greek fleet before Canea was fired on last year?

The generous minds are right! It would be impossible to acknowledge the real reason of this wonderful harmony in Europe. It cannot be avowed; at least by the diplomats. To an observer it is the most significant event since 1871!

De Beust said at that time: "There is no more Europe!" He was wrong. One "Europe" was ending, but another was born.

For reasons of its own the new Europe wished that France should not seek revenge after 1871. Not only the Cabinets of Europe, but the people were against it; as to-day there is a universal wish that England should remain mistress of Egypt, and also perfect unanimity in protecting the death agony of the Turks from the reclamations of those they oppress. And in this way can be observed on grave questions *an European spirit* each year more marked in its manifestations.

This spirit is not noble, neither is it generous. It inclines to servility before the strong, in spite of solemn oaths, to the crushing of the humble. It is a low spirit, but it exists!

Is this not an historical phenomenon without precedent? If you could take the votes of Europe on the Cretan question, Europe would vote with an enormous majority to crush the Greeks!

The minority in their favor is largely composed of students, artists and thinkers—that is to say, people who have little money. *For the cord that binds the European majority together is of gold*—a cord both very strong and very flexible, which easily crosses frontiers and binds an Englishman, a German, and a Frenchman to the same purpose at the same moment,—when each looks into his morning paper to see what the Turkish debt is selling at!

The political prophets of fifty years ago did not foresee this. They turned over and over the problem of nationalities, trying to group and re-group the nations of the old world. They counted on free education, the emancipation of thought, to form a possible accord among these divers peoples. They whispered to each other, "The United States of Europe," and smiled at their Utopia.

They were not so far from that "United Europe" as they imagined—only it was from causes absolutely opposed to their ideas that this union has been accomplished.

Europe perceives that she has certain general money interests, identical all over the continent, in spite of the differences of language and *régime*, while on matters of local or less general interest Europe is divided against herself.

An English statesman recently affirmed that the majority of the French

wished the English occupation of Egypt maintained! That is false, as to absolute majority, but it is true as regards the majority *with incomes*—and they alone exert influence (under normal conditions) on the destinies of a country. So the English statesman is on the whole right! For the French are against the Greeks, who have shown themselves bad payers of coupons, and in favor of the Turks, in whose financial regeneration they are deeply interested. The same is true of an Englishman, a Russian, or German, and thus is constituted a sort of international alliance, or rather a new nationality, the nationality of *bond holders*.

The bond holders do not yet raise their flag very proudly. They affect to talk of the "Peace of Europe," "International Rights," and a number of other things that really they care little for, but courage will come when they realize that they are a majority. And they are! The number of people with incomes, and for that reason interested in international matters, is growing every day. Social evolution will not help matters. On the contrary it will quicken the development of the phenomenon, for beneath every Anarchist cry is the money question.

It is useless to say that trade rivalries will exasperate international feeling. The trades will come to some understanding where their money interests are the same.

For example, ask a French seaport to refuse from patriotism to allow a German transatlantic line to take their city as a landing place!

More and more each day financial questions become the same from country to country. When you double the communications between any two points it is (economically) as if you had halved the distance between them. Thus, little by little, the capitals of Europe are drawing nearer each other, the provinces approaching the centers and forming a commercial whole in proportion as their financial exchanges increase.

The "Zollverein" preceded the political union of Germany. As soon as it can be proved that the nations of the world are making among themselves a ruinous financial war, as soon as the taxpayers are weary of paying "bounties" to local industries, you may be sure that the financiers will step forward and arrange among themselves an international understanding. The money centres once working in union, the governments will follow, then the people.

Was it not the "capitalists" of our country that instigated the insurrection in Cuba?

We will see a United States of Europe, united by finance, and many political questions which to-day appear without possible solution (because we insist on arguing on abstract ideas—patriotism, republicanism, "jingoism") will be straightened out by financial necessities, as surely as the mountain snow melted by the sun runs by nature's laws in the streams and rivers to the sea.

This new "union of states" will have all the attributes of our own. Where there is an even greater mixing of peoples, Asia and Europe having each contributed its contingent, they will develop the same financial ferocity and their politics will be a politics of money. Battles will be fought out at the Stock Exchange.

When Cleveland's warlike message made American securities drop on the London markets, how we became suddenly pacific as by enchantment!

The social formula of the future will be bitter protection of money interests and local patriotism replaced by a ferocious individualism.

In this vast "market," what is to become of the artists, the thinkers, those who live by "dreaming," to whom money has no intrinsic value, holding no relation to their work or their fame. The time will be hard for them!

A few enlightened and rich patricians do more for the arts than a universal democracy of people in comfortable circumstances. For with us, in spite of great sums spent with avidity for works of art and a sincere desire to cultivate ourselves on artistic matters, we have remained strangely sterile in art.

The reason is simple enough. In a civilization where everything comes from money and reaches out toward money the most fortunately endowed minds are distorted. The eternally heard "How much is that man worth?" tends to make the artist value himself only by the price his works sell for.

Art banished from the great financial centres will take refuge with some small people protected by their isolation from the great world.

Dreams, all this? Look! The first act of this united Europe was to turn its cannon against a nation culpable of heroism and misery! Against the birthplace of art!

ELIOT GREGORY.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCXCVIII.

MAY, 1898.

THE BASIS OF AN ANGLO-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING.

BY THE REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D.

THE American people wisely attach great importance to Washington's Farewell Address, and give deserved weight to his counsels. Not one of those counsels has been more influential and more safe-guarding than his admonition to his countrymen to avoid entangling alliances with European nations. Yet Americans must not forget that changes wrought by human progress make inapplicable in one century advice which was wise in the preceding century; that if there be peril to a nation in recklessly advancing along strange paths to an unknown future, there is also danger to a nation in fastening itself too firmly to its past traditions, and refusing to itself permission to recognize changes of conditions which necessitate changes of policy. It is because Spain adheres to the traditions of the Sixteenth Century, and England has from time to time departed from those traditions, using them as a guide toward the future, not as a prohibition to progress, that Spain has sunk from a first-class to a fourth-class power, while England still remains a leader among the nations of the world.

When Washington issued his Farewell Address, the United

Copyright, 1898, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

States was a feeble nation, composed of thirteen colonies, just emancipated from foreign domination. It took as many weeks to go from the northern to the southern border of this nation as it now takes days. The States had not yet been welded into a united nation, and were separated from one another not only by time and distance, but by jealousy and rivalry. The union of the States had not passed beyond the experimental stage. The Constitution of the United States was still on trial. All west of the Alleghanies was an untrodden, and for the most part unknown, wilderness. The population, even along the seaboard, was scanty; the cities were few and small; there was no commerce and little manufactures. In 1809 Jefferson presented to the country his ideal on the subject of manufactures and commerce:— "Manufactures sufficient for our consumption, of what we raise the raw material, (and no more); commerce sufficient to carry the surplus produce of agriculture beyond our own consumption, to a market for exchanging it for articles we cannot raise, (and no more)." A vast and little known and little travelled ocean separated us from Europe. Under these circumstances to engage in European strifes, to aid France against Great Britain, to concern ourselves with the balance of power, to undertake, directly or indirectly, to promote the battles of democracy in the old world, to assume to judge that our as yet unproved institutions were the best for countries other than our own, and to rush into the hazard of a foreign war by the unrestrained expression of our sympathies with democratic uprisings would have been foolish indeed. These were the entangling alliances against which Washington admonished his countrymen, and we may say that his admonition against such entangling alliances it were well for us to heed, if necessity should arise, even now.

But since Washington's Farewell Address the world has moved; and America has moved most rapidly of all the world. It takes us little, if any, longer to cross from our eastern seaboard to Europe's western seaboard than from our eastern to our western boundary. The cable enables us to converse with Liverpool as readily as with Chicago or San Francisco. The prices of wheat in Liverpool determine the prices in our produce exchanges. Commerce, though unfortunately under foreign flags, is carrying the produce of our country into all the markets of the world. Our manufacturers compete with those of the oldest

civilizations. The question whether we can establish a currency of our own, disregardful of the financial standards of the civilized world, has been raised and answered emphatically in the negative. Our territory has extended until it nearly equals in dimensions that of the Old Roman Empire in its palmiest days. Our population has not only increased in numbers, but become heterogeneous in character. We are no longer an Anglo-Saxon colony, emerging into state-hood. We are Scandinavian, German, Hungarian, Pole, Austrian, Italian, French, and Spanish; all the nations of the earth are represented, not only in our population, but in our suffrages. Whatever interests Norway and Sweden, Holland and Belgium, Germany, Italy, France or England, interests our people, because from these countries respectively multitudes of our people have come. Meanwhile, our growth, and still more the test to which we have been subjected by foreign war and by civil war, have done much to demonstrate the stability of institutions which, a hundred years ago, were purely experimental and largely theoretical. Other lands have caught inspiration from our life; the whole progress of Europe has been progress towards democracy,—whether in England, Spain, Italy, Austro-Hungary, Germany, France or Scandinavia. The difference in the history of these nationalities, during the Nineteenth Century, has been a difference not in the direction in which their life has tended, but in the rapidity with which it has moved. The yoke of Bourbonism is broken forever; the Holy Alliance will never be re-formed. Politically, socially, industrially, and even physically, the United States and Europe have been drawn together by the irresistible course of events.

We are identified with the civilized world, interested in its problems, concerned in its progress, injured in its disasters, helped by its prosperities. The time has therefore passed when the United States can say, "We are sufficient unto ourselves, we will go our way; the rest of the world may go its way." The question is not, "Shall we avoid entangling alliances?" We are entangled with all the nations of the globe: by commerce, by manufactures, by race and religious affiliations, by popular and political sympathies. The question for us to determine is not whether we shall live and work in fellowship with European nations, but whether we shall choose our fellowship with wise judgment and definite purpose, or whether we shall allow our-

selves to drift into such fellowships as political accident or the changing incidents of human history may direct.

I am glad of the opportunity to urge on American citizens, through the pages of the NORTH AMERICAN, the former course. I believe that the time has come when we ought, as a nation, to recognize the fact that we are not merely an American nation, but a world nation; when we ought to take our place, with clear and definite understanding that we are doing so, among the nations of the world; when we ought to form clearly to ourselves our national purpose, and seek such affiliations as will promote that purpose. It is for this reason that, though I am, on principle and after much consideration, a bimetallist, I believe that the nation did wisely in rejecting the free coinage of silver, and is doing wisely in attempting to conform its currency to the currency of the other commercial nations of the globe. It is for this reason that I think Mr. Blaine proved himself statesmanlike in his organization of a Pan-American Congress, although its immediate results appear to have been comparatively insignificant. It is for this reason I think the nation should foster by appropriate measures every attempt to unite the New World with the Old, whether by cable, for the transmission of intelligence, or by commercial lines for the transmission of the products of our industry, and our mails. It is for this reason I think we ought to seize the opportunity offered to us to constitute a permanent tribunal, to which international questions might be referred, as of course, for settlement, and especially ought to have seized the opportunity for the organization of such a tribunal for the determination of national questions between Great Britain and the United States. It is for this reason I urge the establishment of a good understanding between the United States and England, in the hope that in time it will grow to a more formal alliance—civic, commercial, and industrial, rather than naval or military—and yet an alliance that will make us, for the purposes of our international life, one people, though not politically one nation. There are three reasons which suggest the wisdom of the establishment and maintenance of such good understanding and the hope of such possibly more formal alliance with our kin beyond the sea.

1. Though our commercial interests are not identical with those of Great Britain, our commercial principles are. England

and the United States are competitors and rivals in the markets of the world; but commerce is full of demonstration of the fact that men may be competitors and rivals and yet friends and allies. What is true of men is true of nations. All that the people, either of England or the United States, ask, is a free field and no favors. We have proved ourselves quite competent to compete with any nation, if only the chance for competition is offered to us. The great amorphous, ill-organized Empire of China is dropping to pieces; Germany, France, England and Japan are all seeking ports of entry through which to push, by commercial enterprises, the products of their industry upon people hitherto so little civilized as to want but little. In this competition between foreign nations, England and Japan have stood, apparently alone, for a free and untrammelled commerce. If the official statements in Parliament may be trusted, England has won by diplomacy this commercial freedom, which perhaps Germany, and almost certainly Russia, would have been disinclined to grant. It is possible that there is no need for us to join formally in a commercial alliance with Japan and Great Britain to insist upon this principle of untrammelled commerce; but if we need not do so, it is only because there is force enough in England to secure it without our aid. In the endeavor to secure it, England is entitled not only to our sympathy but to the expression of our sympathy. She is entitled, not only to our good wishes, but to our moral support. The United States is quite as much interested as England in the opening of trade with China, if not even more interested. Our western seacoast is as yet undeveloped; our eastern trade is yet in its infancy. When the unnumbered millions of China shall wake up, when they shall begin to feel the vivifying influence of civilization, when they begin to demand railroads and telegraphs, bicycles and buggies, elevators and electric lights, cars for their streets, mills for their water-courses, agricultural implements for their farms, carpets for their floors, pianos and cabinet organs for their boys and girls, in short the conveniences and comforts of modern civilization for their awakening population, it will be alike our interest, our right and our duty to have a free opportunity to share in the work of providing them with this equipment of a higher life. What is so evident respecting China that the dullest of vision may see it, is equally, though as yet less evidently, true

of other great unreached populations. The United States is only less interested than Great Britain in the larger life of India; and in the civilization of Africa which still seems remote, but not so remote as it did before the travels of Livingstone and Stanley, and which, when it comes, will add a new incentive to the fruitful industry of our mills, as well as of English mills, if we are wise in our statesmenship to forecast the future and to provide for it. If England and America join hands in a generous rivalry, they can lead the world commercially. On that road lies our highway to national prosperity.

2. Political advantages as well as commercial advantages call on us to establish and maintain a good understanding with Great Britain, and to be ready to formulate that good understanding in a more definite alliance whenever the occasion shall arise which necessitates it. The Cuban revolution and the consequent embroglio with Spain, threatening as I write to break out any hour into war, illustrate the difficulty of avoiding altogether collisions with foreign powers. This is the most pressing and immediate illustration, but not the only one. We have interests in Turkey which have been strangely disregarded, though not overlooked. American property has been destroyed, the peace of American citizens disturbed, and their lives threatened. Turkey is far away, and it has been difficult, perhaps impossible, so to press our claims upon the Porte as to secure satisfaction for the outrages perpetrated with its connivance, if not by its authority. The injuries to our commerce inflicted by Algerine pirates, our long endurance of those injuries and our final naval warfare against the marine marauders, are matters of familiar American history. With Americans not only traveling everywhere on the globe, but settling and engaging in business wherever there is business to be done, no one can foresee when an international complication may arise, involving strained relations between ourselves and some other nationality. It would be no small advantage under such circumstances to have established such relations with Great Britain that she would be our natural friend, would give to us her moral support, and would, perhaps, in case of exigency, lend support that would be more than moral. I am not considering in this article the practicability of such a relationship. I do not stop to discuss the question whether Great Britain would be likely to enter into it with us, or whether we should be likely to

enter into it with Great Britain. Writing for American, not for English, readers, I do not attempt to point out the advantages to Great Britain as well as to ourselves. My object in this article is simply to show that there would be a real, a tangible, a practical advantage, one that can be measured in dollars and cents, in the establishment of such relationship between these two great Anglo-Saxon communities that they would be recognized by the civilized world as standing together in amity, making a common cause, not against the rest of the world, but in favor of the one principle to which they are alike committed, and in which they are alike interested,—the principle expressed by the one word, Liberty.

It may be assumed that the United States will never desire to encroach upon the territory of any European power; that, if it comes into the peril of war, it will be not through its desire to colonize on uncivilized territory, nor its desire to seize upon some fragment of civilized territory belonging to another nation, but from its passion for liberty; a passion sometimes exhibited in strong national sympathy for a struggling people such as the Cubans, sometimes in the strong determination to preserve the liberty of our own people, as in our war against the Algerine pirates. If England and America were thus to stand together for liberty, it would be difficult to form a combination which could withstand them so long as they were moderate, just and rational in their demands.

3. Both the commercial and the political advantages of such a good understanding, growing into a formal alliance as is here suggested, are dependent upon the moral advantage to the world which would grow out of it. It is true that in a sense the United States is neither a Christian nor an Anglo-Saxon nation. It is not officially Christian, if thereby is meant a nation which gives political or financial advantage to one religion over another. It is not Anglo-Saxon, if thereby is meant a nation which sets itself to confer political power upon one race over another. But though it is officially neither Christian nor Anglo-Saxon, it is practically both. Its ethical standards are not those of Mohammedanism, or Confucianism, but those of Christianity. Its ruling force in the country, educational, political, and on the whole commercial, is not Celtic, nor Sclavic, nor Semitic, nor African, nor Mongolian, but Anglo-Saxon. Thus in its religious spirit, though not

altogether in its religious institutions, in its practical leadership, though not in the constituent elements of its population, and in its national history and the genesis of its political institutions, the United States is of kin to Great Britain. The two represent the same essential political ideals: they are both democratic; they both represent the same ethical ideals; they are Christian; and they both represent the same race leadership; they are Anglo-Saxon. In so far as their conjoint influence dominates the world, it will carry with it a tendency toward liberty in the political institutions organized, a tendency toward Christianity in the ethical spirit of the society created, and a tendency toward that energy, that intelligence, and that thrift which are the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race in the life promoted. It is from the combination of these three elements in society—political liberty, Christian ethics, Anglo-Saxon energy—that what we call civilization proceeds. And it is out of this civilization thus inspired by Anglo-Saxon energy, thus controlled by Christian ethics, and thus given opportunity for growth by political liberty that industrial prosperity, commercial wealth, and human earthly well-being are founded. Thus the moral advantages of such a good understanding between Great Britain and the United States as is here suggested, are more important than the commercial and political advantages, because the commercial and political advantages are dependent upon the moral. It is indeed impossible to separate them, except in statements and for the convenience of clear thinking. Great Britain and the United States cannot combine to promote the commercial prosperity of either nation, or the political protection of the citizens of either in communities less free than their own, except as they combine to promote that world civilization which is founded on political liberty, Christian ethics, and Anglo-Saxon energy. Let Great Britain and the United States work together for the world's civilization, and, on the one hand, no reactionary forces can withstand their combined influence; and on the other, no imagination can estimate the pecuniary and the political advantages, first to these two nations, and next to the whole world, which would come from such a combination. Whoever in either country sows discord between the two is, whether he knows it or not, the political and commercial enemy of both countries, and the enemy of the world's civilization.

Thus far I have suggested only "a good understanding," because this is immediately practicable, yet I have in my imagination an ideal toward which such a good understanding might tend, but which would far transcend anything suggested by that somewhat vague phrase. Let us suppose, then, that Great Britain and the United States were to enter into an alliance involving these three elements: first, absolute reciprocity of trade; second, a tribunal to which should be referred for settlement, as a matter of course, all questions arising between the two nations, as now all questions arising between the various States of this Union are referred to the Supreme Court of the United States; third, a mutual pledge that an assault on one should be regarded as an assault on both, so that as towards other nations these two would be united as the various States of this Union stand united toward all other States. Such an alliance would include not only our own country and the British Isles, but all the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain—Canada, Australasia, and in time such provinces in Asia and Africa as are under British domination and administration. It would unite in the furtherance of a Christian civilization all the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and all the peoples acting under the guidance and controlling influence of Anglo-Saxon leaders, It would gradually draw into itself other peoples of like minds though of foreign race, such as, in the far East, the people of Japan. It would create a new confederation based on principles and ideas not on tradition, and bounded by the possibilities of human development not by geographical lines. It would give a new significance to the motto *E Pluribus Unum*, and would create a new United States of the World of which the United States of America would be a component part. Who can measure the advantage to liberty, to democracy, to popular rights and popular intelligence, to human progress, to a free and practical Christianity, which such an alliance would bring with it? Invincible against enemies, illimitable in influence, at once inspiring and restraining each other, these two nations, embodying the energy, the enterprise, and the conscience of the Anglo-Saxon race, would by the mere fact of their co-operation produce a result in human history which would surpass all that present imagination can conceive or present hope anticipate.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

THE INFORMERS OF NINETY-EIGHT.

BY I. A. TAYLOR.

THERE is one figure which, like a shabby and sordid Mephistopheles, is never long absent from the scene of Irish politics—the figure of the informer. Ireland has always been a country of contrasts, and especially at the close of the last century nothing is more striking than that presented by the extreme heroism of loyalty on the one side, and cold-blooded and deliberate treachery on the other; by the unshaken fidelity of men to whom a breach of faith would have signified the exchange of poverty or want for actual riches, and repeated and premeditated betrayal of trust on the part of those whose position might have seemed a guarantee of integrity. The story is well known of the escape of Hamilton Rowan, when a couple of boatmen, with the very handbills in their possession which offered a thousand pounds for his apprehension, carried him safely over to France; while on another occasion not only did three militia soldiers, condemned to death as United Irishmen, choose rather to die than to purchase life by the betrayal of their comrades, but the father of one of them, urged to use his influence with his son, declared he would shoot him himself sooner than see him turn informer.

But while these are nothing more than examples of the spirit by which a large part of the population was animated, there existed no less by the side of it the trade, systematically and unscrupulously carried on, of the informer—a trade sedulously fostered and encouraged by the English Government, and to which may be traced much of the alleged sympathy with crime and genuine reluctance to lend a hand in bringing the criminal to justice which has been so often used as a reproach against the Irish people. It is not astonishing that a people noted for its instincts of generosity should have elected to leave

the work of government to be performed by its hired instruments, and should have shrunk from so much as a semblance of participation in the traffic.

The indiscriminate horror which was entertained with regard to those, whether innocent or guilty, who were convicted of co-operation with the natural enemies of their race—unfortunately identified with the administration of that which went by the name of justice—is curiously and signally illustrated by an incident which took place towards the end of the seventeenth century. Two sisters named Kennedy—mere children of fourteen or fifteen years old—who had the reputation of being heiresses, were carried off from their home by a gang of ruffians, to two of whom they were forcibly married. When, some weeks later, the men were caught and brought to trial, the unfortunate girls were induced to bear witness against their captors, their consent to do so being, it is said, chiefly due to a desire to revenge a brutal blow bestowed upon one of them. The result of the trial was the hanging of the men and the pensioning of their victims. But so passionately opposed was public sentiment, even in this instance, to the character of the approver, that demonstrations of hostility greeted the unhappy sisters whenever they ventured to show their faces; that when they subsequently married, the misfortunes by which one of them was pursued were regarded by the people in the light of a judgment upon her; and, stranger still, the husband of the other was infected to such a degree by the popular superstition as to imagine himself haunted by the spectre of his dead rival and never dared to sleep without a light in his room!

Another example, illustrative of the brutality engendered by the loathing of the trade, is furnished by a story told in after years by an aged lady, Mrs. O'Byrne; who remembered throughout her life—as well she might—a visit paid as a child to the Anatomical Museum of Trinity College, Dublin, for the purpose of witnessing a dance, executed by means of a system of pulleys, by the skeleton of the informer, Jemmy O'Brien. The husband of the servant who conducted her little charge to this ghastly entertainment had, it seemed, been done to death by O'Brien; and she took a grim pleasure in the show.

Taking into account this condition of public feeling, it may be allowed that the position of the paid spy was not without its

disadvantages, and that by the more timorous their wages were not altogether lightly earned.

Among the motley crowd which went to make up the profession—men of whom Lord Moira publicly and solemnly declared that he shuddered to think that such wretches could find employment or protection under any government—every variety was present. There was the unscrupulous and cold-blooded detective, who deliberately insinuated himself into the confidence of his comrades in order to sell them to their enemies—who, to quote Curran's scathing invective, "measured his value by the coffins of his victims, and in the field of evidence appreciated his fame as the Indian warrior does in fight, by the number of scalps with which he can swell his triumphs;" there was the common informer, chosen from the lowest ranks, to whom treachery was merely a means, like any other, of gaining a livelihood; there was the gentleman of birth and breeding, in whose case conscience, or what stood for it, smoothed the path of treason and a sense of duty was made to play a leading, and gain a secondary, part; there was the artist to whom dexterity in his craft afforded positive satisfaction, and who appeared to heap lie upon lie for the mere pleasure of the performance; there were those in whom the sense of honor, not yet wholly extinct, made itself from time to time uneasily felt; and finally there were not wanting cases in which the traitor, like Judas, repented too late, and did his best to expiate his treachery. Thus an Englishman named Bird, through whose instrumentality quite a number of obnoxious persons had been committed to prison, sickened of his trade, threw it up in disgust, and published an account of his transactions with the Castle; whilst Newell, another of the brotherhood, in a curious letter to his employer, the Under Secretary Cooke, accused him, not without a touch of dramatic skill, of his own moral ruin.

"Though I cannot deny being a villain," he said, "I hope clearly to prove that I had the honor of being made one by you."

These, however, were the exceptions. The majority, and especially, curiously enough, those of education among the body, seem to have performed their task with little hindrance from a too delicate sense of honor. It was a time when, under the influence of panic and excitement, the laws commonly regulating the conduct of gentlemen were treated with strange disregard. Witness the scene in court when Lord Kingston came

forward to give evidence against the very man to whom he owed his own safety, citing that circumstance itself as a proof of the influence possessed by his benefactor among the rebels, and eliciting a devout thanksgiving from a gentleman in the crowd that he, for his part, could be charged with having saved no man's life. Nor could a stronger instance be found than that furnished by Captain Armstrong who, with the explicit and emphatic approval of his brother officers, gained the confidence of the unfortunate Sheares brothers, acquired possession of their secrets, wound up by dining with them and their family on the eve of their arrest—a proceeding with regard to which even Armstrong himself entertained scruples, removed by Lord Castlereagh—and delivered them over on the following day to the vengeance of the government. On another occasion, too, we find an English gentleman, mistaken on the street by an United Irishman for one of the rebel leaders, not only encouraging the misapprehension in the hope of obtaining useful information, but giving ingenious expression to his regret that he was not in a position to forge the handwriting of the man whose character he had assumed. Such being the practices which were in fashion, and the prevailing indifference to the ordinary codes of honor, it was not unnatural that every one should look upon his neighbor with distrust; and it scarcely surprises one to find men acquitted by posterity of any shadow of guilt suspected by their contemporaries of treachery.

Leaving on one side, however, the lesser villains who made up the rank and file of the "Battalion of Testimony"—the name by which the body was known—there are four men who played a principal part amongst the informers of Ninety-eight who may be accepted as sufficiently representative of their profession to give a fair idea of the classes from which were drawn the government recruits. These are: Leonard McNally, pre-eminently the artist of his craft and one of the most singular figures of his time; Thomas Reynolds, the man of principles and scruples; Francis Higgins, the type of the low and successful adventurer; and lastly Magan, the Catholic barrister, driven to his crime by stress of financial difficulty, and combining with his treason an incongruous vein of uprightness.

While none of the four are devoid of interest, it is undoubtedly McNally who in this respect bears away the palm.

In his hands treachery became a fine art, nor is it possible to withhold from him his meed of admiration.

Uniting the profession of a playwright to his other avocations, the elaboration of a plot upon the world's stage may be imagined to have contained for him a special interest; while possessing in his own person histrionic gifts of no common order, the dramatic element is strongly present in his treatment of the part he set himself, always behind the scenes, to play.

Called both to the English and Irish bars, his Nationalist sympathies had been so strong that, as a member of the United Irish body, he had fought a duel with Sir Jonah Barrington in vindication of its honor; and trusted to the full by the Nationalist leaders, of whom his house was a centre in Dublin, he was in every way qualified to become a useful government tool, when, in or before the year 1794, he accepted that office, continuing to fill it with unexampled and almost incredible success, until his death, nearly thirty years later. Before '98, through the troubled times of the rebellion itself, and afterward, he carried on his trade, wholly unsuspected till the end.

It was in his dealings with poor Jackson, that clergyman of doubtful repute, that McNally's first laurels in the field of the informer seem to have been won. A genial and sociable man—it was afterwards part of his duty to entertain the National leaders at the government's expense—he inaugurated his career by a dinner given in honor of his victim, and the success with which he eluded suspicion is proved by the will afterwards signed by Jackson in prison, "in presence of my dearest friend, Leonard McNally"; a document which was duly handed over by the latter to the authorities, so soon as that ghastly closing scene had taken place, when, on the judge proposing to defer passing sentence of death till the unconscious prisoner should be in a condition to understand it, it was found that that verdict had been already, not only pronounced, but executed in another court.

It was a successful beginning to McNally's career, and what followed was worthy of it. Again and again, as counsel for the men he had sold, he took briefs for their defense, pleading their cause with so much fervor and eloquence that on one occasion Curran himself was moved to tears. "My old and excellent friend," exclaimed the great orator, while his emotion spread to the Bench, "I have long known and respected the honesty of

your heart, but never, until this occasion, was I acquainted with the extent of your abilities." Had Curran been in possession of the whole truth, he must have admitted that his friend's talents were even greater than he had imagined. During a period of no less than forty years not so much as an unkind look—we have his son's authority for it—passed between the two, and death found their intimacy unbroken, not a suspicion of the double part played by his colleague having crossed Curran's mind.

In the tragedy of Ninety-eight itself the share taken by McNally was less conspicuous than that of others, his services being too important to make it desirable that he should come prominently forward. His special work was carried on underground, and of the completeness, the attention to details, with which it was performed, his dealings with Robert Emmet furnish an example. Having first sold the young man to the authorities, he proceeded to undertake his defense, and having vainly pleaded his cause in court, visited his unfortunate client in prison on the morning of his execution, in order to tender to him sympathy and consolation in the hour of his supreme necessity.

The mother of the young leader was just dead, but unaware of the fact, he expressed his longing to see her.

"There, Robert," replied McNally, pointing with dramatic effect to heaven—"there, Robert, you shall meet her this day."

A description of the interview was communicated to the newspapers, doubtless by McNally himself, proud of his part in it.

His death corresponded with his life. Having passed for a Protestant, he called in a priest when the end approached, received from him the sacraments of the Church, and so squared his accounts with heaven.

Thomas Reynolds, to whom was due the arrest of the Leinster Directory in March, '98, and who is therefore to be credited with the most crushing blow dealt at the conspiracy which culminated in the rebellion, presents a signal contrast to McNally, and was totally incapable of plying his trade with the lightheartedness and the enjoyment by which the lawyer was distinguished. Reynolds, on the contrary, went about his business heavily and with an air of middle-class respectability which, with the panegyric published by his son, lends itself, perhaps unfairly, to the suspicion of cant. He was too respectable to have a right to his vices.

And yet it is possible that he acted, in some measure at least, in good faith, nor can we but believe that Moore's dismissal of him as a worthless member of the conspiracy, pressed for money, is too summary a verdict. It would be curious could a dictionary be compiled of the synonyms invented by conscience, nor would the endeavor of the sinner to give a Christian name to his crime be destitute of pathos. Hypocrisy, dispassionately considered, is the one homage that a not inconsiderable fraction of humanity is capable of rendering to virtue, in the acknowledgement that it is more admirable than vice, nor is it well that a world, not immaculate itself in the matter of truth, should use undue severity towards those poor souls to whom the cloak has become their habitual garment.

Brought up by the Jesuits, Reynolds had started in life as a silk manufacturer, attaining, shortly before his change of front, and by means of some land leased from the Duke of Leinster, with whom he claimed distant kinship, to the position of a small country gentleman. His political antecedents were, from the popular point of view, unimpeachable, since he had been a member of the Catholic Committee, had represented Dublin in the Convention of '92, had recently been initiated into the Society of United Irishmen, though, if his son is to be credited, in ignorance of its revolutionary character, and was also—a further guarantee—married to the sister-in-law of Wolfe Tone.

This was the man who—also on his son's authority—was in '98 hailed as the saviour of his country, courted and caressed by all those not engaged in the rebellion, to whom wealth and honors were voted; but who, satisfied with having done his duty, declined them all, and who, honorable and upright public servant as he was, found himself later shaken off and discountenanced by the very persons, with one or two exceptions, by whom he had been employed; who retired to France to find consolation for their ingratitude in a small number of friends, and finally—it would seem in somewhat belated fashion—in the Friend who sticketh closer than a brother.

Thus far Mr. Thomas Reynolds, Jr., fired with filial enthusiasm. A less ornate account would describe his father as, though unquestionably an informer, not one of the lowest type, to whom treachery was a simple means of gain, but one in whose case conscience and scruples also played a part. It is undeniable

that five hundred guineas were paid to him by government, but a careful examination of evidence tends to prove that money was not his object, and that he was one of those persons who, finding themselves—perhaps involuntarily—in possession of facts they conceive it their duty to make known, lack courage to act openly, and having laid the foundation of their future career by the initial act of giving clandestine information, continue to invite the confidence of those they have betrayed for the purpose of using it against them.

It was in November of the year 1797 that this timid and vacillating gentleman was constrained, much against his will, to accept a post of importance in the confederacy, the pressure brought to bear upon the recruit being an instance of that imprudence on the part of the leaders of the enterprise which went far to justify the assertion of an Englishman, who observed to Grattan that, if he were to rebel, it should not be in the company of Irishmen, "for, by God, they are the worst rebels I ever heard of!"

Placed forthwith in a position of responsibility in the United Irish body, Reynolds learnt for the first time, according to his own account, its revolutionary character; and afraid either to rouse suspicion by severing his connection with the association or, by remaining in it, to co-operate with its designs, he adopted the middle course, of retaining his position in the character of a government agent.

Chancing to fall in, as a travelling companion, with a Mr. Cope, "in whose friendship and honor I had the most implicit confidence"—did Mr. Cope, one wonders, reciprocate the compliment?—he was induced to make certain disclosures which ultimately led to the arrest, on the eve of the rebellion, of the Leinster Directory.

Reynolds, unlike some others of his profession, was a man of one stroke, and his services to the government seem to have been limited to a comparatively short space of time. He must, however, have developed a certain talent for meeting the difficulties of his new position, and a curious story is told by which he appears to have displayed, at least on one occasion and in the stress of danger, a presence of mind and ready audacity with which one would not have credited him. It is related that, met at midnight by Neilson, a member of the conspiracy possessed of extraordinary physical strength and an excitability bordering on

madness, the informer was compelled by the latter, on whom some suspicion of the truth had dawned, to follow him to a dark passage in what were then the liberties of Dublin, where, presenting a pistol at his breast, he demanded of him what he should do to the villain who could insinuate himself into his confidence in order to betray him.

"You should shoot him through the heart," was Reynolds' reply, made with so much promptness and effrontery that Neilson, though his suspicions were not wholly removed, let the traitor go.

To Reynolds there must, in conclusion, be allowed the honor of having provided Curran with the opportunity of achieving a signal oratorical triumph.

"Some observations, but a few, upon the evidence of the informer I will make," said the great lawyer in the course of his speech against the Bill of Attainder brought against Lord Edward Fitzgerald after his death. "I do believe all he has admitted against himself. I do verily believe him in that instance, even though I heard him assert it on his oath—by his own confession an informer and a bribed informer—a man whom respectable witnesses had sworn in a court of justice upon their oath not to be credible upon his oath. See, therefore, if there is any one assertion to which credit can be given, except this—that he has sworn and forsworn that he is a traitor, that he has received five hundred guineas to be an informer, and that his general reputation is to be utterly unworthy of credit."

And yet, in taking leave of Mr. Reynolds, and in spite of Curran's passionate denunciation, it is impossible not to carry away an impression of respectable solidity; of regretful and reluctant treason; of a timorous sympathy with the men he betrayed, and—who knows?—possibly the answer of a good conscience.

Francis Higgins—better known as the Sham Squire—is, though too characteristic a specimen of his class and too important a member of it to be omitted from the picture, a simpler and perhaps less interesting personage than the remainder of the quartette. So far as it is possible to judge, he was a fair example of the low and unscrupulous adventurer, using whatever means came readiest to hand for the furtherance of his objects, nor are there to be traced in him any of those contradic-

tions which confront us in such men as Reynolds or Magan, and lend complexity and interest to their characters; while his villainies were of a coarser and grosser type than those of the artistic McNally.

Born in a Dublin cellar, he began life as a bare-footed pot boy, proceeding to occupy the position of an attorney's clerk, in which capacity his powers of caligraphy were developed to such an extent that he was enabled to execute with marked success certain forgeries, by which he was represented as a young gentleman of landed property and good expectations, in the enjoyment of a post under government. Armed with these credentials Mr. Higgins sought a well-known clergyman, Father John Austin, and made known to him his desire to become a member of the Roman Catholic Church, stipulating that his conversion should remain a secret, lest his father should, on account of it, disinherit him. The good priest, profoundly touched by the disinterestedness of the young neophyte in embracing a faith still proscribed by the penal laws, fell straightway into the trap, and not only received him into the church, but on the convert presently making known his further desire to secure a wife of the true faith who might lend firmness to his frail resolutions, introduced his *protegé* into the family of a well-to-do merchant, whose daughter, with her dower, shortly passed into his possession. It is not necessary to pursue Mr. Higgins throughout the successive stages of his career, the disastrous sequel to his marriage—his wife fled from him a few days after the wedding—the action brought against him by his enraged father-in-law for cheating by means of forged documents and perjury, and his consequent imprisonment of which he made use to obtain a second wife in the person of his jailer's daughter.

It was an opening which might have been expected to tell against his advancement in later life; but the government was not fastidious in the choice of its tools. As director of the policy of the *Freeman's Journal*, of which he became proprietor, Higgins was too valuable an auxiliary to be despised; and using his position discreetly to further the ends of government, he was soon enabled to take rank as a respectable member of society, became a justice of the peace, and drove in a gorgeous chariot about the streets with which he had been so closely acquainted in earlier days. Conscience, however, gives us many surprises, and

though one would have imagined that the Sham Squire might have deemed himself secure from its attacks, it would appear that even in the midst of his prosperity he was not exempt from disquieting reflections; and when preparing to cross St. George's Channel on a visit to England, he considered it well, before encountering the perils of the deep, to propitiate heaven by a will in which certain charitable bequests—to meet all contingencies—were distributed alike among Catholics and Protestants.

It was this person—not perhaps altogether properly classed as an informer, since he made no secret of his support of the government—who was stated by the Under-Secretary Cooke to have procured for him all the intelligence relating to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and who, in fact, suborned Francis Magan to betray him. We cannot, in conclusion, do better than to quote the words of his epitaph.

"Reader," says this remarkable production, after the enumeration of certain bequests, "you will judge of the head and heart which dictated such distinguished charity to his fellow-creatures, liberal as it is impartial, and acknowledge that he possesses that true benevolence which heaven ordains and never fails everlastingly to reward." The reader no doubt *will* judge.

Francis Magan, Higgins' tool and instrument, to whom Lord Edward Fitzgerald's capture has at last been traced, was of quite another temper. A silent, reserved, and gloomy man, be was credited by his countrymen to the last with a sense of honor which was in singular contrast to his dealings with the government, and of which he appears in fact not to have been destitute with regard to other matters. There are men who divide their lives into separate departments, and those of honesty in one relation of life may not be incapable of lying or cheating in another. Francis Magan was a signal example of such inconsistencies. A barrister, but, unlike McNally, an unsuccessful one, there is little doubt that it was by pecuniary difficulties that he was driven to pursue the trade of an informer; and in Higgins' communications to government on the subject, continual pressure is brought to bear upon the authorities with regard to the payment of certain sums, without which he doubts his capacity of bringing his subordinates up to the point of betrayal. There is something incongruous in the position of the two men —Higgins, the patron; Magan, the tool; and it is impossible to

doubt that to the barrister, with a gentleman's education and some at least of the instincts of a man of honor, his relations with the ex-potboy, the convict and forger, must have been humiliating enough. It is also a curious fact that it appears possible that his ill-gotten gains went to discharge an obligation which a less scrupulous man might have ignored.

It is in the part played by Magan with regard to the apprehension of Lord Edward Fitzgerald that his figure alone detaches itself from the surrounding obscurity, he fell back into insignificance as soon as it was over. As a trusted member of the United Irish body in Dublin, so much confidence was placed in the taciturn and moody barrister, that it had been arranged by Miss Moore, at whose father's house the rebel leader had been secreted, that he should be transferred for greater safety to Magan's own, nor did the unsuccessful attempt of government, evidently acquainted with the plan, to seize the fugitive on his way to his fresh hiding place, suffice to open her eyes to the untrustworthiness of her confidant.

On the following morning, therefore, when Magan (who like the rest of the fraternity seems to have taken kindly to his part so soon as he was fairly launched in it), visited her for the purpose of ascertaining the reason of the non-appearance of his expected guest, she received him without suspicion, though noting his careworn and anxious aspect, natural enough in a needy man, seeing that a thousand pounds were at stake!

"I have been most uneasy," he told her. "Did anything happen? I waited up till one o'clock and Lord Edward did not come!"

Wholly unsuspicious of treachery, Miss Moore at once not only enlightened her visitor as to the occurrences of the previous night—of which he was likely enough in a position to have himself furnished her with an account—but bestowed upon him the further information he sought as to Lord Edward's present place of concealment. That very day the capture was effected; while shortly afterwards a bond of a thousand pounds, due from himself and his father, who had become insolvent, was paid to the creditors by Mr. Francis Magan.

At the time when Miss Moore related the facts, Magan's guilt had not yet been clearly proved, but her own conclusion was plain.

"If Magan is innocent" she said with the bitterness of a friend

who had trusted and been deceived, "then I am the informer," since they two had alone at the moment been in a position to betray the fugitive.

During his lifetime his guilt was never brought home to him, and gloomy and silent as before he continued to enjoy the confidence and the esteem, if not the affection, of his fellow-citizens. In his testamentary dispositions—for he had his vein of religion and had been in the habit of bestowing liberal alms—he made careful provision, like Francis Higgins, for his future welfare. "By his will," wrote Canon O'Hanlon in later days, "he requires a yearly mass to be celebrated by all priests in this church for the repose of his soul; so that I have been praying for him once each year since I became attached to this parish, without knowing anything of his antecedents." It cannot be doubted that, had those antecedents been known to the charitable writer, he would but have redoubled the fervor of his orisons on behalf of a soul presumably so much the more in need of them; but there is a tone about his statement which almost suggests a sense of injury in having been betrayed into interceding for an informer unawares.

Human nature, in the mass, remains the same, and there is little to add to Solomon's estimate of it. What has once been possible will remain the measure of possibility till the end of time. Greed and falsehood and perfidy may wear different forms from those in which they clothed themselves a hundred years ago, but they themselves are, alas, perennial growths in this poor garden of humanity; and McNallys, Reynoldses, Higginses, and Magans are, we may be sure, plentiful enough among us, though time and opportunity may have altered the direction in which they turn their talents to account. To judge by deeds is but a crude method of valuation; it is a matter of incalculably less importance whether or no a man has sent a comrade to the scaffold than whether he would on occasion be capable of the treason: and we shall do well, before we congratulate ourselves upon having left a vice behind us, to make sure that the root from which it sprang is not alive, and as ready as ever, under equally favorable conditions, to put forth fresh shoots.

I. A. TAYLOR.

REMINISCENCES OF A YOUNG FRENCH OFFICER.

BY MAX O'RELL.

In the year 1869, at the age of twenty-one, I left the military school with the rank of lieutenant in the French artillery.

My uniform was severe but beautiful. There was a good deal of gold on my shoulders, my sleeves and my breast, and if there had been as much in my pockets I think I ought to have been the happiest man on earth.

The proudest day of a young French officer's life is the one on which he goes out in the street for the first time with all his finery and ironmongery on, his mustache curled up, his cap on his right ear, his sabre in his left hand. All the soldiers he meets salute him, the ladies seem to smile approvingly upon him, he feels like the conquering hero of the day; he is happy, perfectly happy. And why should he not be? All seems bright before him; battles only suggest to him victories, decorations and promotions—glory in all its branches.

On that first day, for that first walk in uniform, my mother asked to accompany me, and took my arm. Which was the prouder of the two? The young warrior, full of confidence and hope, or the dear old lady who looked at the passers-by, with an air that said: "This is my son, ladies and gentlemen," laying great stress on *ladies*. "As for you, young *demoiselles*, have a look at him, but that's all, for you know that he can't possibly have you all."

Poor young officer! dear old mother! They little knew, on that September day of 1869, that, in a few months, one would be lying in a military hospital on a bed of torture, and the other would be wondering for five mortal months whether her dear and only child was dead, or a prisoner in some German fortress.

* * *

My military career was a busy but a short one: five months in Algeria, three months in Versailles in garrison, six weeks in the Franco-German war, five pitched battles and many engagements, five months in captivity in Wesel, a fortress on the Rhine; three weeks of fighting day and night against the Communists, and eight months in a military hospital. All that in two years. Yes, it was a busy time.

It is not possible, within the limits of this article, to give a detailed account of such two years. I will content myself with relating a few incidents, culled here and there during the Franco-German and the Civil Wars of 1870-71.

* * *

At the threshold of these remarks, I should like to be permitted to pay to the French soldier my warm tribute of admiration. He is as easy to lead as a child. His cheerfulness and gay philosophy enable him to endure the greatest hardships without a murmur. All he wants is justice. When he has received his provisions, he straightway goes to weigh his meat, his bread, his coffee, his sugar, even his salt. All he wants is his due, and if he finds that he has not received short weight, he is satisfied and cheerful. A kind word from an officer will make him happy; a cigarette offered to him, if he is short of tobacco, will make a hero of him. I remember one day passing a young soldier who was being taken to the hospital. His right hand had been shot off clean. "Cheer up, my boy!" I said to him; "no more fighting for you, they will nurse you and take care of you." "Ah, lieutenant," he replied with a look pitiful to contemplate, "how am I to roll my cigarettes now?" I put a small box of cigarettes in his breast pocket. I shall never forget the expression of gratitude on his face.

In another instance, a devoted orderly was pitying his captain whose leg had just been amputated. "Don't cry, old fool," said the captain to him, "I am going to keep you, and, in the future, you will have only one boot to clean every morning."

* * *

I had the good luck to start the campaign with a good, devoted orderly, a man about forty years of age, called Rabier. He was a tailor, a shoemaker, a carpenter, a cook, and, in times of need, a man of many resources and unlimited audacity. But for him

I should have had to go without food many a day. He was an old African soldier, and it was never with him a question of what he could do, but rather of what he could not do. His attachment and devotion to me were those of a kind parent, and he many times tended me as a kind and skilful nurse would. When, at night, I had retired under my tent, and was lying on some straw or dry leaves strewed on the ground, with a blanket over me, he would come noiselessly in, listen to find out whether I was asleep; then he would carefully tuck me in before he himself went to lie down under his own tent. With a few pieces of wood he would improvise a bedstead, and my clothes were every day most carefully examined and kept in a state that would have done honor to the best of housewives. An officer has to stand on his dignity more or less. My dear Rabier had no dignity to stand on, and, thanks to that, he many times successfully managed to scheme and get me a dinner when I had lost all hope of getting one.

I remember, one day my regiment stopped for the night in a deserted village which we reached at about four o'clock in the afternoon. All the officers were assigned to an abandoned farmhouse. The provisions had not arrived, and no one had the slightest idea how soon they would arrive. The private soldiers carried their provisions in their knapsacks. They were sure of their meals. But the officers had to rely on the arrival of the wagons. For two hours we sat in silence, about thirty of us. By six o'clock some prepared to lie down on the floor and try to sleep and forget the pangs of hunger, when Rabier, radiant, triumphant, smiling from ear to ear, entered and announced that dinner was ready. We looked at each other, speechless and unbelieving. By what miracle could dinner be ready? We repaired to a barn where, to our stupefaction, we saw, on the floor, omelettes, rabbits and chickens, filling the place with odorous perfumes. I heard, later on, that Rabier had ridden to a neighboring village and called on the mayor, stating that he was ordered by the general commanding the division to bring provisions for his staff; and he got all he asked for, the mayor even refusing to hear of any payment. Rabier was the hero of the day, and none of us had the courage to reprimand him for the manner in which he had obtained that dinner.

Poor Rabier! At the battle of Wörth, he received a bullet

which entered his head under the chin and came out between his nose and his right eye. As he was being taken away from the battle-field, he signed to me that he wanted to speak. I went to him and placed my ear close to his mouth, when he said in a tone hardly audible: "Who will take care of you while I am away?" And I thought there were tears in his eyes. I know there were in mine. I never saw him after that. He died in the hospital.

* * *

At twelve years of age, I struck up a friendship with a young Pole, named Gojeski, who was in the same class with me at school. We became inseparable chums. Year after year we were promoted at the same time. We took our university degrees the same day, entered the military school in the same year, and received our commissions in the same regiment.

Short, fair, and almost beardless, young Gojeski was called *"le petit lieutenant"* by the soldiers, who all idolized him.

At the battle of Wörth (August 6, 1870), after holding our ground from nine in the morning till five in the evening, against masses of German troops exactly six times as numerous as our own, we were ordered to charge the enemy so as to protect the retreat of the bulk of the army corps. A glance at the hill opposite convinced us that we had been commanded to go to certain death. The colonel drew us up in battle line, picked up a Prussian helmet with his sabre, held it up high in the air, and said to us: "Forward, boys, and remember that a bullet in the back is as painful as in the chest, and it dosen't look so nice."

Down the hill we went like the the wind through a shower of bullets and shells. Our colonel was the first to fall dead. Two minutes later, about two-thirds of the regiment reached the top of the opposite hill. The rest were on the ground. We were immediately engaged in a desperate hand-to-hand fight: a scene of hellish confusion. And there, amidst the awful din of battle, I heard dear Gojeski's death-cry, as he fell from his horse a few yards from me, and I saw a horrible gash on his fair young head. He had paid France for her hospitality to his family.

I fought like a madman, seeing nothing but that dear mutilated face before my eyes. I say "like a madman," for it was not through courage and bravery. In a *mêlée* you fight like a madman—like a savage.

* * *

Poor little Pole, he had died for France. I myself, at the age of fourteen, had shed some blood for Poland.

In 1863 the Poles tried to shake off the yoke of Russia by force of arms. All young France got excited over the struggle, and subscriptions in aid of the insurgents were started in all the French schools and colleges. I remember collecting a good deal of money in my school, and I found all the boys cheerfully ready to do without sweets or chocolate for a week or so in order to be able to give a franc, fifty centimes, or whatever they could afford, out of their little pocket allowance, for a cause that all considered a righteous one. In the eyes of a French school boy an insurrection is always a righteous cause. However, there was a tall, big boy, who not only refused to give or promise me any money, but who declared that he hoped the Russians would soon exterminate all the Poles. That was more than I could stand. In a moment I had taken off my coat, and advancing toward him with my clenched fist, I gave him a determined "Come on!" He was older and much stronger than I was, and, after a few rounds, I got the worst of it. During the struggle he managed to catch hold of my head under his left arm and tore a piece of flesh off my face. I have still a little scar under my left eye which reminds me that, at fourteen, I shed my blood for the holy cause of freedom. My adversary, however, was not allowed to rest on his laurels very long. Every boy who felt strong enough to meet him sent him a challenge, and life was made so miserable for him that, at the end of the quarter, his parents withdrew him from the school.

* * *

I was taken prisoner at the battle of Sedan, and after spending five months of captivity in the fortress of Wesel on the Rhine I returned to France, and one morning surprised my mother at home. For five months and a half she had had no news and did not know whether I was a prisoner of war or whether I had been killed. That meeting can better be imagined than described. I could only spend two days at home, as my regiment was being reorganized in Paris, and I had to rejoin it.

On the 18th of March, 1871, the people of Paris, in possession of all the armament which had been placed in their hands to defend the capital of France against the Germans, decided to make a strange use of their guns. They proclaimed the Commune

with the view of killing somebody, their compatriots rather than nothing, and the French army, not yet reorganized, and also probably out of habit just lately contracted, retreated to Versailles, leaving Paris at the mercy of the revolutionists.

* * *

A disaster at war is not always without its humorous side, and the French army having enough reputation for bravery to stand a little joke at its own expense, I will here, in a few words, tell the story of the capture of the Château de Bécon, of which *magna pars fui*. We were some fifteen hundred braves who took part in it. On the 10th of April, 1871, we received from Marshal MacMahon the order to attack and capture the Château de Bécon, on the banks of the Seine, which castle was occupied by the Communists, who had placed on its terrace two batteries that swept everything on the road from Courbevoie to Paris. The attack was to take place during the night. Now, everyone knows that a night attack has absolutely no chance of success unless it is made by old troops, by soldiers known everyone to their officers. The French army was only just being organized after the disasters of the Franco-German war, and the regiments were quickly reorganized with soldiers just returned from captivity and with young recruits. We did not know the men now under us, and the men had little confidence in officers who had never led them under fire before. We all felt how risky the whole thing was; still we had orders, and ours was not to discuss but to go. We started at one o'clock in the morning, having to march about five miles to reach the château. We had no maps, and the rumor spread about the troops that the engineers, who were in front, did not even know where the entrance to the castle was, and that while they would look for it in the pitch dark of the night, the Communists would probably have time to annihilate our force on the road which their cannons commanded. There was no confidence in the ranks. The engineers marched in front, followed by the infantry. In the rear we were with the artillery. We advanced with great caution, the soldiers with guns ready to fire, the officers with swords in their right hands and revolvers in their left. After marching at a very slow pace for two hours and a half, we heard a great yell from the front following shots fired from the castle windows. I will not attempt to describe the scene of confusion

that ensued, a panic of the worst description. At the rear, we shouted "*halt*"! But to stop, in the middle of the night, panic-stricken soldiers running away, why, you might as well try to stop with your umbrella the New York Empire State Express when running at the rate of sixty miles an hour. We had to retreat and return to the spot we had left two hours and a half before. Four men were killed and a dozen or so wounded, but every one of the young recruits was sure he had a bullet somewhere. On hearing of our return, Marshal MacMahon showed himself lenient. He knew what kind of troops we had under us and did not utter one angry word, but ordered us to be ready to resume the attack at daybreak. We bivouacked on the spot, took coffee and a nap, and, at six in the morning, ordered our men to march, determined now to return dead or victorious.

We told the men, although we knew nothing about it, that the engineers now had the plan of the castle, and that the capture of the place would be effected without any difficulty, and, to give them more confidence, some artillery went in front of them. There is nothing like the sight of cannon to inspire confidence in infantry soldiers. I have many times heard shouts of joy from the infantry on hearing that the cannons were near, and supporting them. "That's all right," they would yell, "the big drum is with us. Now we can play a tune."

The men marched more cheerfully than we expected. Some even began to sing, which is a great sign of confidence in marching French soldiers. We now felt we were on the road to glory. Still we advanced very cautiously. Soon we sighted the castle with its thirty or forty windows facing us. All guns were aimed at those windows to silence them at once. We saw no one appear at the windows. We heard not a sound.

We went on slowly, cautiously, every hand on the trigger. Another big shout started from the front, but a shout of joy. We looked with the glasses and saw the engineers inside the gates of the castle. We told the men that the castle was captured. All hearts felt stout, all keen to go on and to take full possession of the place. Still we went on with prudence as an ambuscade might be feared. We were now all of us inside the grounds; parties were sent to search every part of the castle; not a soul was seen anywhere. The castle was empty. While we had run away from the castle toward Versailles in the night, the Com-

munists, after firing a few shots from the windows, had run away from the castle toward Paris, leaving their two batteries on the terrace. A messenger was dispatched to the Marshal to announce that we had taken possession of the Castle of Bécon. Nobody was decorated for it—but we were victorious and alive.

* * *

Tragedy was soon to follow this piece of light comedy. On the 14th of April my regiment received orders to attack the Neuilly Bridge, a formidable position held by the Communists. We had no cavalry to do the work, so artillery were ordered to send the cannons away and to charge the force occupying the bridge. Forty men, under my command, were chosen. I reviewed my men. One of them looked sulky. "What's the matter with you?" I said. "Why, lieutenant," he replied, "we shall never any of us come back, the job is a big one. I "should like to have a pipe before going and I have no tobacco." "Look here, old fellow," I said, "fill your pipe and have a smoke. We charge in ten minutes." I gave him my pouch. He filled his pipe and smoked. He said nothing beyond a "*thank you.*" We started by a by-street, and as soon as we appeared on the main road, 400 yards from the bridge, we made a dash. What the Germans had not done, some compatriot of mine succeeded in doing. I fell severely wounded. Out of the forty men who started, ten took the bridge, the other thirty fell dead or wounded. I was quickly picked up and taken to a house in safety by one of my men—the one whose pipe I had helped to fill. For such a small service a French soldier will risk his life, and I have always thought I owed mine to my tobacco pouch. After spending five months in the Versailles hospital and three more at Saint-Mâlo in convalescence, the army surgeons declared that I should no longer be able to use my right arm for military purposes, and I was granted a lieutenant's retiring pension.

* * *

But for that wound I should now be in the French army, perhaps enjoying the title of colonel, like most of my American friends.

But then I should never have written *John Bull and His Island,* which is a thought too awful to contemplate—for

MAX O'RELL.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

BY ALVAH H. DOTY, M. D., HEALTH OFFICER OF THE PORT OF NEW YORK.

THE many ineffectual attempts made in past years to establish a National Bureau of Health at Washington have rather discouraged those who have labored with this end in view, and the matter therefore has lain dormant except at times when outbreaks of infectious disease have seriously menaced the public health. At these periods a demand is generally made on the part of the people for such legislation as will place the control of matters pertaining to the public health in the hands of the Federal government. This demand is usually made in a spasmodic and mechanical way, without any special investigation to ascertain whether or not the emergency can be properly met by the State or municipal authorities in charge, and it generally subsides after the panic is over. It certainly has never been sufficiently pronounced and lasting to furnish substantial aid in bringing about the desired result. During these periods of activity, numerous bills, the intent of which is to establish a National Bureau or Department of Health, find their way to the Senate or to the House of Representatives. Almost all of these bills are faulty in construction or impracticable and have but few supporters, and therefore are not afterwards heard from.

The yellow fever outbreak which occurred in the South during the past year has again brought this subject prominently before the public; and it is evident from the organized movements on the part of many of the important medical and commercial bodies throughout the country, that for the first time it is to receive serious consideration on the part of Congress.

So much has been written from different standpoints relative to the national control of the public health that the lay reader particularly gains but little knowledge which is clear and satisfactory to him. I therefore wish to present the matter from the point of view of a practical sanitarian.

In order that the subject may be more clearly understood, it will be treated under the following heads:

First.—Is a National Bureau or Department of Health necessary?

Second.—If the creation of such a department is necessary, from whence comes the opposition which thus far has prevented the desired result?

Third.—If needed, in what manner should such a department be constructed, and what should be its functions?

First.—The history of public sanitation in the United States practically presents two periods—the first extending from the earliest records to the year 1882; the second from the latter date to the present time.

A description of the treatment and prevention of infectious diseases prior to 1882 presents but little which commands the admiration of the modern sanitarian. We find that rules and regulations were enforced, which were not only valueless but often too rigorous and unjust. Added to this was a want of harmony of action in the different sections of the country, frequently to such an extent as to bring ridicule upon the health officials in charge. This naturally generated a lack of confidence, and early in the present century the expediency of placing this important service in charge of the Federal government was vigorously discussed. These facts are very apt to be accepted as an evidence of a want of interest and intelligence on the part of local officials, and as a result discredit has been frequently thrown upon the work performed by State and municipal health officers. That absurd and unnecessary sanitary rules and regulations have been enforced and that there has been a want of uniformity among the States and municipalities cannot be gainsaid, but that this was to a great extent unavoidable will be appreciated by any one who is patient enough to give some study to this subject; for it soon becomes evident that prior to 1882 there was almost a total lack of definite scientific facts upon which could be based an intelligent and uniform plan of action. Therefore, each health official did

what, in his experience, seemed best for the protection of the public against the invasion or extension of infectious disease. Consequently the methods enforced were necessarily empirical and frequently valueless. The dissatisfaction which existed during the earlier times still lingers, not because the same irregular methods are now employed, but because the present situation is not fully understood.

The year 1882 ushered in an exceedingly important period in the history of public sanitation. It may properly be called an educational or scientific epoch, and for the first time it became possible to treat infectious diseases from a scientific standpoint.

In the year above referred to Professor Koch, a distinguished German physician and investigator, reported the discovery of the tubercle bacillus, and in the following year, 1883, of the cholera bacillus. His statements were soon verified and the germ origin of some of the infectious diseases were fully confirmed. Other important discoveries in this line were made in rapid succession, and bacteriological research received a stimulus such as it had never before known. No better idea of its rapid development can be given than by pointing to the fact that in 1884 there was but one laboratory in the world where instruction was given in bacteriology. This was in Copenhagen. To-day there is hardly a city of importance in any country which does not boast of one or more institutions for this purpose.

During the time that has elapsed since Koch's discovery, sanitarians have vied with each other in their endeavors to obtain additional information relative to the treatment and prevention of infectious disease. Exhaustive bacteriological investigations as to the nature of the micro-organisms of cholera, anthrax, diphtheria, tuberculosis, Bubonic plague, yellow fever, etc., have been made, and others are now in progress. Already an antitoxin has been produced for the prevention and cure of diphtheria. The value of this agent in decreasing the mortality of that disease can hardly be overestimated. Experiments with the view of determining the germicidal power of agents known as disinfectants have been made and the results already obtained are eminently satisfactory. We now have indisputable evidence of the destructive power of steam and other disinfectants upon the pathogenic organisms (organisms or germs which cause infectious disease),

and apparatus for the practical application of these agents has been perfected. Therefore definite scientific measures for the prevention of infectious disease have taken the place of the crude and empirical performances of the past. In this work the United States is in advance of many other countries, and it is but fair to state that the important bacteriological and experimental work referred to has been carried on principally by State and municipal officers.

I have intended to show that the absence of uniform action, the enforcement of unjust and frequently valueless rules and regulations, which were characteristic of the methods employed during the first period, were not due to a deliberate effort on the part of health officials to force upon the public their theories for the treatment and prevention of infectious disease, nor to oppose uniform rules and regulations, but to a want of scientific facts, which were needed as a guide for their official action. This condition fortunately is fast becoming a thing of the past, and therefore should have no undue weight in the consideration of the necessity of a National Board of Health. Neither should the fact that a few local officials still cling to the earlier methods be taken as an index of the existing condition of public sanitation in the United States, which is being rapidly placed on a scientific basis.

There is probably no one who has carefully studied the advance made in sanitary science during the past fifteen years who is not convinced that the important and definite knowledge we now possess as to the origin, treatment, and prevention of infectious disease inevitably tends towards a uniformity of action in the enforcement of sanitary rules and regulations throughout the country; that is, so far as the climatic and other local conditions will allow. This, however, would be necessarily slow, and it is believed that the establishment of a National Health Bureau having general supervision over health matters both at the coast and the interior, would, if properly organized, hasten this result and would insure a satisfactory and efficient public health service. This proposition has the full support of the experienced sanitarians and the medical profession in general throughout the country.

Second.—The opposition which has been brought to bear from time to time to defeat legislation tending towards the creation of

a National Bureau of Health is due mainly to the belief that the establishment of such a department would very seriously interfere with the rights of States and municipalities. In addition, those who are interested in this matter have been unable to agree on any one measure to secure the end desired. In the controversy which takes place while this subject is under consideration, the question of State rights occupies a prominent place. There are some who are sufficiently radical to deny that the rights of States and municipalities should for a moment be taken into consideration, provided these in any way interfere with the establishment of a central health bureau. These people would give to the Federal government the entire charge and control of matters relating to the public health, both in the interior and at the coast or quarantine. They dismiss abruptly the suggestion that the harmony of action, which is so earnestly desired, can only be brought about by education and co-operation and not by unnecessarily interfering with the functions of already existing State and municipal officers. These extravagant and immoderate opinions, probably more than anything else, have been responsible for the decided antagonism shown on the part of local officials towards any measure which is meant to deprive them of rights and to belittle responsibilities with which they are clearly invested by their constituents, and it is safe to assume that this has prevented the co-operation which they would have otherwise extended in the effort to secure a National Bureau of Health.

Under the *third* heading is involved the consideration of the most important part of this subject. Those who are interested in the national control of health matters, either directly or indirectly, have gradually during the past six months formed themselves into two distinct factions, each having introduced in Congress a bill which embodies their views on the subject. Aside from the fact that both agree that the Federal government should have much to say in this direction, their ideas as to the methods by which a uniformity of action in public health matters should be brought about are widely divergent and cannot be reconciled. On one side we have the perpetuation of the rather ancient belief, that the national government should be supreme in all matters relating to the public health; that it should be clothed with almost absolute power, sufficient to override at any time State and municipal health authorities without regard to the exi-

gencies of the case. Indeed, it appears to be part of the creed of this faction to belittle the efforts and service of State and municipal health authorities, whom they regard as necessarily incompetent and unworthy of much consideration. A feeling of this kind certainly does not encourage an alliance with local health officials in a combined effort to prevent the entrance or extension of infectious disease in the United States. It is not the apparent desire of these people to show how much can be done in bringing about a uniformity of action with but little Federal power, but they impatiently present evidence to show that the government has the right to override and to supplant State and municipal officers rather than aid and encourage them in their duties. Lengthy legal opinions in confirmation of this are presented—days and weeks have been spent in and out of Congress to show that so far as health matters are concerned, State and municipal rights can be set aside at the will of the Federal authorities. For what purpose is this, if not to indicate that in their opinion force is essential in bringing about a harmony of action among local health officials. This necessarily produces antagonism and resentment, and this is not strange considering the high efficiency which, during the past fifteen years, so many local health organizations have attained. Without the co-operation of State and municipal officers, the administration of public health matters by the national government in any manner would be a dismal failure, no matter what laws may be enacted for this purpose or what procedure followed.

Local health officials, I believe, are generally regarded as intelligent and law-abiding citizens, and are more than willing to act in concert with the Federal government and officials of other States and municipalities in bringing about harmony of action, provided, in their opinion, this does not in any given instance menace the health of their respective communities. There is but little to criticise in this attitude, as it is but natural that the officials in question should regard the safety of their own people as of paramount importance. It is the complication which presents itself just at this particular point, upon which the whole controversy hinges. Suppose, for instance, that the Federal government is clothed with sufficient power to enforce such health regulations as may be deemed advisable by Federal officials; suppose that during the outbreak of yel-

low fever in some portion of the South, a certain town has declared through its local health officer, that no train, vehicle or person shall be allowed to enter or pass through this point—possibly a "shot-gun" quarantine (which is rather a relic of the middle ages, and is to be deprecated) is inaugurated, as an additional means of safety. Soon after the occurrence a Federal officer presents himself at the place and declares that the interference with travel is unnecessary and contrary to the Federal laws, and demands that the restrictions shall be removed. Is there any one simple enough to believe, that in the excited condition of the inhabitants of this town, the demand of the Federal official would be promptly complied with? It must be remembered that these people are sincere, and regard the precaution they have taken as necessary for their protection. Now, what will be left for the Federal official to do? He will either gracefully withdraw without having accomplished his object, or with the power at his disposal will possibly invoke the aid of a United States marshal or other Federal officer, who appreciating that he cannot take the entire community into custody, may endeavor, provided he is allowed to enter the town, to arrest the health officer. In conversation with a Southern health official some time ago regarding this point he stated that it would require a large portion of the Federal army to carry this out. Does not this manner of securing uniformity of action savor of barbarism?

Those who advocate the stringent measures just referred to have voiced their sentiment in a bill introduced in the Senate in the early part of the session by Senator Caffery, of Louisiana. This bill gives to the Secretary of the Treasury, or rather to the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service—a branch of the Treasury Department—powers which are autocratic in the extreme. Under the provisions of this measure, the head of the Marine Hospital Service can make and enforce any rule or regulation which may be regarded by him as necessary, without advice or council. I have already given an illustration of the way in which this unusual and autocratic power would probably act. Assuming that the local health official in the case just cited is wrong in his treatment of the situation, he and his neighbors, at least, believe that he is right, and it is not the employment of force which will convince him of his error. That must be done through education and co-operation.

A compliance with the letter and spirit of the Caffery bill would tend to encourage State and municipal officers to shift their duties and responsibilities to the Federal authorities. This would be fatal to the proper protection of the different communities. The government should rather insist that States and municipalities provide competent officials, who shall be held responsible for the proper performance of their duties. The paternalism, in this direction, exhibited by the Marine Hospital Service bids fair to become a menace to the public health. We have already seen the effect of this in several places in the South, where outbreaks of small-pox, diphtheria, etc., have occurred which it should be entirely within the province and capability of the State and municipal officers to cope with. In the instances referred to these duties have been turned over to the Marine Hospital Service. This may be done as a matter of economy, but I should like to ask if the government is prepared to take charge of all the mild outbreaks which may occur at any time or at any point in the United States. I am quite certain that Federal troops are not indiscriminately used by municipalities, which wish to save trouble and expense in supplying proper police protection to its inhabitants. In fact it is of the rarest occurrence that they are detailed for this duty, and although the cases may not be exactly parallel, the principle is the same, namely, that States and municipalities must be prepared to protect themselves. Were it not for this our police and National Guard would be inefficient. Why should it not equally be the policy of the national government to encourage an efficient health service in the different States for local protection against disease.

It is fully appreciated by those who have carefully studied this subject that there is but one way to hasten a uniformity of action in public health matters throughout the United States, and that is by *education* and *co-operation*. The truth of this is so apparent that during the past winter almost all the medical and commercial bodies throughout the country have banded together to enact such legislation as will lead to the establishment of a National Bureau of Health ; the functions of which should be to aid and encourage State and municipal officials in the scientific work already begun, to co-operate and, as it were, form a partnership with them for the protection of the country against the in-

vasion of infectious diseases. This bureau should collect information relative to health matters, both at home and abroad; it should be equipped with laboratories for original research and investigation, and in different ways act as an educational centre, and in this manner stimulate local officials to become competent sanitarians and not discourage them in these efforts. This bureau should have the power to assume direct charge in different localities only when it is clearly proven that local officials are unable or incompetent to act. In the making of general rules and regulations it should have the advice and council of expert sanitarians who are familiar with the needs of the different sections throughout the country.

A bill conforming to the above ideas has already been introduced into the Senate by Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin. The bill is broad in its application, is meant to bring about uniformity of action by education, encouragement, and co-operation, and not by antagonism and force. It is safe to say that no bill of this character which has ever been presented to Congress has appealed so directly and forcibly to the element which is best able to judge of the value of such measures, and it is gratifying to know that at the time of writing it has every prospect of success.

ALVAH H. DOTY.

OUR WORK AND OBSERVATIONS IN CUBA.

BY CLARA BARTON, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS.

PERHAPS next to the actual doing of the work at a relief field, the most difficult thing is the telling of it. There is so much in detail, both important and imperative, that does not seem worth mentioning; so much to be improvised that does not class with regular work; usually so many excellent persons to be met and considered, whose untried opinions nothing short of a trial will satisfy and nothing short of a failure will convince; and the unexpected so often happening; that any description afterwards seems either too tame or too confused to be understood; and yet the kindly and repeated request of the editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW that, for "public enlightenment," I would write a few words, telling of my work and observations in Cuba induces me, even in the hurry of changes and journeys, to comply with it.

It was as far back as November, 1897, that I was made aware of the intention of our President to address a personal appeal to the people of the United States, with a view to bringing about concerted effort of sufficient magnitude to afford adequate relief to the perishing population of Cuba. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that my own thoughts, and such little influence as I might possess, had been directed to the same object since our return from Armenia, fourteen months before.

These like conditions naturally resulted in a conference. From that time there could have been no doubt in the mind of the Executive as to the moral expediency of a call. At or near the moment selected occurred the touching event which in its faithful, filial simplicity challenged the tender respect of the world. This great man forgot that he was President of the

United States of America, and remembered only the wrinkled face and parting message of the mother at whose bedside he humbly knelt—forgot that an impatient Congress waited for his message in order to convene, whilst he laid the last tribute of a mourning son lovingly upon her grave.

With deepened gaze and saddened face he hastened back to the stern duties of the statesman, remembering all the more keenly the woes of other sons and other mothers, and the wail of the perishing little children to whom hunger means so much. It was then decided to make the call upon the people of the country, to contribute in money and material for the relief of the suffering "people of Cuba"; and that a committee should be appointed to receive and ship from New York the contributions made for that purpose. The great courtesy of the direction of this committee was tendered to myself, and I had the pleasure of naming its present Chairman, Mr. Stephen E. Barton, for many years a vice-president of the National Red Cross, and a member of its staff. The honorable and efficient treasurer of the committee, Mr. Charles A. Schieren, was named by the President of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, and Mr. Louis Klopsch, proprietor of the *Christian Herald*, who had previously addressed a letter to the Administration proposing to raise money for relief, was made a third member of the committee, now known as the Central Cuban Relief Committee.

The shipment of supplies was, naturally, consigned to Consul General Lee as the highest-bonded officer on the island, to receive and distribute; and I was requested by the same authority to follow to Cuba and assist in the distribution.

Consul-General Lee having asked the committee for an assistant in handling the supplies, rapidly increasing in quantity, Mr. J. K. Elwell, a gentleman of several years residence in Cuba, and familiar with the language, was appointed by the committee. He accompanied me on my first visit to Havana, and still holds that position.

Shipments of supplies had been made by some eight or ten Ward Line steamers. They were stored by courtesy in the great San José warehouse, adjacent to the custom house, and were being distributed from a number of depots, mainly the private residences of citizens, members of a committee, consisting of leading people of Havana, appointed by the Consul-General.

At the time of our arrival supplies had been landed only at Havana, and no outside distribution had commenced—indeed, to all appearance, the home market was quite sufficient. Distributions were made in weekly rations by tickets. Sunday was the day of distribution of the American supplies. The first sight of this, as we drove from house to house, is not easily forgotten. The crowds of gaunt hunger that clustered about the door—the streets far back filled with half-clad, eager masses of humanity, waiting, watching, for the little packages, for the morsel of food that was to interpose between them and the death that threatened them. The first station had issued one thousand tickets; the second, thirteen hundred; the third, eighteen hundred; and the largest, twenty-two hundred. About twelve thousand persons received rations that day. The gatherings were orderly, patient, respectful, but pitiful beyond description.

The question constantly coming up was, *Where* do these wretched people stay? Sent away from their homes, ignorant, helpless, where do they find others? It was suggested that Los Fosos, a large, old establishment that had once formed one of the landmarks, if not defenses, of the city, had been used for this purpose. A visit to it revealed what human wretchedness—without force, without intentional inhumanity, indeed, with perhaps the opposite—a modified disposition to relieve—could mean. On these dark, bare, wet, filthy floors, a hundred feet unbroken by partition, with few cots or any other provision for sleeping, were huddled from six hundred to eight hundred human beings, largely women and children, although many feeble men and boys were among them. Very few could walk; a piece of a blanket or shawl; often no dress underneath; no mattress. Sometimes a few rags were visible.

The "rations" (for this was a municipal arrangement) had lately been discontinued and only the charitable gifts of the city people sustained it. American food had not yet entered. A few physicians looked in on them, but there were no medicines; and, to add to my terror, I felt these long unbroken floors trembling and yielding beneath the ever increasing weight put upon them.

It required but a few days to get a member of the Consul's committee in charge and American food in well cooked meals served twice a day; cots and clothing for all; rooms partitioned

off for dispensary, clothing and stores; with kind physicians glad to serve, when they had something to serve with ; brooms, brushes and dusters into the hands of those who had a little strength to use them ; stairs and floors securely bridged and shored ; and, when our genial Dr. Lesser grasped the welcoming hand of these noble hearted surgeons, and "Sister Bettina" took in her band of trained nurses, one drew a long breath of glad relief and felt that Los Fosos was a thing of history. A homeless man now finds shelter there for the night and a hungry man or woman a plate of food ; and so far from being a reproach it is a credit to the city.

By this time the supplies were coming in larger shipments. The warehouse not only provided free storage, but the free use of its force of help, in handling, as well. Too much praise could not be rendered that competent business firm, and the custom house officials were equally obliging and helpful. True, their laws are like the laws of the Medes and Persians and as strictly enforced, but therein consists the security and safety we have at all times enjoyed.

The cordiality that met us on all sides was remarkable. On February 14, only five days after our arrival, we were begged to leave our duties long enough to visit our splendid battleship, the "Maine," lying a "thing of beauty" scarce a quarter of a mile from shore. Our luncheon with Captain Sigsbee and his gallant officers remains a sad and pleasant memory. Thirty hours later, the doors and windows of our rooms in the Inglaterra (for we were still at the hotel) rattled and flew open, the thunder of the heaviest artillery pealed over the city and the heavens were filled with lurid blaze and bursting bombs. We have little need of the poet's stirring battle-cry of to-day, "Remember, the 'Maine.'" We who saw her destruction, the agony of her survivors, and the burial of her dead can never cease to remember.

Directly following this we rented and removed to a comfortable house in Cerro, Villa Jorrin, a delightful suburb of Havana, two miles out and reached by street cars ; sufficiently capacious for the members of the staff who might follow, and which, to-day, constitutes the headquarters of the American Red Cross in Cuba. Members and assistants, to the number of a dozen or more did follow immediately, including Dr. A. Monae Lesser, surgeon of the Red Cross hospital in New York, and "Acting surgeon-in-

chief," by appointment, of the National Red Cross at the field, and his accomplished wife, "Sister Bettina," bearing a relation to nurses similar to that of her husband with physicians and surgeons. Years of faithful service, devotion, skill, and successful attainment have richly won for them this distinction. Their trained nurses are now in Tampa, waiting to return to Cuba as soon as they may be permitted.

In this connection I should name our veteran field agent, Dr. J. B. Hubbell, who has stood on every field of disaster, nearly twenty in number, where the American Red Cross has given relief, and Dr. E. W. Egan, of Boston, equally faithful and devoted. Such is the nucleus of a staff of war relief which would at once swell to scores, nay hundreds, if occasion demands.

Before the end of the first week we had commenced sending to the country towns all the food that could be spared from Havana, and when the "Vigilancia" came in with fifty-two tons we felt that we might go ourselves and see how best to place it. Jaruco, only twenty miles to the east of us, had suffered greatly. No aid had reached it. Its one train a day necessitated a start from home at four-thirty in the morning, dark, damp and chilly. A ferry and a train brought us there at nine o'clock. A royal welcome awaited us from all the dignitaries of the town. The mayor, judge, doctor and priest, who led the way to the church, followed by a crowd of people that filled its entire centre, kneeling in prayer, with tears of gratitude to God that at length some one had remembered them, and as the word "America" in broken accents burst out in their sobbing prayers, we remembered the plentiful, peaceful American homes and happy hearts, and thanked God that we were of them. Alas! how poorly I took in the terrrible danger threatening to engulf us in the direst of woes that could befall a peaceful, prosperous people.

From the church our way led to the hospitable but plain table of the mayor, for breakfast with the leaders of the town and with them to visit the village of reconcentrados that had built itself up in the midst of them. A remarkable fact regarding Jaruco is that more persons have actually died in that town during the three years of the war than comprised its own entire population when it began. The charities of the town people have been something enormous in proportion to their means, but they have given themselves unto poverty. They could not even keep up

the furnishing of a hospital, although nearly every little palmetto hut had its suffering patients.

We asked to be shown what would be their hospital if it could be kept—a fairly good building capable of accommodating fifty to seventy, with only four patients, evidently left to die; but the conditions surrounding them forbade the entrance of cleanly persons. The stench as of something dead drove us back; but rallying we decided to make battle, and called for volunteers. Arming them with weapons of shining Spanish gold and silver we ordered them to enter the town for purchases, first, carts of water, for in its scarcity even that had to be bought in Jaruco; barrels of lime, brooms, whitewash brushes, disinfectants and whatever else was needed; next, taking out into the air the four poor wretches, to commence on the building and grounds.

Here were twenty strong men, full of unwonted courage and aroused impulse, to wage a battle with filth and death.

At noon we left, for duties in another part of the city and to arrange for the sending of heavy supplies. At five o'clock the return messenger found a perfectly odorless building, clean, whitewashed from floor to ceiling, grounds policed and limed, and the four dying men reclining on cots in the sunshine in clean clothes, eating crackers and condensed milk.

The next day went out new cots, blankets and outfit for a hospital, a Cuban surgeon, Dr. Jose Sollosso, to superintend it; medicines, clothing, delicacies, with directions to take all the sick from the huts to hospital. The women of the town, filled with renewed hope, begged to be allowed to assist. Reports came regularly to us to the last of our stay; few deaths. The town grew comfortable and happy under its rations of food, and the terrors of Jaruco, like those of Los Fosos, had passed into history.

We were meanwhile apprised that shipments for other ports would be made; notably Matanzas, Sagua and Santiago de Cuba, and some very heavy work was required of our men to avoid the harmful results of mistaken orders in the distribution of the ships. It was at this juncture, the last of February, that Senator Proctor, with his friend, Col. M. M. Parker, arrived in Havana, whose calm, faithful report of what he saw and learned, with no attempt at oratory, effect or sensation, has been the balance wheel that has steadied many a swaying mind and doubtful opinion.

We were informed that the "Fern" would leave New York with 50 tons of food for Matanzas; we knew of great destitution there; but hitherto our supplies had not been equal to the relieving of a city of fifty thousand.

We decided to go personally, learn the condition, and arrange for the expected distribution. On the 2d of March, inviting Senator Proctor to accompany us, we made another early morning start, to be warmly welcomed in Matanzas on our arrival. The description of this welcome, our reception by the accomplished governor—a royal Cuban—and much of patriotic and pathetic interest which marked the passing of the day, can find no place in the lines of this short and hasty sketch. However, they are history and can afford to wait their turn, when readers shall have more time both to read and reflect.

The condition of the hospitals when they were reached was pitiful beyond description, and no description will be here attempted. I may only add that to us, with our work-a-day ideas and customs, it seemed that deeper interest and greater care on the part of some one could have improved conditions even as discouraging as these. We gave all we had to give, with the positive and repeated assurances that the next train from Havana would bring supplies of food suitable for the sustenance of all the hospitals, and we promised that a ship would bring relief to every hungry reconcentrado; then we hastened back by the one returning train late in the day to fulfil our promise. I may only add that we did fulfil it. The Friday morning train, March 4th, took four tons of the choicest hospital supplies in the warehouse of Havana to Matanzas. Resting in this certainty, and fearing that similar conditions might exist elsewhere, we continued our investigations through these dark early morning journeys, Senator Proctor and friends always accompanying, till Artemisa, Sagua le Grande and Cienfuegos had been reached and investigated within the week. Having learned the condition and needs of these great points, and prepared ourselves to report correctly to the committee at New York, and having learned that the "Fern" had arrived at Matanzas, it was proper to repeat our visit and arrange for distribution.

Our first Senatorial visitors had returned to Washington, and a second and larger party of honored representatives of the government, together with Mr. Louis Klopsch, of the New York com-

mittee, had taken its place, and also accompanied us on this second visit to Matanzas. It pains me to write that, in spite of all our efforts, we arrived to find the hospital in worse condition, if possible, than before, and the four tons of hospital supplies for which we held the way bills, sent on the 4th, eight days before still lying in perfect and compact order in the freight room of the station, each bearing the relief sign of the Red Cross, and plainly addressed to the American authorities there. All the authorities of the town were Cubans and Americans: and at that moment to greet our eyes the steamship "Fern" lay under the American flag within gunshot of the shore with 50 tons of American supplies; and fifty rods away lay the "Bergen" under the same colors, bearing a cargo of fifty-two tons, from the Philadelphia Red Cross, faithfully sent through the New York committee, by request. I simply name these circumstances to emphasize the fact, that, at the moment when the appeal went out over our paralyzed country for "starving Matanzas," there were lying in her station, or within gunshot of her shores, in plain view, one hundred and fifty-six tons of the best food our great, generous-hearted people could contribute. It is needless to add that our field agent, Dr. Hubbell, remained, and that the inmates of the four hospitals partook of their supper from the waiting supplies. With the seven hundred tons that have since been promiscuously sent to Matanzas, her people should not be hungry.

Dr. Hubbell remained at Matanzas and Sagua until official notification came from America that provision had been made to take all Americans from the island. No exceptions were made in favor of any one, and presuming that, in the event of hostilities, our government would prefer its citizens to be in the rear rather than in front of its guns, we obediently and respectfully withdrew.

From no authorities or people on the island have we ever received any but the most considerate and courteous treatment

CLARA BARTON.

THE INSURGENT GOVERNMENT IN CUBA.

BY HORATIO S. RUBENS, COUNSEL OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

The Cuban Rebellion of 1868 proved the power of endurance and resistance of the Cuban people. The present uprising proves that the Cubans are good organizers, thoroughly practical and amenable to discipline. The Ten Years' War was projected by the more educated part of the community; the present insurrection is the result of a popular upheaval.

The great secret of the success of the present Cuban movement lies in its organization. It is claimed that the Cuban people are incapable of self-government, but the facts prove the falsity of this statement.

It is not my purpose to show the causes which led to the uprising. However, it must be borne in mind that on the termination of the Ten Years' War, and the failure of Spain to keep faith with the Cubans and give them that home rule for which alone they laid down their arms, a large number of Cubans left the island to live in the United States, Central America, and the West Indies. Most of these were veteran fighters; all were opposed to Spanish rule.

Time passed; Spanish rule had become more intolerable than ever. The Cubans on the island looked to the veteran leaders abroad for counsel and aid. The spirit of revolt was there, but organization was needed.

José Marti assumed the great task. He organized the Cubans abroad into clubs, and these clubs were associated to constitute the Cuban Revolutionary Party. Every member of the party became not only a worker, but a regular contributor to the revolutionary fund. The veterans were pledged to lead in the coming conflict. It was agreed that General Maximo Gomez, then in

Santo Domingo, should have supreme command. On the island were established secret committees which completed the organization there, in accordance with Marti's plans.

It might be asked why, if the movement was a popular one, there was not from the first a general uprising. It must be remembered that the Cubans were not allowed under Spanish rule to bear arms. Every rifle had to be secretly bought or smuggled into the country. In the western districts those which had been provided were seized by the Spanish government. To rush into the field unarmed would have been madness. A nucleus had to be formed, and it was much safer to do this in the mountainous East. The 24th of February, 1895, the very day set by Marti for the uprising, saw the formation of this nucleus in the province of Santiago. In April the celebrated Maceo brothers landed, as did General Gomez and Marti shortly after. Professional and business men, engineers, and men of leisure flocked from the cities to the insurgent standards, leaving their families behind them. The country people applied for admission to the ranks in great numbers, until the leaders decided to take no man unless he could be armed with a rifle. Gomez proceeded into the province of Puerto Principe, and the men of that district rose and joined him. Generals Roloff and Sanchez, landing with arms and ammunition in the province of Santa Clara, which is west of Puerto Principe, were joined by its inhabitants. From Santa Clara, the next westerly province, Matanzas, was organized ; and towards the end of 1895, Generals Gomez and Antonio Maceo, in their now famous invasion of the western provinces, carried the organization to the western extremity of the island, and for the first time in the history of Cuba there was a general uprising, covering the length and breadth of the island.

Many rifles and cartridges were bought from corrupt Spanish officials, and some were captured ; but the thorough organization abroad was relied upon to increase the armament and supply the necessary ammunition.

There has been, especially of late, much criticism of those Cubans who reside abroad, it being claimed that they are too cowardly to fight. There never was need for them in the field, but for the money which they laboriously earned, and which they have given so freely, there was much need. The constant sacrifice of the Cubans abroad to supply the patriots in the field with arms

and ammunition, is as remarkable as it is touching. These men, who have been called cowards, have proved themselves to be endowed with the highest moral courage and capacity for self-sacrifice, and they are an indispensable part of the revolutionary movement. The so-called Cuban Junta, which is really the American Delegation of the Cuban Revolutionary Party and also the representatives abroad of the Cuban Republic, is responsible to the civil government for the fulfillment of its various and onerous duties.

It has been said that a large part of the rural population are not in sympathy with the uprising. As has been pointed out, orders had been given to receive no recruits who could not be armed. This, perforce, compelled thousands to remain at home, ready to help the army by contributions of food and clothing. Captain-General Martinez Campos confessed that the country people were all rebels, ready to spy on him, and give aid, comfort, and valuable information to the Cubans, while the Spanish troops were invariably misled by false information. He frankly stated that military operations were useless under these conditions. Weyler, too, became satisfied of this, and evolved a plan of concentration of the country people in the towns, destroying their habitations and their crops, and confiscating their stock. The wiser among them escaped in time to join the insurgents, and in view of the circumstances the military leaders bowed to the inevitable. Thus we have what is called the '*impedimenta*'—camp followers, armed for the most part with machetes—who are useless in most of the fighting, but a highly valuable auxiliary in foraging for the army, herding horses and cattle, working in the shops of the government and raising crops. The fact that some four hundred thousand reconcentrados have been starved to death by Weyler's decree, proves that they were known to be in sympathy with the insurgents, not with the Spaniards. The same is true of the unfortunate remnant which survives. Spain would not exterminate her loyal subjects. For the same reasons, thousands of insurgents in the cities have been forced to remain at home. They helped their more unfortunate countrymen until all classes suffered equal destitution. In every city there is a secret organization of the insurgents, which keeps in close touch with their comrades in the field and abroad, despite the vigilance of the Spanish authorities.

On September 13, 1895, delegates from the several provinces met at Jimaguayu, adopted a constitution which was to last for two years, and elected the officers provided for. Salvador Cisneros, who renounced the Spanish title of Marquis of Santa Lucia, was elected President, and Bartolome Maso, Vice-President. These, together with a government council, consisting of a Secretary of War, a Secretary of Foreign Affairs, a Secretary of the Treasury and a Secretary of the Interior, were vested with legislative functions. Sub-secretaries, Governors of provinces and their lieutenants were then appointed. The entire island was divided into small districts, called prefectures, and responsible persons were appointed as prefects. The prefects, besides being charged with the safety of those residing within their jurisdiction, have judicial functions and are responsible for the local property and interests of the Republic.

Tanneries, smithies for the repair of arms, shops for manufacturing saddlery, shoes, and clothing, the raising of crops, the herding and propagation of cattle in secure places, and the care of spare or overworked horses are all in charge of the prefects. A department of communications, with its chiefs and subordinates, facilitates correspondence on the island. Responsible tax-collectors receive the imposts decreed by the government. In the year ending 1897 over $400,000 was collected by the Republic by way of taxes. The organized Cubans abroad constituted a source of steady income, besides which there were large extraordinary donations by individual patriots. One lady contributed more than $120,000. On the occasion of Gen. Antonio Maceo's death an extraordinary contribution was made by the Paris colony of more than $100,000. Little more than $100,000, face value, of the bonds issued by the Republic, have been sold, at an average of forty cents on the dollar. The sale or grant of concessions or privileges has been absolutely refused. In short, the utmost care has been exercised to avoid the creation of liabilities.

The army is subordinate to the civil government. No military commissions, except the lowest grades, can be given except on recommendation by the Commander-in-Chief and the approval of the government. The army was wholly volunteer without pay, until the government passed a law providing for the payment of salaries, after the establishment of peace, for the term of actual service. The pay ranges from thirty dollars per month

for privates up to five hundred dollars per month for Major-Generals. The object of this legislation was to provide for the speedy disbandment of the army when the war ends, by enabling its members to return immediately to their peaceful pursuits, and placing a considerable sum in circulation. It is also the intention of the government to supply with tools and implements those who are in need, so that they may at once resume their former trades and occupations. To accomplish this purpose a loan will be easily floated, as the credit of the island has been kept unpledged. The civil government was at first confined to the east, but broadened with the spread of the military occupation.

In October, 1897, at the expiration of the term fixed by the constitution, a new constituent assembly was elected in the manner prescribed by law. This assembly amended the old constitution, and elected a new set of government officials. Bartolome Maso is now President and Mendez Capote Vice-president. The council of government consists of the President, Vice-President, and Secretary of War, José B. Aleman; a Secretary of Foreign Relations, Andres Moreno de la Torre; a Secretary of the Treasury, Ernesto Fonts Stirling; and a Secretary of the Interior, Manuel Ramon Silva. The Secretary of the Council is José Clemente Vivanco. The constitution provides that upon the establishment of peace there shall be an immediate general election of a new government at which everyone shall have free voice and vote.

There was no attempt on the part of the military element to influence the elections. The seat of the government was formerly at Cubitas, in Puerto Principe Province; it is now at Agramonte, in the same Province.

That the government has moved about is true, but so did our own revolutionary government whenever it was threatened. The reason, however, for the movements of the Cuban government was not that its safety was imperilled, for the situations selected have been almost impregnable, but because of the necessity of conferring personally with its generals. It would have been inconvenient, and probably seriously detrimental to the military movements, to have insisted on the generals leaving their forces to repair to the seat of government for conference.

In the eastern districts, where the country is in almost undisputed possession of the Cubans, newspapers are published, and

even schools have been established. The constituent assembly of 1895, and again that of 1897, elected Maximo Gomez Commander-in-Chief. There are six army corps. The first, second, and third army corps are commanded by Gen. Calixto Garcia, but the first is under the immediate command of Pedro Perez, Jesus Rabi is in charge of the second, and Gen. Xavier Vega of the third. The fourth army corps is commanded by Gen. Francisco Carrillo, the fifth, in two divisions, by Gens. Pedro Betancourt and Alejandro Rodriguez, and, finally, the sixth is under Gen. Pedro Diaz. The fifth, and sixth are, however, subject to the superior command of Gen. José Maria Rodriguez.

There are now about 40,000 well armed Cubans in the field. There are, besides, the *impedimenta* and others who have sought safety within the Cuban lines, amounting to about 100,000 additional men, all waiting for rifles.

From the outset, the Cubans realized the impossibility of carrying on a warfare of pitched battles, with the difficulty of obtaining sufficient arms and ammunition. When it is remembered that at one time Spain had as many as 220,000 soldiers in Cuba, the wisdom of guerilla warfare is evident. Thoroughly acquainted with every foot of the country, the Cubans always choose their ground. They cannot be severely defeated, because where victory is impossible they scatter only to reunite at a place agreed upon. It is like striking at a swarm of mosquitoes; you may crush a few, but the rest escape to trouble you anew. The Cubans fight in open order, while the Spaniards invariably fight in line of battle, or in squares. Whenever threatened by Cuban cavalry, the Spaniards form into square, thus offering a broad mark. When the Spanish vanguard is attacked on the march, it generally falls back on the main body, which then forms for action. Thus it is that a few Cubans will harass a Spanish column for miles, retiring slowly, forcing the regulars to form time and again, inflicting numerous losses, and goading the enemy to madness at the impossibility of retaliation. Often they draw the Spaniards slowly on into the ambush previously prepared, which the luxuriant vegetation renders it comparatively easy to do.

The chief reason for Spain's military failure, however, is that she has never had a proper commissary. Even when driving the Cubans before them, they cannot follow for more than three days

without falling back on a base of supplies. The Cubans live entirely on the country: yam, yucca, fruits, sweet potatoes, cassava, and even cabbage palms and sour oranges will sustain the acclimated Cubans, while the Spaniards sicken and die on this diet. Most of the Spanish losses have been caused by fevers and dysentery. In such a climate bacon and beans, the principal food supplied to the Spanish troops, is bound to cause sickness. Sanitation is a thing unknown. On going into camp, the Spanish officers leave the men to look after the horses and themselves at will.

The Spanish soldiers, mere conscripts, have no opportunity of rifle practice, as we understand it. They are simply trained to fire in volleys. They are mostly armed with Mauser rifles, which have five shots in the magazine.

There is some attempt at aim with the first shot, but the remaining four are fired wildly, too often from the hip. The result is a flight of whistling steel-jacketed bullets far above the heads of the enemy. The artillerists are equally bad shots. The Spaniards, unlike the Cubans, never march at night. The Cubans are excellent horsemen, while the poor Spanish peasant lads, from sixteen to twenty-two years of age, make but indifferent cavalry. The Cuban infantry can outfoot the Spanish, who are shod with canvas sandals, having jute rope soles. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Spain has made a dismal failure of her military operations in Cuba.

The climate, the guerilla warfare peculiarly adapted to the physical conditions of the island, the gradual decimating of Spain's forces, and the cutting off of all sources of her revenue from Cuba, have been the means on which the Cubans have relied in their confident anticipation of ultimate triumph. One of the first military measures was the decree forbidding the grinding of sugar cane and the gathering of the tobacco crop, the staple products of the island. The fact that but little sugar has been exported during the last three years, and that nearly all of it had been taxed for the benefit of the Republic, proves the strength and extent of the Cuban occupation of the island.

A proper estimate of the military operations in Cuba can be formed not by consideration of the battles fought, but rather of the campaigns planned by either side.

In the enforcement of the decree against grinding sugar and

gathering tobacco three campaigns have been fought and won by the Cubans. When Gomez and Marti landed in Santiago and conferred with the Maceo brothers, Captain-General Martinez Campos, who had arrived from Spain with large reinforcements, threw a line of about 10,000 men on the boundary between Santiago and Puerto Principe Provinces. He boasted that the inhabitants of Puerto Principe, which was considered a most conservative part of the island, having suffered much in the Ten Years War, would never rise in arms against Spain, and that he would keep Gomez confined to Santiago. General Antonio Maceo made a feint on one point of the line, drew the Spaniards towards him and left an opening of which Gomez took prompt advantage. Gomez thereupon fell upon several towns, captured convoys, and equipped the men of Puerto Principe.

General Maceo kept the Spaniards well employed in Santiago and cut off several convoys destined for the city of Bayamo, to which point Martinez Campos resolved to march.

He had made an elaborate plan. Three columns were to cooperate in surrounding and crushing General Maceo in Santiago, while a cordon of troops was to be placed west of General Gomez. With Maceo out of the way, Campos was to relieve Bayamo, then march with the eastern troops toward Gomez and catch the latter between his two lines. This was to end the war.

Maceo, however, defeated each of the three columns in turn, and then caught Campos at Peralejo, utterly routing the Peninsulars, capturing their convoy and pursuing them to the very gates of Bayamo.

Campos sent for more troops from the west, and while engaged in extricating himself, Generals Roloff and Sanchez had landed with war material in Santa Clara Province and were soon thoroughly organized. The celebrated western march of Gomez and Maceo was next projected.

De Lome had promised that with the advent of the dry season of 1895–6 would come the end of the revolt. Instead, came the invasion of the west, which Campos in vain tried to check. Gomez pursued tactics similar to those employed by the cavalry of the Germans in the Franco-Prussian war. Campos changed his headquarters again and again, always to find that the Cubans had outflanked him. Through Santa Clara, through Matanzas and into Havana Provinces marched the Cubans, threatening even

the capital, which Campos then hurriedly fortified from the land side, throwing out a line of troops south to Batabano. The Cubans cut through this also, and Maceo was left to attend to Pinar del Rio, while Gomez turned eastward. Martinez Campos resigned in despair, being forced to do so by the clamor of the rabid Spaniards in Cuba, who demanded a leader who would follow the traditional cruel policy of Spain. Weyler was the man who truly fulfilled their desires.

Maceo, after having entered nearly every town in Pinar del Rio, capturing much war material, set out to join Gomez in Matanzas. Weyler promptly declared that Pinar del Rio was pacified, that sugar grinding would commence immediately, and that Maceo and Gomez were in full retreat to the east. Maceo at once turned back, and in this, the most westerly Province, successfully resisted all attacks of Weyler for more than a year. Although Maceo had no intention of leaving this Province, Weyler built the western trocha at enormous cost to keep him confined there. Some 60,000 Spanish troops were uselessly placed to guard this trocha, to be killed by the miasma from the trenches and swamps along the line. Weyler's next campaign was against Gomez in Santa Clara, where the latter sustained himself in a very small district against over 50,000 Spanish troops. Blanco arranged a campaign against Calixto Garcia in Santiago, of which Pando has made a signal failure.

Despite Weyler's boast, not a single province is pacified. From east to west the Cubans are masters of the interior, while the Spaniards hold the ports and fortified towns. The Cubans have nevertheless complete access to the coast, as is shown by the receipt of their numerous supply expeditions. As a matter of fact the only operations of the Spanish are the sending of convoys of supplies to the interior towns.

The Cubans have some artillery, and have used a pneumatic dynamite gun with excellent results. Several towns of importance have been taken by the artillery of General Garcia, but the Cubans are chary of capturing towns with artillery, as the bombardment endangers their own friends and relatives.

That no port has been permanently held is due to the lack of a navy, which could not be acquired because of stringent neutrality laws. Spain is aware that Cuba is hopelessly lost to her. She has gradually diminished her efforts. To-day she has only

about 80,000 soldiers fit for duty, as against 200,000 at this season last year. The official records admit a loss of 65,000 to Spain during the first two years. Within the last nine months about 30,000 have been sent home invalided, and there are now about that number on the sick list in Cuba.

Spain's expenditures have averaged about thirteen million dollars a month. The pay of the army is greatly in arrears. Financially and physically, Spain's resources are substantially at an end. Her struggle to retain Cuban has been gigantic, but it has been badly directed. The Cubans, on their part, have shown good judgment in retaining and husbanding their resources, and in taking intelligent advantage of the weak points of their enemy. A people capable of such organization, civil and military, and of fighting a European power to a standstill on a little island like Cuba, without a navy and at first utterly unarmed, have surely given sufficient promise of capability of self-government. Nor is there danger of future internecine strife. The turbulent Indian blood which has proven unfortunate to some Spanish-American countries is entirely absent in Cuba. The racial question is not apt to prove troublesome. Only 30 per cent. of the population is of the negro race, including in this calculation the mixed races, even to the one-sixteenth of African blood.

Education has helped to develop the Cubans, and the fact that most of them have been educated in France and the United States goes far to prove that they understand the principles of republican institutions.

The Cubans have looked to the United States as the great model and protector of American Republics, and, firm in the belief of the sympathy and justice of the American people, they have appealed for recognition as an independent nation. Once free, there are many Cubans who may doubtless desire to follow the example of Texas ; but even as an independent republic, Cuba will always be bound to the United States by the strongest commercial ties, and the conditions of intercourse on Cuba's side must of necessity be the more liberal, since the speedy attainment of her independence shall have been the result of the friendly alliance and intervention of this country.

HORATIO S. RUBENS.

SHOULD OUR VOLUNTEERS BE RAISED BY CONSCRIPTION?

BY CAPTAIN JAMES PARKER, U. S. A.

In 1865 we had in this country a million and a half of men trained in the profession of arms, and fit for active service. As a military nation we were then, and were for a number of years afterwards, formidable. In view of our strength the necessity of formulating a military policy for the future did not seem pressing. We were tired of war and of questions of war.

Thirty-two years have passed. A new generation makes its voice heard loudly. It is for the assertion of our greatness, for the exaction of what we consider our rights, to the last iota. As a nation we have become aggressive.

But these thirty-two years have transformed our veterans into pensioners. They are long past the military age. The men who in 1865 were 24 years of age are to-day 56. Few of these are available for service. The military talent we have for years vaunted ourselves on possessing, is rapidly passing off the stage. We must open our eyes to the fact that we can count on it no longer. What policy shall we adopt?

Steam has transformed the ocean, formerly an obstacle to approach, into a road by which armies may be easily and quickly transported. We thus find that the nations of Europe, once remote, have become, as it were, our next-door neighbors. The period since 1865 has been for them a time of rivalries, jealousies, quarrels. While we have been devoting our attention to the arts of peace, they have been preparing for war, and now stand armed to the teeth, prepared for conflict. We find them prepared, by means of conscription based on the principle of universal service, to embody in their armies in time of war from three to ten per cent. of their population. France, Germany and

Russia each counts on having under arms forces of from three to four millions of men.

It is useless for us to imagine, in case we were involved in war with a first-class power, that we would not have to rival these sacrifices. We have only to look back at the colossal forces we raised in 1861-65 to realize that when our national existence is concerned we will spare no money, no men.

To provide for future wars schemes have been advanced in favor of a permanent enlargement of our regular army; for the reorganization and increase of our National Guard. Such schemes are illusory, because they are inadequate.

The prejudices of our people against a largely increased standing army seem to make that solution of the question impracticable. The National Guard is a home guard raised by a State to preserve order within its borders. As regiments, the National Guard cannot properly be incorporated permanently or in the armies of the United States. That they will be available in emergencies, and that large numbers of men and officers of the National Guard will in time of war join the national forces, bringing with them much available military talent, there can be no doubt. But it is none the less true that the individual States will have need of, and will be obliged to retain, their State military organizations. War often brings civil disorder, and troops will be needed at home as well as at the front.

It is evident, that in case of a great war, we, like the nations of Europe, will be, as in 1863, obliged to resort to conscription. The only essential difference between the conscription we enforced during the rebellion, and the conscription now going on in Germany and France, is that there they draft men during peace to be educated for war, while ours was strictly a war measure abandoned with the advent of peace.

The system of recruiting as perfected by the United States towards the close of the Rebellion was founded on conscription. It may seem a paradox, but at this period it was directly as well as indirectly by means of *conscription* that we raised the mass of our United States *Volunteers*.

In considering the subject of how our volunteers are to be raised, we should examine into the leading features of the system of recruiting elaborated during the late war, since in that war we attained our largest experience. It was an intricate system, since

it was a growth evolved by the necessities of the war, and had to be carried on in such a manner as not to offend the susceptibilities of the sovereign States, both State and National authorities taking part in it. But, as in any future great war we shall be obliged to adopt a method of recruiting modelled upon it, it should be studied in order that, if possible, its faults may be corrected.

Before going any further it may be well to enumerate the different military land forces which the United States may make use of in time of war. We may then more clearly understand the meaning of the term "Volunteers." These are :

1st. The regular army raised by the central government by voluntary enlistment. This is in one sense of the word a volunteer force. But it is distinguished by being a permanent force, the officers holding commissions during life or good conduct.

2d. Regiments of militia raised by the several State governments by voluntary enlistment for service in the war, and then mustered into the service of the United States. These were called "Volunteers," or "State Volunteers," to distinguish them from regular United States troops. Their officers were appointed by the States.

3d. Regiments of militia raised for the war by their respective States by draft or conscription from the militia enrollment, and immediately mustered into the service of the United States. These also were called "Volunteers."

4th. Regiments of the "National Guard," sometimes called "Volunteer Militia," "Active Militia," "Organized Militia." These are permanent State troops, raised by the State by means of voluntary enlistment, not for the war, but for peace duty, within the State. They were enumerated as part of the militia, in one of the first acts of Congress dealing with the military establishment. These troops before the rebellion were often called "State Volunteers." When mustered into the service of the United States, they too were included in the general designation, "United States Volunteers."

5th. United States Volunteers. There was a class of volunteer troops which were made use of in our early history, which were raised and officered by the United States central government. The law authorized the President to appoint the company officers of such volunteers. Under that law, these troops

were therefore United States troops; and they differed from the regular army only in that they were raised for temporary purposes.

In subsequent laws concerning the volunteers, however, this feature was not preserved. The United States relinquished, in great degree, its right, so that during the Mexican War and during the Rebellion the States appointed all regimental officers. On July 22, 1861, an Act of Congress conferred upon Governors the power to commission all regimental and company officers for volunteers, which power was continued until the close of the war. In consequence the raising of a regiment of Volunteers does not differ from that of a regiment of militia raised for active service in war, but there is this distinction, that while it is held that the militia cannot be called upon, under the Constitution, to go beyond the boundaries of the United States, the "United States Volunteers" are considered available for foreign service; and that, in the volunteers, all officers other than regimental officers are appointed by the United States. It will, however, be seen that the terms "Volunteers, "Volunteer Militia," and "Militia" were often, in the calls for troops, used interchangeably.

6th. Troops raised by conscription or draft, by the general government, by means of an enrollment made by its officers in each United States District, without the aid or intermediation of the States. These troops, being incorporated in regiments of volunteers raised by voluntary enlistment, were named like them "Volunteers." They were raised under the general authority accorded by the Constitution to Congress to "raise and support armies." The constitutionality of the draft has been attacked, but never carried to a decision. In the South, this question was decided by the Supreme Court in favor of the government, as it undoubtedly would be decided in the Supreme Court of the United States.

We may now consider how the United States Volunteers were raised in the Civil War.

On April 15, 1861, President Lincoln called for "75,000 militia" for three months' service. Under this call some States furnished regiments of the National Guard. Others had few or no regiments of organized militia and called for "Volunteers," who being duly enlisted, were organized into regiments, and mustered into the service of the United States.

On May 3, 1861, the President made a "call into the service of the United States of 42,034 volunteers to serve for the period of three years." By act of Congress, in July 1861, this call was increased to 500,000 men. It was promptly filled.

On July 2, 1862, a call was made by the President for an additional 300,000 "Volunteers" for three years.

On August 4, 1862, the Secretary of War, by order of the President, issued a call for a "draft" of 300,000 "militia" for nine months. "The Secretary of War," it said, "will assign the quota to States and establish regulations for the draft." "If any State shall not by the 15th day of August furnish its quota . . . the deficiency of Volunteers from that State, shall, also, be made up by special draft from the militia." Here we see that the President, in order to complete the number of Volunteers called for by a previous call, is obliged to invoke the authority of the Constitution, and the laws passed under it, for calling out the militia.

This "draft" was a State draft, enforced by the States, under regulations prepared by the War Department. The Governors appointed a commissioner of the draft for each county, with a deputy commissioner for each township, to make the enrollment of citizens of military age. Each township was credited with such men as had been already furnished by voluntary enlistment, and was obliged to furnish the remainder of its quota, if any. The drawing took place on stated days in each township, under the supervision of the Commissioners of the county and township. The men thus drafted were allowed to furnish substitutes, if they so desired. Some were exempted for disability; others being drafted, failed to report. The remainder on reporting for enlistment were sworn in and classed as "Volunteers." They were organized by the State into companies and regiments, the officers being appointed by the Governor.

On June 15, 1863, the President called for 100,000 "militia" for six months.

In the winter of 1862–63, the impossibility of keeping up our armies by volunteer enlistment had become so apparent that some more effective means of recruiting was seen to be necessary. On March 3, 1863, Congress passed the "Enlistment Act," whose main feature was conscription and the establishment of an entirely new method of raising recruits; the matter being placed

in the hands of the general government, the authorities of the States co-operating and assisting. A Bureau of Recruiting was established for the whole country, under charge of the Provost Marshal General. To assist him Provost Marshals were appointed for each Congressional district. The co-operation of the States was effected through an Acting Assistant Provost Marshal General for each State. In each Congressional District a Board of Enrollment was appointed, consisting of the Provost Marshal, a Commissioner and a Surgeon. The Board divided the district into sub-districts, each sub-district being in charge of an enrolling officer. The lists made by each enrolling officer were revised and consolidated by the Board, and formed the basis on which drafts were made.

As soon as this system was in working order and the enrollment was completed, recruiting was continued with increased vigor. Calls were made October 17, 1863, for 300,000 men for three years; increased on February 1, 1864, to 500,000 men; and further increased, March 14, 1864, to 700,000 men. On April 23, 1864, 113,000 militia were called for, for 100 days. On July 18, 1864, a call was made for 500,000 men, for one, two, three, and four years, and on December 19, 1864, for 300,000 men for one, two, three and four years. In all, 2,678,967 men were recruited during the war, of which number over 1,250,000 were furnished after the inauguration of the United States conscription; 168,000 were actually conscripted, the rest being raised by the bounty system.

On a call by the President, for a certain number of volunteers, the quota for each State was determined by the War Department and transmitted to the Governor of the State. The Governor then usually issued a proclamation, stating the requisition for troops, and calling on the citizens to fill it at once. Letters were sent by him, to influential citizens of every county and township, asking them to interest themselves in the work, and appealing to their State pride, that it should be done promptly. By these citizens, in turn, public meetings in the towns were brought about, at which patriotic speeches were made, urging the citizens to maintain the credit of the community and State, by a prompt and effective response to the call. A plan of procedure was thereupon agreed to and committees chosen to select recruiting officers. These latter were usually candidates for com-

missions ; besides being paid by the town or county for their services, they were often rewarded by a temporary commission, permanent commissions being conditional on recruiting the full organizations. Meanwhile State camps of instruction were established, one for each Congressional district. For these camps, commandants, quartermasters, adjutants, and examining surgeons were appointed by the Governor. After the first year of the war local bounties were offered by counties and townships, to encourage recruiting ; bonds were issued to raise the necessary funds. The men, on offering themselves for enlistment, were sent to the camps of rendezvous, where they were organized into companies and regiments. Recruits were allowed their choice of regiments, but they nearly all enlisted in new regiments. In an old regiment, neither commissions nor warrants could be held out as inducements to those who did the recruiting, and the chances of promotion, for a new man among old soldiers was slight. In addition, the fear that the hardest service would be given to the old regiments, had the effect of scaring off recruits.

The method of appointment of officers varied. In many cases, men of repute were authorized to raise companies and regiments, with the understanding that they would command them. In more cases the officers of a company were elected by the votes of the men. The most satisfactory plan appeared to be, to call for a whole regiment from some locality, generally a Congressional district, and appoint a commandant to supervise the recruiting. No commissions were promised, the selection of officers being left open until the regiment was filled up. In this way, a better opportunity was given to select the most worthy officers, the regiment being officered by its own members. When companies had reached the requisite number of men, they were mustered into the United States service by regular army officers, detached from their regiments for that purpose.

A bounty of $100 was paid by the United States to all recruits during the first two years of the war. After 1863 a bounty of $300 was paid by the United States in installments to three-year recruits, and of $400 to veterans on re-enlisting for three years. Local bounties were not common until after the draft commenced.

As stated before, by the Act of March 3, 1863, a system of conscription, directly applied by the United States, with the aid

of the States, was established. On the issuance of a call from the President, the quota from each Congressional District was determined by the Provost Marshal of the United States. The quota were assigned as follows: As the total enrollment of the United States is to the call, so is the enrollment of the district to its quota.

The quotas thus obtained were reduced by credits. Certain persons, such as officers of the government, cripples, etc., were exempt. On the day appointed for the drafting, the names of all who were liable to draft, written on separate ballots, were placed in a wheel, from which a person blindfolded drew a number of ballots equal to the quota of the sub-district. The persons whose names were drawn were then examined, and enlisted by the United States recruiting officers. Persons drafted, could at first be relieved from service, on the production of a substitute, or the payment of $300. Much dissatisfaction was expressed at this latter proviso, and in 1864, the $300 commutation was repealed, and substitutes required in all cases. While the conscription lasted, voluntary enlistments were greatly stimulated. The fear of the draft caused citizens to exert themselves to fill the quota of their township or county by voluntary recruits, and this they accomplished partly by local bounties. To pay these bounties, the counties or townships issued bonds, thus shifting the debt to children or descendants.

To make the local bounties more attractive, they were not paid in installments, as was the United States bounty, but often in a lump sum at enlistment. The local bounty system was no sooner started than an active competition was commenced between different localities. Men who were tempted by the bounty to enlist, were likely to enlist, not in their own county or township, but elsewhere, where the bounty was larger. These men were credited to the district they enlisted in, and not to their own district, and thus the districts that offered the smaller bounty would be stripped of their available men, leaving the remainder exposed to the draft. The pernicious effects of this system are too apparent. Take for example two counties, one inhabited largely by well-to-do people, the other by a laboring population. Tempted by the larger bounty offered by the rich county, the able-bodied men of the poor county (which we will suppose offered a bounty inferior in amount) enlisted and were credited

to the richer county, which thus escaped the draft altogether. Yet the quota of the poorer county was not decreased. The inferior bounty offered by the poorer county failing to attract recruits, the draft was mercilessly applied, and an unusually large proportion of the few men who remained conscripted. If any of these conscripted men had peculiar reasons for desiring exemption, they found that the larger bounties had so raised the price that substitutes were beyond their means. To make the matter worse, the richer county prided itself on its patriotism in having produced so many voluntary recruits that the "disgrace" of the draft was avoided. As a matter of fact, the men of the richer county had in reality purchased *substitutes*, paying for them in bonds, whose principal and interest was defrayed, not by them, but by their children, and by those who came after them.

Under this system the amount of the local bounties offered, in some cases, ran up to a thousand dollars. This dissatisfied the men who had been doing the fighting, and who bitterly compared their poor pay with the immense sums paid new recruits. The bounties increased as the war progressed, each call for soldiers being at the time thought to be the final call. The rise in bounties, and the difficulty in obtaining recruits, produced a class of men called bounty brokers, who exacted a commission on the bounties of the men they procured. These bounty brokers obtained recruits from the far West, and from Canada, for the richer communities of the East. Some were brought by force, or "shanghaied."

The States and districts having obtained permission to receive credit for sailors furnished before the draft was commenced, another class of brokers grew up called "credit brokers." These brokers hunted through the navy for men for whom the State or district had yet received no credit. Such men were as valuable to townships whose only object was to fill their quotas, as the legal number of *bonafide* enlistments. The declaration, true or false, of the sailors who claimed to belong to a certain township, brought the credit broker a certain sum of money, part of which went to the sailor. Some of the individual States, as the war went on, obtained permission to establish recruiting districts in the South (Massachusetts had five of these), where colored regiments were raised and credited to the State.

In some townships and districts every possible device was

used to have men accepted who were physically or mentally unfit for service. Numbers of criminals engaged in the business of "bounty jumping," deserting after enlisting and after having received the bounty, to again enlist, and desert again on the first favorable opportunity. This greatly increased the number of desertions reported. By allowing the bounties in many cases to be paid to the bounty brokers, who shared them with the recruits, the civil authorities increased the rapacity of the brokers, who often were in collusion with the "bounty jumpers," and who stopped at nothing to obtain recruits and have them accepted. Looking back on this bounty system and its results, we cannot but feel that they constitute one of the most disgraceful chapters in the War of the Rebellion.

The custom of raising new regiments, instead of sending the recruits to fill old ones, was continued in States where the quotas were raised without having recourse to the draft. Volunteers preferred new organizations, some because it delayed their departure to the front, others because they felt that a green hand in regiments of veterans had a slim chance of preferment. On the other hand, recruits raised by the draft were at the disposal of the United States as it saw fit.

The bounty system, then, with all the abuses engendered by the local bounties, was a direct result of the conscription or draft; but all authorities concur in the opinion that the conscription was, during the Rebellion, delayed too long; that it should have been commenced a year or more earlier. It strengthened greatly the military power of the country. It filled up the old but weak veteran regiments and increased their effectiveness. The drafted men were, as material for soldiers, often superior to those who enlisted for bounty, and only inferior to the patriotic men who volunteered in response to the first calls. The draft forced States which had not filled their quotas in response to former calls, to contribute their share in the work of fighting, and thus silenced the charges of lukewarmness and dissatisfaction made by the people of other States. In thus reducing sectional strife and animosity, it made the nation strong. Abroad it at once raised the credit of the nation, for foreigners then first saw that the people were in earnest, and that they had at last made effective provision for developing the whole power of the nation. Foreign nations no longer debated interference.

In the extraordinary and valiant resistance opposed to us by the South, the draft was one of the main causes of their tenacity. In the South there was no question of bounties; the conscription was early in the war applied with a rigor that forced into the ranks every able-bodied man, and brought out their whole fighting power. In the splendid fighting done by our opponents may be seen its value.

Having studied the details of the systems of recruiting by which our civilian armies (called Volunteers in contradistinction to the regular army) have been raised, it remains for us to consider what method should be adopted in future. There are several cases to be considered.

We might become involved in a purely defensive war, as with France or Germany, in which any offensive return would be made by means of the navy. Or we might have a defensive-offensive war, as with England. Or the war might be purely offensive, as in the case of Mexico, or a South American State.

In any case it would be well to provide for the expansion of our nucleus, our "skeleton army," our volunteer regular army.

Our experience during the war of 1861–5 was that the regular army, in competition with the volunteers, and as a result of the system of using commissions in the volunteers proper as an inducement for recruiting, wasted away. If provision is not made in any future crisis for mobilizing the regular army, we will lose a body of well-trained veteran soldiers, which would be surely of immense value in the period which must elapse before the volunteers could be made ready for active service.

I would accomplish this by localizing the recruitment; that is, by assigning on the outbreak of war each regiment of the regular army to a particular State for recruitment during the continuance of the war. Let the regiment bear on its colors, "Recruited in the State of ———." Fill the infantry companies and artillery batteries up to 200 men; the cavalry troops to 100 men, by successive batches of recruits; each lot of recruits being forwarded as soon as the preceding lot have had time to become drilled and assimilated. Appoint in each company, with the assistance of the Governor of the State to which assigned, a "third lieutenant," and fill all vacancies, afterward occurring among the lieutenants, and not absorbed by the usual appointments of the United States Military Academy (who should have

precedence) by commissioning citizens of the State in which the regiment is recruited. Such appointments to be on the Governor's recommendation, after due examination, but to be made only in case the companies and batteries have a minimum strength of 150, and the troops of 80. Establish for each regiment a home depot for recruiting purposes.

This would act as a powerful aid in keeping the regular army effective. The States would take pride in their regular regiments. The new recruits would be whipped into shape in half the time consumed in the volunteers. Men desiring to enlist would prefer an organization where the officers knew their business, provided it was raised in their own State. The commissions, as in the case of volunteer regiments, would act as an inducement to activity in recruiting. Our regular infantry force of 250 or 300 companies would very soon gain an efficient strength of 50,000 or 60,000 men, our artillery of 12,000, and our cavalry of 12,000. Since great numbers of regular officers will be detached for service with the volunteers, and since the companies will be larger, the extra lieutenants will not be found superfluous.

The further addition to the regular army of new battalions or regiments, under these or like conditions, might be a course that would commend itself to Congress.

In an offensive war, carried on at a great distance from our shores, the militia, being home troops, cannot always be expected to be available for foreign service.

In a war of any duration the organized militia is not in number more than is necessary to preserve order at home.

The regiments of the National Guard, however, will always form a splendid bulwark against the first tide of invasion. Unfortunately, they can be called into the service of the United States for but short periods only.

The militia organization of the United States acts as a school of war, in which will receive their military training large numbers of men, who, in time of war, will officer and train our raw levies of volunteers.

On the outbreak of war it should be the policy of our government, after making proper provision for raising and maintaining the regular army to an efficient strength, and after calling into the service of the United States such regiments of the National

Guard as are needed to repel immediate invasion, to make a call for United States volunteers, to serve *for the war*, to be raised by voluntary enlistment. This call should include enough troops for all contingencies. On no account should the term of service be limited to three months, six months, etc., as was done at the beginning of the war. It was found that during the first war fever it would have been as easy to obtain enlistments for the whole duration of the war as for short periods like six months. The desertion of regiments of short term men, when important operations were pending, has jeopardized many campaigns.

It is better that the States should have the raising and officering of these first troops (making due provision that officers should pass certain examinations), since the co-operation of the States in the work of raising the regiments, insures expedition. It is also better, as a stroke of state policy, as well as military policy, that a large number of troops should be called for, since it deters the enemy, and awakens the people to a sense of the seriousness of the crisis.

This first call being made, and the regiments being in process of formation and training, Congress should, in case of a war with a first-class nation, at once enact a law of conscription. In this way only can we keep the ranks of our regiments filled, cause disaffected localities to contribute their full proportion of men, and maintain the credit of the State, by showing the world that the policy of the government will be supported by the whole able-bodied strength of the nation.

To allow the counties and districts to escape the draft, by furnishing alien substitutes through the bounty system, seems unwise. I have already detailed the evils of this system. Under the guise of patriotism it works the most arrant injustice. It is a drawback to recruiting, in place of being an aid. It interferes with the efficiency of the armies, by causing new regiments with green officers to be raised, when old regiments, with trained and experienced officers, are useless for want of men. It leads to corruption, thieving and trickery. It works for the rich against the poor. It creates local war debts of immense proportions, to be paid by descendants. Its constitutionality is even a matter of doubt.

And yet we must take into consideration the possibility that this discredited system will survive. If it does, then its worst

features should be expunged. Communities ought not to be allowed to bid for men from other places. To prevent this, when the first enrollment is made, each community should be credited with every one of its men then in service, and every soldier should thereafter be credited to the township of which he is an actual resident or voter, and to none other. No man should be received under the bounty system unless, as is the case with our peace recruits for the regular army, he can produce verified testimonials from at least two persons in good standing, certifying to his character and good habits. This will be a deadly blow at the whole machinery of bounty brokers, bounty jumpers, credit brokers, etc. Bounties other than the United States bounty should have their total limited to an amount not greater than two years' pay, and required to be paid in instalments. The bounty should be paid to the volunteer in person, by the proper officers, and not to the broker, and any agreement by a volunteer with any broker, or agent, for the payment to him of any part of a bounty, should be declared void. The call should be made for men of an age between certain limits, the younger men being called out first. Thus, the liability to draft not being general, the bounty system will be less likely to be adopted.

In concluding this article, it may be well to take into consideration the financial aspects of our volunteer system. It should be remembered that modern wars are paid for not so much by those who take part in them as by succeeding generations. While great sacrifices are made, a war does not, as a rule, directly impoverish the people of a country, as formerly was the case. Taxation is of course increased, but the great sums necessary are largely obtained by issues of bonds. The ability of a nation to raise money on bond issues depends much upon the resources of the country, but also largely upon the amount of the national debt already existing. If this is small, war may be conducted without raising materially the rate of taxation. If, on the other hand, the national debt be unduly large the power of the nation to borrow is limited, and the sums needed to prosecute the war have to be obtained largely by immediate and extreme taxation. Every dollar, then, that is devoted to reducing the National Debt may be said to have been deposited in the Nation's War Chest.

In the War of the Rebellion our money flowed like water. In our desperate endeavor to succeed little foresight was shown,

and in our gratitude to the victors we still further built up the tremendous load of obligations by a pension list which astounds the world. We enlisted in that war two and a half millions of men. These men cost us for pay a thousand millions of dollars; for United States bounties, three hundred millions; for local bounties, three hundred millions; for pensions already paid, two thousand millions. The Volunteer system, then, is a costly system. By it both men and money are wasted. It is doubtful whether the sacrifices which result from our adherence to it do not equal those we would endure were we to emulate the patriotic submission to universal conscription of the people of the nations of Europe, and thus secure the effective means of preparing in peace for war.

JAMES PARKER.

OUR DUTY TO OUR CITIZEN SOLDIERS.

BY LIEUTENANT J. A. DAPRAY, U. S. A.

HOWEVER much public opinion in this country may have divided in times past respecting the necessity or wisdom of a permanent military establishment, it would seem that the era has at last arrived when vital interests demand that the question receive the deliberate, fair, and intelligent consideration which is necessary to determine the extent to which a safe and judicious government must rest on efficient military organization.

There has never been a time in our history when some recognized national leader, wiser and bolder than the average, has not vainly sought to impress upon the law-makers the necessity for military preparedness. Washington, before and after our National independence had been secured; Alexander Hamilton, in his commentaries on constitutional enactments and his estimate of the insufficiency of the militia system; Henry Knox, Secretary of War; Eustis, after his trouble with the New England militia; James Monroe, author of the doctrine that the National authority was superior to that of the State over the militia in time of war; President Madison, whose two Secretaries of War, even while battles raged, resigned their portfolios, declaring the militia system a failure; John C. Calhoun, who fearlessly advocated the absolute necessity of maintaining a military army in keeping with the enlarged population and increasing resources of the country; General Jackson and other commentators on the Seminole-Indian wars; all these and many others more recent, whose voices were lifted out of the early disasters of our great Civil War, have urged the need of a more perfect military establishment than has ever existed in this country. Without exception, too, all of our military scientists have repeatedly proclaimed the necessity for better military organization.

Nevertheless, against all modern principles of self-government and all demands for adequate military protection of our magnificently developed resources, minor politics holds to the theory that the government of the United States was established upon a fixed and never-to-be-changed non-military basis. In refutation of such arguments, however, the Constitution itself might be quoted, for in it is found authority for Congress "to define and punish offences against the law of nations," "to raise and support armies," "to provide and maintain a navy," "to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces," and "to provide for the calling forth of (a well regulated) militia to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection and to repel invasions." Indeed, we find the most ample authority, specifically set forth in careful language, for that elastic, progressive military establishment, which doubtless the founders of this government foresaw would in time become necessary. As if to declare their confidence in the two great powers of the State, the civic and the military, and to indicate the close relationship which should at all times exist between them, the makers of the Constitution provided that the President of the United States, elected by the people as a civic chief, should also be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy. Who, then, can gainsay the fact that the theory of our government, as manifested in the Constitution itself, was from the beginning in favor of the sensible, economical, safe political doctrine that in time of peace we should prepare for war.

But admitting, for argument's sake, that the innate or inherited prejudice against a regular army which prevailed during the earlier stages of our governmental development, tended to create political opposition against all military improvement; and conceding, too, that like our English ancestors we have had our eras of suspicion and dread of military ascendency, is there a school of politicians now so narrow as to perceive danger at this time in perfecting that one branch of our government whose weakness, resulting from long neglect, imparts a weakness to all? As President Lincoln once said: "Surely each man has as strong a motive now to preserve our liberties as each had then to establish them;" and as he added in another message: "As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthral ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

To the man who perceives occasion for alarm in a duly organized military system, let it be recalled that the future war armies of the United States, like those of the past, will be composed of citizen patriots, whose patriotism, impelling them to risk life in defence of country, would never permit them to menace its institutions or to endanger its liberties. The military power in the United States was never so great as in 1865, when General Grant, in command of over a million civic soldiers, after the object of war had been attained, quietly laid aside his sword to become the people's leader in their civic affairs.

During the first year of the Civil War 553,492 men were in active field service, and when the Confederate banners were lowered at Appomattox there were 1,034,064 Union soldiers under arms. At that time some political prophets were apprehensive lest that great military legion could not safely be returned to their homes. The War Department records, however, show the extraordinary fact that within two months and seven days after the 29th of May, 1865, 640,806 men were mustered out of the military service and started on the homeward march to the loved ones so anxiously awaiting them, the remainder of the volunteers following afterwards.

Verily, a military power so huge as that, which proved itself loyal to the institutions of government when military power itself was supreme, could well be trusted when circumscribed in time of peace by the law of the land which they are sworn to uphold.

In the United States we have never had a war army that was not almost entirely composed of the civic reserve soldier. It is true that the law maintains a small standing regular army, whose peace footing in the past ninety years has varied from eight thousand to twenty-seven thousand men, but in time of war heretofore no effort seems to have been made to enlarge permanently the standing army. During the war of 1812 and 1814, greater use was made of the regular army than in any subsequent war, on account of the absolute failure of the militia to meet the requirements. In the Mexican war the experiment of raising volunteers was tried, but it was not until 1863 that Congress legalized the volunteer system and gave to the President of the United States the unlimited power in war to call forth whatever number of men he might deem necessary for defence.

Now, it should be noted that, however jealous the civic legislators may be of the establishment of military power, when war is threatened all rush to provide for what they are pleased to term the national emergency. In 1812 there was no quartermaster, commissary, or ordnance department in our army, and, if the official historian of that war is to be believed, all of the early disasters and humiliations suffered by our army in the field were due to the lack of clothing, of arms, and munitions of war, for which governmental parsimony, made necessary through the want of proper military legislation, was responsible. In the War of 1812 quartermasters, commissaries, and ordnance officers, appointed only after the national emergency had occurred, were compelled to formulate their systems of supplies almost under fire. During the Seminole Indian Wars thirty millions of dollars had to be expended in twenty-five years to accomplish what might have been accomplished in the first year had ample provision been made to prevent the immense loss of life that followed. In 1861, even with an extra force and enlarged facilities, the Springfield Armory, then the only Federal gunshop in the Union, manufactured but 13,802 guns, whereas under the calls for troops in that year 700,680 men were supposed to be under arms. At the time of that national emergency it became necessary to ransack the junk-shops and outhouses of European arsenals for arms to equip the legions that took the field, and no one can estimate the loss of life which our unpreparedness for that war entailed upon our people. Only lately it was found necessary in another national emergency to adopt drastic measures for the public defence, and suddenly the propositions, which for thirty years had been vainly recommended by military scientists to Congress for adoption, were hurriedly approved of in hastily enacted laws.

Even recently, when in an outburst of patriotism fifty millions of dollars were appropriated for immediate expenditure for national defences, much, if not all, of the money thus paid for foreign labor could have been distributed amoug our own people, had that measure for defence been more timely inaugurated. The willingness and capacity of law makers to meet the emergencies of national peril are laudable, but need it be said that all emergency measures are necessarily less carefully devised than those which are framed with calm and deliberate judgment.

Besides, while in national emergencies ploughshares may be quickly turned into bayonets and defences hurriedly completed, not all the millions in the treasury can change the uninstructed citizen into a trained soldier.

The time has come when better understanding between the people and their leaders should prevail. If the Constitution imposes upon the citizen the obligation of military service in the time of emergency the people should not be deprived in time of peace of ample opportunity to be instructed and prepared, at least in the elementary duties of the soldier. There are those who find in the past achievements of our people and their eagerness in time of war, a ready answer to all suggestions regarding the necessity of war preparations. Because untutored civic soldiers during our great war rushed from the field, the workshop, the counting room, the factory, the store, and the quiet home, to learn their first military lesson on battle-fields, the political economists assert that, with such a people in reserve, neither military organization nor military instruction is at all necessary before war is declared. Alas, the political economists are as a rule military theorists only! Their knowledge of wars is not generally derived from personal observations of battle-fields. They do not hear the groans of dying soldiers, nor do they count the lives which proper military organization and timely military training might have spared to our people in every war they have fought.

The fact that the only law on the statute books providing for the organization and armament of the militia of the States was passed over a hundred years ago speaks eloquently of omission and oversight on the part of those charged with the duty of providing for the well regulated militia of the constitution. If the militia were armed and equipped in accordance with the provisions of that law it would become the guy of nations. Think of a modern people governed by a law which provides for the ludicrous spectacle of a dragoon armed with pistol and pistol holster covered with bearskin, or a rifleman armed with flintlock musket and carrying bullet pouches and powder horns! Yet such is the requirement of that unrepealed militia law, which no political power has yet been bold enough or wise enough to attack.

The strategy of war may never change, but the tactics of battlefields are constantly changing and being modified with the

advance of military science and improved weapons. Over a quarter of a century ago it was deemed advisable to send the greatest tactician in the American army, with a corps of able assistants, to travel around the world and ascertain the improvements in military organizations. The report of that commission was commended to Congress by the President of the United States, and for twenty-five years since has been constantly urged upon the attention of Congress by every President and Secretary of War, but it still awaits action. What we need in this country is careful attention to what military experts proclaim to be necessary for improvement in our military system—improvement which should be made before the battle begins. We need a careful analysis of the whole question of military necessities and organization.

We need now as we have needed since the War of 1812 a military commission, or a commission of well informed civic legislators, to determine the best policy for a reserve military. It is not intended to advocate the establishment at this time of a "regular" army in keeping with the increased size of our population; but it is intended to suggest that in a country where every man is presumed to be a possible soldier, a larger army than that we now have of 25,000 men could be wisely maintained, for the dual purpose of keeping intact a necessary element of government and of maintaining a medium for practical military instruction of the masses.

But aside from whatever argument may be made in respect of a large standing army, the purpose of this paper being in behalf of what is due to the citizen soldier of the land, it is argued that one of the first duties of the government now is to formulate a system for organization, armament, and mobilization of a military reserve force. With over fourteen millions of arms-bearing men and 112,000 uniformed militia, a military commission or a legislative committee, charged with the adjudication of the question, would find a splendid basis of operation. The Federal government should have authorized voice in militia organization and the President should have constitutional right in time of peace to call out the militia for the purpose of either drill, inspection or instruction. When in 1893 it was proposed to mobilize a hundred thousand men at or near the Columbian Exposition to show the world the capacity of the government to

mobilize under our volunteer military system, it was found there was no Federal authority for the scheme, which depended solely upon the pleasure of the various State commanders-in-chief.

Notwithstanding all the achievements of our volunteer armies in our two last wars, it must be conceded that in any war likely again to occur it would be exceedingly hazardous, not to say positively fatal, to follow the experiment of a McClellan volunteer army. That army had arrayed against it a mass of newly-made soldiers but little superior, in a military sense, to the men of the North, and yet even that little superiority told ; for, as a famous general once asserted, nearly all of the early disasters on the Federal side during the Civil War were due to the rawness and inexperience of the freshly enrolled Union soldiers. If there is another war our enemy will be one or more of the military nations of Europe, whose soldiers will not be inexperienced. Said Lord Wolseley, in a warning to the British government: "You may collect together in a few months a great mass of armed men that will do to fight another mass of men similarly organized and constituted, but all experienced soldiers know how ridiculous it would be to send newly raised and untrained levies into action against a well established army."

The people have never before appeared so anxious for military enlightenment and training as now, and in a country where the law theoretically holds every male person between the ages of 18 and 45 liable to military duty, the people have a right to some of that military knowledge which is now spreading over the entire world. The people want to be educated in military science and tactics. Every year colleges, schools, and universities are petitioning Congress for military instructors, and, notwithstanding that only a few years ago the number for that purpose was doubled, not half the colleges which desire military instruction can have an officer detailed. At every State military encampment army officers are asked for. Many of the Governors have regular army officers detailed to assist State officials, and even the common schools are clamoring to have military instructors detailed to supervise their drills.

All these signs have an unmistakable meaning. The people desire that their youth shall be drilled. Mere drill, it is true, does not make a good soldier, but drill will make a natural soldier a better soldier and more subject to discipline in an emergency.

In a paper on military instruction, referring to the proposition to reduce the expenses of the military establishment, John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, said in 1820 : "Economy is certainly a very high political virtue, intimately connected with the power and public wishes of a community. In military operations, which, under the best management, are expensive, it is of the utmost importance; but by no propriety of language can that arrangement be called economical which, in order that our military establishment in peace should be rather less expensive, would, regardless of the purposes for which it ought to be maintained, render it unfit to meet the dangers incident to a state of war."

It was also one of the terse assertions of Mr. Calhoun that "no truth is better supported by history than that, the circumstances being nearly equal, victory will be on the side of those who have the best instructed soldiers." The great Napoleon who produced the military axiom that "Heaven is on the side of the strongest battalions," afterwards modified that high sounding dogma by declaring that competency of officers, and especially of subalterns, gave the most valued strength to the backbone of an army.

Following the thought of those two great men, the important question confronts us, how can we best provide a system for officering a million of civic soldiers who must be ready for the field in our next war ? Admitting that from among the fourteen million of arms-bearing citizens we may be able to gather an army of able bodied men equal to the hardships of field service, capable of learning within a brief period enough of the rudiments of military drill to enable them to move in column and form in line of battle ; admitting that they will take naturally to the rifle and be able to handle it with that calmness, coolness and precision which modern fire-discipline requires on battle-fields ; admitting that the great mass of private soldiers and petty non-commissioned officers may be quickly massed in an emergency ; it is nevertheless a fact that the most serious problem of our next war will be the securing of competent and trained men to act as officers and leaders of this great army we are counting upon in reserve. Bear in mind that aside from the private military schools where a limited degree of military training is conducted, the only Federal military establishment in this

country graduates on an average only about fifty young officers annually. Assuming that the limit of age for the officers of the volunteer forces in time of war will correspond to the limits prescribed for the soldier, viz.: 18 to 45 pears of age, it must be borne in mind that if war should occur to-morrow only 1,200 men who graduated in the past twenty years at the age of twenty-one would be eligible within the forty-five years' limit. But are not all of the officers that have graduated up to date needed for the present small regular military establishment? To officer an army of one million men would require 35,000 regimental officers alone, to say nothing of the large number required for the staffs of armies, corps, divisions, and brigades. From whence could that number of experienced or competent men be drawn? It is true in our late war, it is asserted, one New York regiment alone furnished over 600 officers, but that was an exceptional case. Doubtless, there are regiments in the National Guard of the States and companies in the States that could supply a large number of officers, but it is respectfully submitted that the time has come when military statesmanship should give more thought to the leadership of men than has been done heretofore. New York State organizations should not be expected or required to furnish officers for Kansas or Idaho. Each State, under a generally well fostered rule, should be assisted to maintain State pride by having State troops officered by competent State officers.

There has been a great revolution in war methods within the past generation and vast improvements have been made in war implements. Military leadership is no longer within the reach of every civic layman. Even the born soldier, so-called, must know something more than how to draw the sword; and the usefulness of the leader in battle will depend more upon knowledge of soldiery and military training than upon individual acts of gallantry or personal example of bravery. The officer must be able to teach, direct, train, and instruct the raw material which he will find in the massive ranks of the volunteers. Since the government relies for defence chiefly upon volunteer armies, it is a poor policy, if not a fatal one, to postpone the organization, drill, and discipline of the reserve until they are needed in war. Drill and discipline presuppose organization and are prerequisites to battlefield success. In the war of Secession, as Major-General Merritt asserts, it took one year to prepare our volunteers for

combat, and that policy, due chiefly to the lack of experienced officers, bad enough then, would be more fatal in any future war. The periods of our wars are lessening as weapons are improved and their tactical uses perfected. War, it must be remembered, is "a method of compulsion used by one nation against another." It has been defined to be a duel between nations wherein might is superior to right. The future wars must be of more gigantic magnitude than ever before. The nation that is but half ready at the declaration of war, if the antagonist be equally strong and fully trained and equipped, is more than half whipped before the first battle. Indeed, as Major-General Merritt says in his criticism, which is on the reference list of every military library in the world: "No war between war-making powers of Europe in the last thirty years has taken the time that would be necessary to prepare the best reserves we have for the field." Those who count in war chiefly, if not alone, on the bravery and patriotism of our untrained people are reminded that, while military enthusiasm and national patriotism are undoubtedly marked American characteristics, the admonition must be recalled that "enthusiasm and patriotism alone will not gain battles, but may add to the gravity of disaster."

What this country needs is that sort of military statesmanship which will recognize the inevitable in time of war, be guided by the experiences of war, and look with open eyes to the certain effects of given causes and conditions. Then will the fullest military capacity of the people of this American republic be demonstrated. Proud as have been past achievements, no man can estimate the future of a country whose vast resources are amply protected by a suitable military system of defense. It is not intended in this paper to prescribe a remedy, but only to point out the vital defect. Any one of the remedies proposed from time to time to Congress by the proper military advisers of the nation would do well enough, in the beginning at least. But for the sake of common sense, if not for the sake of our people, let some military statesman arise to champion and expound the policy enunciated by Washington, "In time of peace prepare for war."

J. A. Dapray.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES BY MADAME BLANC.

COLLATED BY THEODORE STANTON.

BEFORE Mme. Blanc ("Th. Bentzon"), perhaps the most distinguished of living French female writers, sailed for America last spring on her second visit to our country, I asked leave to publish extracts from her letters to me, which I knew were replete with interesting paragraphs that, if carefully culled and put together, would make almost a complete autobiographical sketch. The permission was promptly granted, and this explains why publicity is given to the following unedited notes.

* * *

Here is an account of Mme. Blanc's life from her birth to the moment when she entered upon her literary career :

"I was born at Seine-Port, a delicious village in the Department of the Seine et Oise, where lived Villemessant, the famous founder of *Le Figaro*, in a place once owned by my grandmother ; where still resides the venerable M. Legouvé, and where first saw light M. Berthelot, both members of the Academy. From my cradle days I was surrounded by types which no longer exists of the old French social system. Thus, I was in the charge of one of those legendary nurses, who, after spending thirty-seven years in the same family, drew her last breath surrounded by her master and mistress and the children whom she had brought up ; I was served by faithful old domestics, the like of whom are no longer seen ; my spiritual welfare was cared for by the rustic country priest, an almost daily commensal at our house, while the schoolmaster was accustomed to make his appearance in blouse and wooden shoes. And what picturesque relatives I had !

"My grandmother, after the death of Major-General Adrien Benjamin de Bentzon, who was governor of the Danish Antilles, married the Marquis de Vitry, a perfect type of the old régime, whose full name and prowess are recorded in M. de Foudra's

book, entitled *Les Gentilshommes Chasseurs.* Ex-musketeer of the King, ex-officer of the body guard under the Restoration, I looked upon my grand stepfather as if he were my real grandfather, so tenderly had he acted toward my mother from her seventh year. M. de Vitry was a boy of thirteen or fourteen when the great Revolution broke out and remembered it perfectly well. He was a superbly handsome man, always young, good beyond conception, and so prodigal that several fortunes slipped through his hands. I never remember seeing him in other than a modest situation, which he bore as nobly as the luxury of his better days.

"My grandmother cared no more than he did about these changes of fortune. She always had enough with which to do good, and was the ministering angel of the country round about the Orléanais village where was their country home. In my childhood I lived there a good deal. My parents spent the summer in Touraine and the winter in Paris. But circumstances caused myself and brother to be often with my mother in that dear home whose customs, when I compare them with those of to-day, seem to have dated a century back.

"An admirable English governess started me and my brother on our education. It is to her that I am indebted for my love for English literature. She set me to reading works which were far beyond my years, but which I understood very well. After the Waverley Novels, I was carried away by Washington Irving, which was my first acquaintance with America.

"While still very young, I was discovered to have literary tastes, though of course the thought that some day I would enter upon the career of an author never occurred to anyone, and if it had, it would probably have horrified everybody. I was eight years old when my English governess went into raptures over this phrase, which she underlined: "A rosy smile dimpled thy round cheek." It occurred in an elegy to 'My Broken Doll,' written in English. I have never forgotten that line. I stood high in the classes in composition and rhetoric, and my father, while careful not to awaken vanity in me by too much complimenting, often carried off in his pocket my copy-books in order to show them to admiring friends. Mine was an education by fits and starts without diplomas at the end, with much reading and dreaming, with meditation in the country and with some travel, especially a

never-to-be-forgotten sojourn in Germany, But certainly the most perfected curriculum of studies would not have been so favorable to the awakening and development of the imagination.

"At the bottom of all that I have done I find the moral influence of my mother, who especially preached by example; the British impulse given me by my dear Miss Robertson, who inculcated love of truth and simplicity; the traditions at the home of my grandparents, who kept me a century behind in many things; a passionate love of nature due to long years spent in the country where I have passed the greater part of my life; the keen sensations of the beauties of a landscape; the precocious curiosity to learn and the revealed happiness which comes from scribbling.

"I was married at sixteen. Three years of sorrow followed, in which maternity had its place. Then the melting away of what fortune I had, justified the development and affirmation of my literary tastes. Consequently, I have always looked upon poverty as an obliging friend, for it placed the pen firmly in my hand. Though I had long written for my own amusement, only once had I seen myself in print, and, curiously enough, I made this *début* in English dress. I had translated *Les Bachi-bozouks* of Viscount de Noé, one of our friends. These episodes of the Crimean War had appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1859. It would be quite impossible for me to perform such a feat to-day. In fact, I have always suspected that Colonel de Noé, who was English on his mother's side, must have touched up the manuscript before publishing it, if it really did appear, which he told me was the case.

"My mother married twice, her second husband being Count d'Aure, equerry of the Emperor and a superior man in every respect. He was my literary providence. It was through him that I made the acquaintance of George Sand, that woman of genius, whom I visited at Nohant, and whose counsels and encouragement I enjoyed. She recommended me in vain to Buloz. But my talents, in which she believed—she would often say to me: 'At twenty-two I could not have done what you are doing' —were not yet ripe for the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

"One day Mme. Sand urged my stepfather to read the charming first book—*Un Cheval de Phidias*—of him who has since become a celebrated novelist, Victor Cherbuliez. I reviewed it for a

sporting journal. George Sand sent the author my notice without telling me so, and Cherbuliez returned a word of thanks to the office of *La France Hippique*, supposing it the work of some man on the staff. I replied, without revealing my identity, and if my letters seemed to interest him, it is mainly because I was aided by the thorough knowledge concerning things equestrian possessed by my stepfather, who was one of the most famous horsemen of France, having commanded at the Saumur Cavalry School, where his methods are still quoted as authority on equitation. And thus it happened that I was in correspondence with Cherbuliez for over twenty years before making his personal acquaintance. I have still two or three precious letters of his which I carefully guard, especially the last one, addressed to M. d'Aure, who finally let him into the long-kept secret.

"But the person to whom I am the most indebted in the matter of literary advice is the late M. Caro, the famous Sorbonne professor of philosophy and himself an admirable writer, who, as he used to say, put me through a course of literature, acting as my guide through a vast amount of solid reading and criticising my work with kindly severity."

* * *

In another place Mme. Blanc thus speaks of her own father:

"I have social affinities with Germany, my father's family being of Teutonic origin. My father's life was most adventuresome, most romantic, being dominated by the passions. I have always thought that perhaps it is a law of heredity that the active qualities of the father are transmuted in the children into imaginative qualities. I sometimes think that I must have dreamed what he lived. My idealism, my enthusiasm, my sentimentality, are German qualities, though held in check by certain other French ones. This mixture of races surely explains a kind of moral and intellectual cosmopolitanism which is found in my nature. My father of German extraction, my mother of Danish —my *nom de plume*, which was her maiden name, is Danish— with Protestant ancestors on her side, though she and I were Catholics; my maternal grandmother a sound and witty Parisian, gay, brilliant, lively, with imperturbable physical health and the consequent good spirits,—surely these materials could not have produced else than a cosmopolitan being."

* * *

So much of Mme. Blanc's literary work has been in the form of criticism that this paragraph is interesting:

"It is impossible for me to make so generous a confession as yours as regards literary criticism. I have very often severely censured what is bad, not, however, from a moral standpoint, but from a purely literary one; for, in the eyes of a true critic, it is, perhaps, the greater crime to violate the laws of literary taste. What always shocks me is a judgment based on any other than purely literary ground."

* * *

In this same letter occurs this rather curious history of *Un Divorce,* one of Mme. Blanc's earliest novels, which was republished last year:

"It is not, as one of my American critics seems to think, the first gropings of an inexperienced pen. For ten years I had already been writing in the newspapers before I produced this book. At that time women long hesitated before bringing out a volume. M. Bertin, the famous editor of the *Journal des Débats,* having read one of my novels in a periodical which no longer exists—the *Revue Moderne*—probably discovered some merit in it, for one morning his nephew, the late Léon Say, afterwards a distinguished public man, called on me and invited me to write a story for the *feuilleton* page of the *Débats*. I promised to have one ready in six months, and thereupon left for Goslar, Germany, where I used sometimes to spend my vacations and where I had relatives and friends. My tale was finished and in the hands of the *Débats* when the Franco-Prussian war broke out. I thought it would never be printed, for sympathetic Germans were not likely to please the French reading public after 'the terrible year,' at the moment when Paul de St. Victor seemed to have struck a popular note by declaring Teutons to be barbarians and bandits. To my grand surprise, however, M. Bertin had the courage to publish my story. While it was coming out, my friends, M. and Mme. Caro, who were at Roujoux, in Savoy, the guests of François Buloz, founder of the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* called his attention to this new production of an author whose MSS. he had frequently rejected, notwithstanding the warm support of George Sand. He was sufficiently struck by the story to ask me immediately for a novelette—*La Vocation de Louise*—which appeared in January, 1872,

and whose success opened to me definitively the pages of the *Revue*. Thus I owe everything to *Un Divorce*. It is the key to my career. Although, when examined from the standpoint of a knowledge of one's trade, I could do better now, I feel pretty sure that the critic who places *Un Divorce* in the first rank among my imaginative works does not go far wrong."

* * *

In another letter Mme. Blanc writes:

"My relations with America have almost always been of a kind which create and strengthen lasting sympathies. Let me give you a few examples of this.

"I had translated Bret Harte when I received a letter from Ralph Keeler, who afterwards disappeared so mysteriously, being probably lost at sea, addressed to 'Mr. Bentzon,' and inspired by a most disinterested friendship for Aldrich. The letter called my attention to *Marjorie Daw*. I immediately translated it and it appeared over the author's name alone—I rarely sign my translations—in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of January 1, 1873. Aldrich afterwards told me of the joy of his friend when the latter handed him the periodical without saying a word as to who had thus worked for his glory. This was the origin of my twenty-five years' friendship with the Aldrichs.

"I owe one of the dearest affections of my life to an article entitled *Le Roman de la Femme-Medecin*, which appeared in the *Revue* of February 1, 1885, inspired by Sarah Orne Jewett's *Country Doctor*.

"So when I went to America for the first time in 1893 I had these true old friends and several years of intimate correspondence with them based on an exchange of ideas quite equivalent to a life-long of visits.

"But, however much I may be indebted to your country, I think I may feel that I have paid back this indebtedness in part at least by the publication of my book, *Les Américaines Chez Elles*, which has done not a little to advance in France the moderate and rational side of the woman cause. My book cannot be understood in the United States, where I am found to have said only what everybody knows there, but what nobody knows here, this last fact being its *raison d'etre*."

* * *

I might go on and give further extracts from the sheets lying

before me. But the above will suffice to call renewed attention to a delightful French woman, whose real sympathy for us and our institutions, whose broad understanding of America and Americans, things so exceedingly rare among her fellow countrymen and women, will not probably be the least of her merits, and she has many, in our eyes.

THEODORE STANTON.

MEN AND MACHINERY.

BY STARR HOYT NICHOLS.

THE first matter to be settled before a correct view of any subject can be formed is the question, What are the facts of the case? That settled, we may reason intelligently about it; otherwise, with the courtiers of Charles the Second, we may long be looking for reasons why a fish weighs more out of a vessel of water than in it, and we shall have only our search for our pains. Perhaps if Bishop Potter, before expressing, in his article in a recent number of this REVIEW, his very kindly anxiety respecting the injury done to mechanics by the monotony of much of their work and its inevitably debasing effect upon them, had instituted a wide inquiry as to whether in fact machinery had exerted any such effect upon mechanics, he might have found that his sympathy was wasted. The Bishop, indeed, followed excellent authorities, but possibly he was over hasty in doing so. "Error lurks in libraries," says Goethe, and so it does in authorities. The sun should have gone around the earth, doubtless, as many scholars, philosophers and observers of former days said it did. But it did not.

So when Mr. Whately Cooke Taylor accents quite truly the supremacy of the machine in modern work over the mechanic, the proper thing to do is not to lament such supremacy as an evil, and then ask, "How far this supremacy shall be allowed to extend?" but rather to inquire whether the supremacy is an evil or a good, and afterwards to lament or rejoice according to the conclusion established.

Mr. Hobson also, in his "Evolutions of Modern Capitalism," while conceding that "the work of a machine-tender calls for judgment and carefulness," laments that these qualities are confined within ever-narrowing limits, till they reach the very nar-

rowest in attention to the monotonous repetition of the same act, and he thinks the gain therefrom is less than its injury to workmen. Professor Nicholson thinks that "machinery of itself does not tend to develop the mind as the sea and mountains do." Dr. Arlidge says, "it arouses no interest and has nothing in it to quicken or brighten the intelligence." Mr. D. A. Wells says, "it dulls by its monotony the brains of the employee to such an extent that the power to think and to reason is lost." A railway superintendent avers that the best engine drivers are those who are most unintelligent and mechanical in their work, and Mr. Hobson again asserts that since the "law of machinery is a law of statical order," and the law of life is dynamic, requiring order as the condition of progress; since "variety is of the essence of life and machinery is the enemy of variety," machinery is the enemy of life.

But if these authorities had asked workmen in various detailed industries whether, as a matter of fact, the workmen who labor at one fragment of a machine are noticeably duller than their comrades, they would have found that this is not the case. They might have inquired among the bicycle makers, or the sewing machine makers, or the glass makers, or the garment makers, or anywhere else, and they would have discovered that men who did but one little thing in those industries were quite alive and quick-minded; that they were bright enough to have baseball nines for their leisure, and nines too that were proficient in the best points of the game, and able to contest victory with men not so employed. They would have heard that monotonous work, being easy, relieved the strain of mind and body which varied hard labor entails, and left the workman not too tired at night to go to his club or his union and hear discussions as to rights and wrongs of labor; and that it is the freshness with which these parties can enter into discussions which occasion their discontent, and not the dullness of their tasks. In fact, it is easy to see that mechanics as a class are far brighter and more intelligent than day laborers and farm hands, though both of the latter have multifarious things to do. These change the form of their work every few minutes, yet both remain much the same for fifty years together, making no progress, rising little in the scale of their work, or their capacity for affairs, or their wage-earning power. Whereas mechanics are always advancing in one way or another and are really the centre

of all the energy and force of the laborers' movement. Who would ever go to toilers of the sea, or to railroad diggers, whose occupations are varied, to inculcate ideas or inaugurate a social change? But mechanics hear, discuss, resolve, and adopt or reject many notions for better or worse. Their work has notoriously broadened and quickened them. They are more acute, not less; more reasoning, not less; more interested in life and not less, than those whose industries are more various and interesting.

Nor is the reason of the mechanic's superiority, development, in spite of the monotony of his work, far to seek. In the first place machines and factories bring workmen into close association, and man sharpens the face of man much more than seas and mountains do, more than variety of work does. Men educate each other mostly, and the more monotonous the work, the less it engages the workman's mind and the more he casts about for entertainment and diversions with his companions who are near at hand. Trees and open fields and animals, calling for much especial variety of dealing, make but farmers and cowboys and stablemen, who, compared in wits with mechanics, are distinctly of a less active type. No one would go to them to air his theories of social change, or his proposals for improving conditions under which laborers shall live. In truth, the close association of men herded together in factories and towns is the main cause of the superiority of the modern man over his predecessors and forebears. Mechanics have freed their minds by freeing their bodies first, and then developed them by attrition with other minds of like grade. The machine alone, if they had been alone with it, might have blunted their powers; but it could not come to one alone, it required many to work it. An ancient weaver, throwing his shuttle back and forth by hand, toiled without comrades, almost as solitary as were Crusoe and Friday. He became expert in patterns and colors, as rug makers are, but that was all. To the larger horizons eagerly scanned by modern groups of men eager for socialism, or higher wages, or shorter hours, or better factories, or more schools, his eyes would be as dull as those of fisherman or shepherd. It is not monotony of employment that dulls; it is monotony of social surroundings and companionship. A man may dip pin-heads all day and be all the more spirited for association with his comrades when his day is done—and so, in fact, he is. When a carpenter had his wood to saw and plane

and chisel by sheer dint of strong muscle, he exhausted his whole energy in his day's work and was ready for nothing but supper and sleep when the stars came out. But a modern carpenter, who has all those slow and toilsome tasks done for him by mills, is quick and vital when his lighter task is done, and joins with his mates to inquire whether or not the single tax would be good for him and his fellows.

One risks nothing in saying that our own times are times of machinery beyond everything else, and that our people are as much ahead of all former times in activity of mind and quickness of interest in life and thought as they are in speed of travel and quantity of goods produced. If one wishes to find sleepy-headedness, slow wits, stupid looks, dull apprehension, he must visit mountain villages, where everybody has to do everything, where are countless varieties of duties for each, but lives dismally monotonous.

The Brook Farm experiment may lend us some instruction to the same end. They were clever men, the best wits of their generation, who believed that variety of employment was good for the mind, so they farmed and philosophised awhile, and with so much success that their shining Apollo, Emerson, afterwards wrote that "though no land is bad, land is worse," and declared that a man might weed his garden till he lost all track of his ideas.

It is well for the shoemaker to stick to his last; it is better still if one does nothing but supervise a lasting machine or a peg-driving machine or a forming machine, or what not. He may not learn so much about making whole shoes, but he will certainly know a great deal more about many higher themes—and to know all about shoemaking is not much of an object in life. Many people live very intelligently without a deep knowledge of dress-making or tailoring or carpentering, or any of these things, and their lives are entirely discontented notwithstanding.

Mr. Whately Cooke Taylor, therefore, may spare his lamentations as to the impending supremacy of machinery. The machine's perfection is man's release from toil. The more it does, the freer is the mechanic. If we could devise a harvester which would drive itself over a field, oil and repair itself, arrange weathers to suit farms, and generally leave farmers to read papers, consult books and visit their neighbors, the farming community would

greatly profit by the change. They would be free to attend to chemistry, landscape gardening, the study of soils and other higher matters; but now they are nature's drudges and bond-slaves from excessive toil.

Dr. Arlidge, too, may cease his forebodings. Perhaps "variety is the essence of life, and machinery is the enemy of variety," without its being true that machinery is, therefore, the enemy of life. For the machine does the man's work for him and releases the man. He escapes into variety. Work is not man's chief end; rather is enjoyment of life his end, and life is more than work. The vast variety of the modern world has been brought out by machineries which have released man's hand and mind, and the dullest plodders at machines have more variety of life than any dwellers on wide steppes, or variously employed hunters of primeval woods. If variety of tasks developed mind, the maid-of-all-work ought to be the brightest of her sex, and the jack-at-all-trades the cleverest of men; but they are not.

Finding, therefore, as we do, in machinery the greatest motor of progress and the deliverer of mankind from grinding toil and debasing poverty; finding also that the mechanic is eager, intelligent, progressive, we feel no apprehension respecting some other ultimate effect of machinery upon mechanics and the world. True, the modern mechanic is the forefront of modern discontent, and by his unions and strikes makes himself felt most uncomfortably, and it is true that the machine has made him so; but it has made him so not by "the strain of its monotony;" nor is it the effect on his nervous system of monotony, since the most skilful and least monotonously employed are most discontented. Slaves live far more monotonously than he and yet develop no general unrest. One never hears of strikes among Eastern shepherds and graziers, nor among desert Bedouins, where monotony reigns supreme. The mechanic is discontented because he sees many people better off than himself and wishes to be as well off as they. He wishes to better his condition, and machines have made so many rich that he thinks they should do as well by him. He is contriving to see if he cannot make them do so, and his discontent is not ominous; it is promising. He ought to be discontented; his condition is far below what he should make it. He does well to think and talk of making it better. If he were contented as he is, he would be a poor-spirited creature, unable

to rise. The source of all advance is just this discontent with one's conditions. Let contentment take possession of any class and its future is doomed. Neither man nor nation rises after that. China droned and drowsed for centuries because of her patience. Late be the day when the American shall stupefy himself with the "drowsy syrup" of content.

And the discontent of mechanics and others will have its way, not in "a day of reckoning," not, as anarchists foretell, in another French Revolution; not in a "painful and costly awakening" of the comfortable classes to exasperating conditions among toilers; not in anything dramatic, spectacular, violent, nor in great floods of benevolence. It will make its way to better conditions through the further supremacy of that very machinery concerning which we are asked, "How far shall this supremacy be allowed to extend?" One might as well ask how far the supremacy of a weather-wave should be allowed to extend. We are here in the sweep of irresistible natural forces, no more to be resisted by States or votes or unions or devices, than is the swelling of tides or the course of winds in the sky.

This machinery, which has already released mankind from bondage to space through locomotive and bicycle, from bondage to time through the telegraph, from bondage to ignorance through cheap printing, from rags and nakedness through abundant clothes, from famine through abundant food, from cold through warm houses, from dangers of the sea through mighty steamers, from poverty through multifarious and miraculous plenty of production, from thousands of discomforts and perils by thousands of inventions—this machinery, which has lifted man out of the isolation, distrust, hatred, and narrowness of former days, is surely equal to its remaining task of making its own benefits so general and all-providing that the workman will find himself comfortable and happy because he too shall dwell in the midst of plenty. What we need to attain this end is only better machines which shall produce ten or an hundred times as much as that now produced, with one-tenth or less of the labor; machines which shall make the necessaries of life so plenty and cheap that low-priced laborers can buy all they need; machines that shall tax the mechanic's energies so little that he shall prefer to attend them rather than pass his time in idleness; machines that shall do all the drudgery of work, leaving to labor

only the finer intellectual and artistic parts; machines that, like electricity, shall attend to all his errands *en route*, and complete his labors almost as easily as now the sun and the rain raise his crops, and more uniformly.

Against this most beneficent agent and chief creator of general welfare, it is true, are banded together at present many an interest and many a mistaken philosopher. The mechanics themselves are at war with the progress and dominance of machinery. They see in it their daily and tireless foe, which is always winning new fields from them, taking away their jobs, destroying the usefulness of their fingers by its greater speed and accuracy, ruining their prospects, supplanting their knowledge. Every new and better machine seems to throw many men out of work, and they see no end to it if "the supremacy of machinery is to be allowed to go on." Every day there is something new, and every day some one loses his place because a better machine dispenses with his services; so they hate machines and sometimes smash them, and always oppose new ones. That every one of them is better off for past inventions they forget; that railroads, steamboats and machines of past times of every kind have given to workmen comforts, luxuries, pleasures, beyond the wildest dreams of their forefathers, they ignore. All they see is their job and its loss. No wonder it is so; the job is their daily living. No one can lose the bread from his mouth without rage and fear. But they should look a little further ahead and see that the more machines there are the more men are employed. Shut off the steam and electric works from New York City to-day, and to-morrow one-half of New York would be obliged to move out of town. The city could not even feed one-half its population at hand labor. Two-thirds of them would have to leave and go to the country to get work and bread. The more machines produce, the more there is for everybody; and the more there is wanted, the more work there is for everybody. Because one merchant fails, there is no reason for all merchants to rail and storm. Mechanics must learn to manage better. Because one class of laborers lose their work temporarily, the rest need not chafe and strike. The only way is to manage to know more, to be quick to shift to new conditions, to be ready to change and to learn novelties. The world must improve, though the individual is hurt. We build railroads and canals, though men are killed

doing it. We mine coal and sail ships and run electric wires and break horses and blast rocks, though lives are lost at these and other employments. In the same way we must go on inventing and using improved machines, though some are thrown out, because that way lie the prosperity and plenty of the future world.

Another class who oppose machinery are the artistic, who clamor for beauty in everything. Ruskin is their distinguished prototype. But beauty is only a secondary consideration in life. The first thing is to live and then to live beautifully, and so long as the machine increases the comforts, conveniences and utilities of life, we must hail its prevalence. Beauty may come later, if it cannot come first. But as a matter of fact, the most beautiful thing ever known to man is the gift of machinery. Where in former days art was narrow and small, within the reach of few, now it is widespread and descends to the enjoyment of the many; so that we have but to lift up our eyes to see that beauty now blossoms on every side where formerly it was confined to the church, the museum and the palace.

The third class who oppose machinery are the short-sighted sentimentalists. They hear that workmen are thrown out of place by some new inventions which enable one to do the work of five, and straightway lament, forgetting that the new device enriches fifty consumers where it temporarily injures one workman. They deplore the monotony of machine work, forgetting that the majority of human minds are weak, and slow, and could do little in the world but for simple tasks adapted to small and barren brains. Those monotonous toils suit them exactly; and the better minds quickly rise out of that class to something better. The exact and punctual habit, which the machine engenders, trains careless minds with a discipline most wholesome. He who without the machine would be clumsy, slow-witted and left-handed is drilled by it into quickness and dexterity, till he becomes expert and superior. The machine has this virtue, that the sight of its own complexities stimulates clever operatives to study to understand it better and to rise to mastery in the use of it. He who begins as a pinhead dipper in his youth often ends as a master mechanic or inventor. There is no barrier. Only those remain below who choose to do so, the fittest mount. And those who are left are left because their places suit their abilities; without such places they would be unemployed.

And discontent does not arise among the lowest class of workmen; it springs and ferments among the best, and is simply a part of the universal and laudable desire of man to better his condition and to repine because it is hard work to do so.

But the improvement will come and will reach a height which we who now live would regard as a wild dream, an "Arabian Nights" romance. And it will come, as all past improvements have come, through improvements of tools and machineries, for these alone can increase the plenty and resources of mankind. When invention shall have improved mechanical devices so that fifty yards of cloth can be produced as quickly as one now, and for the price of one, each man can have fifty for one. When a pound of coal can be turned into four-fifths of its power, instead of only one-fifth as now, mankind will have power to give away. When the farmer shall have devised means to multiply his crops ten or twenty fold, bread will be almost free. When houses can be built for a song, they will rent for a song.

When, in short, abundance of things is so great as to be only less than that of air and water, then will mankind revel in plenty, and the miseries of cold and hunger and raggedness and ignorance and grinding toil and desperate need will pass away. And this plenty machinery carries in its train, as it sweeps forward to its conquests, though mechanic, artist, sentimentalists, public opinion and foolish law fight never so hard against it. The stone which the builders join in rejecting will become the head of the corner. If all would conspire to establish and then forward its onward movement, its benefits would come with accelerated speed, since now it has to make its way against curses, and often against strikes and stones, and combinations manifold. Nothing can be more melancholy than to see lovers of their kind in the ranks of its opponents, because of some few incidental and temporary harms from it. It reminds one of Eastern mobs, who in frenzy assault physicians on suspicion that they are spreading the plague. But though hindered, its progress cannot be stayed, and its supremacy "will be allowed" to extend to the ends of the earth, because of its unrivalled beneficence.

What Henry George expected through his single tax, a millennium of plenty, will come through improved machinery. What statesmen expect through just laws, a millennium of order and progress, will come through improved machinery. What

moralists and reformers expect through excellent sentiments and right reason, a millennium of virtue, will come through improved machinery. What prohibitionists desire through legislation, a millennium of temperance, will come through improved machinery. What socialists and anarchists seek for by new industrial conditions, a millennium of comfort to all classes, will come through improved machinery. What the Church seeks to bring about upon the earth, a millennium of peace and good will to men, will come through improved machinery. For machines multiply goods into plenty, and plenty broadcast means peace and kindness and comfort and temperance and gracious thoughts and reasonable minds and civil order and equal laws. A natural plenty like that of Samoa does not mean all these things; but a made and manufactured plenty, by reason of the industry it engenders, brings all millenniums in its hands, and nothing else can. Therefore, its agent, the machine, must prevail, whoever may oppose.

STARR HOYT NICHOLS.

SUBURBAN ANNEXATIONS.

BY A. F. WEBER, ASSISTANT REGISTRAR OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

THE latest forecast of American life in the twentieth century predicts the downfall of the "boss," the abolition of political corruption and class legislation, equality of opportunity, the triumph of international arbitration, the cessation of sectional discords, and a universal reign of peace—until the cities of New York and Chicago go to war to decide which shall annex Texas! Chicago was the target of every journalistic joke-maker in New York up to two years ago, when the "Greater New York" idea came to the front. But Chicago with all her annexations has only 189 square miles of territory, while New York now covers 360 square miles of land. This gives New York the first place among the cities of the world, so far as mere extent of territory goes. For London (administrative county) has an area of only 118 square miles, Paris 30, Berlin 24, Philadelphia 129. What, then, is the justification of this immense annexation, or is it only a land-grabbing scheme to gratify local vanity and a false municipal pride?

A brief survey of the population statistics of Europe and America suffices to show that the great cities have ceased to grow as rapidly as the smaller cities and large towns. Thus the recent German census (1895) showed a gain for Berlin in the census period 1890–95 of only 6.2 per cent., as compared with 11 per cent. for the province of Brandenburg, in which Berlin is situated.*

Instances might be multiplied in illustration of this interesting fact, but the following English statistics show how general is

* Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, 1896, p. 1.

the tendency mentioned; the unit is the sanitary district, which corresponds quite closely with the conception of a municipality:*

Population of districts.	No. of dists.	Aggregate pop., 1891.	Percentage of increase, 1881–91.
250,000 and upwards	6	6,375,645	9.1
100,000-250,000	18	2,793,625	19.1
50,000-100,000	38	2,610,976	22.9
20,000- 50,000	120	3,655,025	22.5
10,000- 20,000	176	2,391,076	18.9
3,000- 10,000	453	2,609,141	9.6
Under 3,000	195	367,282	2.6
Total urban	1,006	20,802,770	15.3
Total rural		8,198,248	3.4
		29,001,018	11.65

The last column of the table shows that the rate of growth of cities increases with their size (populousness) up to the first two classes. There is a slight falling off among the 18 cities that have a population of from 100,000 to 250,000, but the notable decrease in the rate of growth is in the six great cities—London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield. Of these six, Liverpool actually had a smaller population in 1891 than in 1881. Now, no one who is familiar with the continued growth of Liverpool's commerce imagines for a moment that the city is declining. The simple fact of the matter is that the area of the city is very small, being only eight square miles, as compared with the 61 square miles of St. Louis, a city not quite so populous as Liverpool. When the city's territory had all been built upon, population naturally overflowed its boundaries, and in recent years the erection of business blocks in residential quarters has tended to push the population outside the city limits.

London's increase in 1881–91 was only 10.4 per cent., but some light is thrown upon this comparatively low rate by the statistics of county growth. The first three counties, in point of rapid increase of population in 1881–91, were Essex, 36.3 per cent.; Glamorgan, 34.4 per cent.; Surrey, 20.5. But Essex and Surrey both lie adjacent to London and contain the suburban towns that receive the overflow of London's population; thus West Ham, in Essex, increased from 128,953 in 1881 to 204,902 in 1891, a gain of 60 per cent.

* Statesman's Year Book, 1896, p. 19. The American statistics are not used here, because they include so many cities in the recently settled West, where the rapid growth of cities naturally accompanies the settlement of unoccupied territory. It is only when the development of the cities outruns that of the rural districts and is at their expense that one can properly speak of the "concentration of population," which is the real significance of rapid city growth.

One now begins to understand why the great cities of the world are apparently falling behind smaller places in the rapidity of their growth. On the one hand is the process of "city-building," the tearing down of dwellings to make room for business blocks; on the other hand are the improvements in transportation, which enable an increasing proportion of the city's population to reside at a distance from their places of business. The double movement is relieving the congested districts and filling up the suburbs. As far back as 1821 the Strand, one of the central wards of London, attained its maximum population and has since declined. The following table shows the direction in which London is now developing: *

	Population. 1891.	Percentage of increase or decrease. 1871-81.	1881-91.
Central area	1,022,529	— 4.6	— 7 2
Other districts	3,188,527	+ 29.3	+ 17.5
Inner London	4,211,056	+ 17.3	+ 10.4
Outer ring	1,422,276	+ 50.5	+ 49.5
"Greater London"	5,633,332	+ 22.7	+ 18.2

Eleven of the thirty registration districts of "inner London" decreased in population in 1871–81 and 1881–91. The decline began in 1861 and has become more noticeable at each census. The other nineteen districts are still gaining in population, though at a decreasing rate. The really remarkable growth in London is found in the outer ring, or the suburbs. And this is the important fact to be emphasized—the recent rise of the suburbs in all the countries of the Western world. The falling off in Berlin's rate of growth, noted in the opening paragraph, is due to this fact of suburban development, as shown by the following figures:

	Population. 1890:	1895.	Increase. Per cent.
Berlin	1,578,794	1,677,136	6.2
Suburbs †	268,507	435,642	62.2
Total	1,847,301	2,112,778	14.4

The larger American cities have also reached the "point of

* Statesman's Year Book, 1896, p. 20. "Inner" London is the registration county, which is almost identical with the administrative county (area 118 square miles). "Greater London" coincides with the metropolitan police district, whose area is 690 square miles. It includes every parish of which any part is within 12 miles of Charing Cross.

† Within 10 kilometres (6⅛ miles) from the city hall. Including all the suburbs within 15 kilometres of the Rathhaus, "Greater Berlin" had a population of 1,956,581 in 1890.

saturation," where the first settled districts have been losing their population. "Down town" New York was more populous in 1860 than in 1890. In fact, the only wards that gained in population in the last census period, 1880–90, were the wards above Forty-second Street, with the exception of that part of the tenement district lying south of Fourteenth Street and east of the Bowery. According to the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, the population of the congested wards of Philadelphia (Nos. 2 to 20, except 15) decreased 6.56 per cent. in the period 1870–90.*

The decentralizing movement has also extended to the suburbs, especially in those cities like Boston where the electric trolley has been so highly exploited. Even in the case of New York, whose suburban railway system is very poor, there has been a growth of the suburban towns and cities far in advance of New York's growth. Thus, the industrial city on New York Bay may be resolved into the following municipal corporations :

	Population	
	1880.	1890.
Brooklyn	566,663	806,343
Long Island City	17,129	30,506
Border Towns, Westchester Co.†	42,234	70,502
Hudson County, N. J‡	187,944	275,126
Essex County, N. J§	189,929	256,098
Elizabeth City, N. J	28,229	37,764
Richmond County, N. Y	38,991	51,693
Total	1,071,119	1,528,032
New York County	1,206,299	1,515,301
	2,277,418	3,043,333

It thus appears that the Borough of Manhattan comprises really less than one-half of the true metropolis. And the increase in the population of the environs far exceeded that of the city itself, the respective percentages for 1880–90 being 42.66 and 25.62.‖

The conclusion to be drawn from the statistics here presented is that the movement toward suburban annexation is not an artificial one, but is simply the legal recognition of new economic conditions. It is a movement confined to no one country, least of all to the United States. In Europe there have been large

*_Popular Science Monthly_, Feb., 1892, p. 463.

†Yonkers, Eastchester, Westchester, Pelham, Mount Vernon, New Rochelle.

‡The population of Hudson County is for the most part found in the cities of Jersey City, Hoboken, and Bayonne.

§Newark and the Oranges contain most of Essex County's population.

‖In this comparison the complaint that the census of 1890 was inaccurate has no place, for the inaccuracy would affect Brooklyn as well as Manhattan.

suburban annexations in recent years. Vienna in 1891 incorporated suburbs with a population of 464,110 (as compared with 798,719 in the old city), and is already looking forward to the necessity of making further annexations to provide room for her citizens. Leipzig incorporated many suburbs in 1891 and again in 1892. Munich, Dresden, Hanover have also annexed outlying territory, and there are few of the German "great cities" that are not obliged to face the problem.

The "rise of the suburbs" is by far the most cheering movement of modern times. It means an essential modification of the process of concentration of population that has been taking place during the last hundred years and brought with it many of the most difficult political and social problems of our day. To the Anglo-Saxon race life in the great cities cannot be made to seem a healthy and natural mode of existence. The fresh air and clear sunlight, the green foliage and God's blue sky are dear to the heart of this people, who cannot become reconciled to the idea of bringing up their children in hot, dusty, smoky, germ-producing city tenements and streets. But a solution of the problem is now in sight; the suburb unites the advantages of city and country. The country's natural surroundings, the city's social surroundings—these are both the possession of the suburb.

The possibility that the future offers of every man residing in a cottage of his own, can best be appreciated by people who have visited Australia. In Victoria and South Australia, more than *two-fifths* of the entire population dwell in the capital cities. No such concentration of population as this is known anywhere else in the world. Only one-seventh of the population of England and Wales is concentrated in the metropolis of London. But the large agglomerations in Australia are by no means "plague-spots," or "wens on the face of the earth," the explanation being that their population is not congested, but scattered over a large area. This is brought out in the statistics of the city of Sydney, which contains over one-third of the entire population of New South Wales*:

	City proper.	Suburbs.
1841	29 973	. ....
1851	44,240	9 684
1871	74,566	63,210
1881	100,152	124.787
1891	107,652	275,631

* Census of 1891, Statistician's Report, p. 120.

The old city has almost ceased to grow, notwithstanding the fact that it is not at all crowded. Its density per acre is only 37.4, a figure exceeded by every ward in New York City below the Harlem, except the Second, which is entirely given over to business. Even the Twelfth Ward, north of Central Park, contained 44.5 inhabitants to the acre in 1890. But in Sydney it is the ambition of every workingman to own his own cottage, and so the population is scattered.

It is pretty safe to say that in the next century, the other city populations of the civilized world will be following in the footsteps of the Australian cities. The bicycle and the trolley car will be of essential aid to the middle-sized cities, but alone are incapable of relieving the congestion of the great cities. More rapid transit is urgently needed for metropolitan populations and is the only soluiton of their problem that in the long run will prove efficacious. The fact is recognized in England, where in 1883 Parliament passed the Cheap Trains Act, subsidizing the railways by about $2,000,000 annually, in the shape of a remission of passenger taxes, in order to provide workingmen's trains between London and the suburbs. The subject demands attention in all great cities.

A. F. WEBER.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR.—IV.

BY SIR WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL, LL. D., SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF "THE TIMES" (LONDON).

I found at Cairo that foreigners were taking a leading part in military organizations. Of the staff officers, one was Hungarian, another Austrian, a third German, a fourth a Scotchman, a fifth an Englishman. A regiment a thousand strong, at the Missouri side, consisted of Germans, Poles, and Hungarians. General Prentiss told me that he had 1,200 Illinois men in garrison where the Mississippi and the Missouri met—a miserable, pestiferous mud bank which is supposed to have been the original of "Eden," the city where Mark Tapley was so jolly in one of Dickens' novels. The General drove Mr. Washburne, of Illinois, Colonel Oglesby (a lawyer elected by a thousand men to be their Colonel), and myself round the camps. General Prentiss was called upon to make a speech; so did the Colonel and the Congressman. Their speeches were received with approving commentaries. "Bully for you, General! Bravo, Washburne! That's so, Colonel!" "Why have not the officers more control over their men, General?" "Well, the fact is that the term of service of these volunteers is drawing to a close. They have not yet enrolled themselves in the U. S. Army. If they were displeased they might refuse to take fresh engagements, and the officers would find themselves without any men. They, therefore, curry favor with the privates."

I left the camp at Cairo by the Central Illinois Railway for Chicago in the afternoon of the 23d. At all the forty little stations in the 365 miles of the way the Union flag floated in the air. Prairie ground, all of it, wheat fields in lieu of Indian corn, cotton, and sugar cane! No black faces turned from the work as we passed! At Richmond House letters were waiting

for me which gave me full assurance that I need not be in a hurry. There was no immediate prospect of the Federal army making an advance to Richmond, and further I had a few days to look round Chicago, inspect Niagara, and make for Washington. I arrived at New York on the 2d of July, had an interesting conversation with Bancroft Davis, and afterwards called on Mr. Bancroft, whom I had known at Vienna or Berlin. In the middle of a long disquisition by the eminent historian, a diversion was effected by Mrs. Bancroft, who asked me "whether I had been sent over by the London *Times* to describe the death throes of the great Republic. We are not quite done for yet!"

I dined with Butler Duncan where there was a pleasant party, Colonel Rowan, Sam Barlow, Evarts, Seymour, etc. A most remarkable change in feeling had taken place since I last sat at that hospitable table. All there were for the Union now.

July 3d, up at five o'clock; started 6.15 for boat and train for Washington at seven o'clock. Camps along the road near Baltimore, the approaches to which were well guarded. Met Wyckoff on the bridge, who told me that Gordon Bennett was much exasperated against "me," the *Times* and "Great Britain." Washington at 5.30—quarters, 179 Pennsylvania Avenue; found Lord Lyons sitting with Monson in the garden and heard a good deal that was new to me. On my way back met Mr. Sumner, who acquainted me with strange particulars concerning the relations between France and England with regard to the Confederate States. He asked me to come to him to-morrow for the opening of the Senate.

July 4. A day of perpetual detonation—fireworks, crackers, cannons. The streets filled with volunteers, the Stars and Stripes flying from every building. Rode off to visit Colonel Butterfield, of the 12th New York Regiment. Colonel Butterfield expressed politely his disapproval of the attitude of the British government. Calling at the Legation I gleaned from various indications that there was friction in the relations of Lord Lyons and Mr. Seward—the latter very provocative. Called on Mr. Seward, who certainly has become grander than he was. My passport, he said, was ready for me—it had been signed by Lord Lyons, but it would be no good till he bad signed it and then it must be countersigned by General Scott. Drove to the Capitol, where I was met by Senator Sumner and was introduced by him and Senator Wilson to "the floor of the House." I was accommodated with a seat at Senator Sumner's desk, where I remained much interested till the sitting was closed. Called on the President, who was with Mr. Seward at the State Department.

July 5. A friend whom I had met in happy, peaceful days, when I was in retreat with my family near Thun, on my return from the Indian

mutiny, made me out to-day to my great delight (Mr. John Bigelow, afterwards U. S. Minister at Paris). He advised me to call upon General Scott. I went to headquarters, where Colonel Cullum showed me the positions of the Federal army around Washington in confidence. General Mansfield and others were closeted with the Commander-in-Chief. Called on Riggs, Mme. Stoeckl and the General, Lady Georgina Fane, Mrs. Clifford; dined with Lord Lyons and his legationaries, Monson, Sheffield, Warre, Irving.

July 6. Breakfasted with Bigelow to meet General McDowell, commanding the army of operations across the river. In the prime of life, square, and strong. A smooth, honest face lighted with keen, blue eyes, short-cropped iron-gray hair and French tuft; a frank, pleasant manner. He gave me a hearty welcome to his camp, and said: "I will show you the makings of a fine army." He spoke pretty strongly about political generals and the interference of party men with military matters. He was interested when he heard I had met Beauregard and spoke of him with liking, recalling the days when they were at West Point together. An excellent band playing in the President's garden, to which we listened afterwards. Soldiers, soldiers, everywhere. The hill at the other side of the Potomac, crowned by an ancient mansion belonging to Robert Lee, covered with tents pitched in the park-like grounds, Arlington Heights to wit. In the afternoon a regiment some 1,200 strong, marching through Pennsylvania Avenue, singing in chorus "John Brown," fine, hardy-looking young soldiers with camp and equipage and transport. North and South there is a Zouave eruption which is rather ridiculous; there is no *raison d'etre* in it; the uniform is expensive, showy, and theatrical. Why should American soldiers copy the uniform of the African soldiers of France?

July 7th. Breakfast with Bigelow, where were Thurlow Weed, Senator King, Senator Wilson, head of the Military Committee; N. P. Willis, a West Point professor, Mr. Olmsted. Senator Wilson inveighed in a marvellous manner against professional soldiers. "They don't understand a war of this kind. We want men of sense and courage who understand our political position. Meigs, the Q. M. G.? Yes, he's an exception; he's an able man. What business had McClellan to talk of slaves as property. No officer in this army should give up any slaves. Army officers were obstructive. General Scott was too old—he did not understand his business. He should have occupied Harper's Ferry and Manassas Junction Gap. Cavalry were not wanted." And so forth. I listened. The Senator, I was told, had been a shoemaker in early life. Why not? But why should he be chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate?

On the 8th I visited Arlington Heights, where I spent the greater part of the day with General McDowell. Instead of 100,000 troops in a state of efficiency, of which I had read and heard, there were not 30,000, and some of the regiments were incomplete and undisciplined. General McDowell told me that "there was no such thing as a decent map of Virginia." Years afterwards I was assured by French officers that they could not get good maps of the northeast parts of France! "The roads in this part of the world," said the General, "are very bad, but I know nothing more than that about them. I have no cavalry

to push a reconnoissance through the dense wooded country which screens the enemy completely in the front of my lines."

Questions were put to me at the White House in the evening about my visit to the Federal Army. In answer to an inquiry about the camp I told Mr. Lincoln that I heard "a good many dropping shots," generally forbidden in camp and quarters in Europe, and that an officer explained that "they are only volunteers shooting themselves." "Well," said the President, "that seems a waste of good material in every way; however, they will soon have a chance of making better use of their ammunition, I hope."

July 9th. A great swarm of correspondents has settled down on Washington. Any officer who will descant on the war is certain to have a circle of listeners, notebook in hand, and when the fountain has run out or shuts up, off they rush to the telegraph office or to the writing-rooms, which are filled with chroniclers of the gossip of the hour. I dined with General Scott in his new headquarters near the War Department, General Fremont, the Pathfinder; Mr. Bigelow, three members of Congress, Mr. Clarence Brown, and the General's aides-de-camp, etc. Fremont, a pleasant, self-satisfied looking gentlemanly man, rather prone to expatiate on military and political subjects, expressed strong opinions respecting "the audacity and presumption of Davis, a traitor and a rebel, sending a communication to President Lincoln. His flag of truce should not have been received." A remark about the difficulty of getting horses that would stand fire afforded General Scott an opportunity of telling us that he intended to take the field in a light wagon, which was always ready with driver and horses in the stable. He cited the example of an astonishing number of commanders who had adopted that mode of leading armies in action and was pleased when I added Radetzky and Pelissier to his list. The excesses of the Germans in hunting horses, eggs, chickens on the Virginians' farms made him very angry. Fremont diverted fire from his favorite Germans by asking me if I was not familiar with such depredations in Europe. As it was getting late, the President accompanied by Mr. Blair joined the party and I thought it proper to retire.

July 10th. I had a hint last night that the Secretary of War and General Scott had resolved to prevent the transmission by telegraph of military movements by the newspaper correspondents in the United States. I rode over the Long Bridge to the camp at Arlington again this morning, and saw the men at drill. A very noisy function generally, rich in expletives in various tongues. One regiment of Frenchmen, raised by a famous fencing master of New York, seemed very smart. The colonel, on his arrival, asked his friend the Russian Minister, Stoeckl, to dine with him in camp. The Minister begged to be excused, saying he could not venture to do so. "May I ask why?" "Because, my dear friend, how could I ever stand muster in your camp? You have 500 hairdressers in your regiment, I am told." "Well, then, suppose I dine with you?" "How do you think I could offer you a dinner worthy of one who has 500 cooks under his orders?" They were soldierly enough to look at for all that. I crossed the Potomac by the

Chain Bridge and returned to Washington. Congress was busy with preparations for war. I entered the House of Representatives as Mr. Vallandigham was protesting against a bill to enable Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, to raise a loan of $250,000,000, which was, nevertheless, passed immediately. In the Senate a bill for the employment of 500,000 volunteers and a credit of $500,000,000 was also passed by a great majority The Southern ports are closed by a decree of the President. I called on Senator Cameron, Secretary of War, at his very modest residence. He was beset by crowds of contractors, with whom he was battling vigorously. He drew a very long face when I asked him for an order to draw a field officer's rations for self, servant, and horses at cost price when the army took the field. He was startled. "I am willing; but, mind, all your brethren will want the same. There won't be enough for them all, and woe betide me if I refuse. You had better talk to Seward about it."

July 12. The diplomatic circle much agitated. General Stoeckl, M. Mercier, Baron Gerolt, M. Lisboa in constant communication. Lord Lyons and M. Mercier exchanged daily visits. Mr., generally called "Little", Woods, appointed Quartermaster General to Fremont by Blair's influence. Called on President Lincoln, who received me immediately. "As far as he was concerned he thought I ought to get whatever I needed to eat and drink as long as I paid for it." Busy hunting through livery stables for horses—managed to buy a nice wagon for the field. Just as I had got so far the colored gentleman whom I had hired at Quebec bolted, taking with him things not his own, money included. I never saw him any more! General Scott says I shall be able to procure what I want with the army as long as I have money.

July 13th. Uncle Sam burst upon me early this morning much excited. "McClellan is the man," he exclaimed, "everyone is talking of his victory." He attacked a corps of secessionists under Garnett at Laurel Hill and dispersed them with a loss of the commander, who was killed, and of six guns, camp equipage, ammunition, etc. The engagements took place on the 12th. McClellan demanded unconditional surrender. He had become a hero, or the hero of the hour. Garnett, whom he defeated, had been commandant at West Point. Colonel Pegram, who was trying to join Garnett, a West Point man also, with a high reputation, also surrendered to McClellan, who had thus scored heavily. In consequence of illness in the Federal camps, Sanitary Commissioners are to proceed to visit the Federal garrison. It is not to be wondered at that an impromptu army should need the advice of experts in such matters. I met some of the gentlemen last night; Clarence Brown assured me that there will be no immediate start, but thinks I ought to get ready. Four regiments have been added to McDowell's army which is deficient in cavalry, some troops of the second dragoons being the only regulars. Colonel Miles is glad that officers of the regular army are receiving a fair share of commands in the force under McDowell.

July 14th. Having an intimation from General McDowell, in the strictest confidence, last night that some days must elapse before he could break up his camp and move against the Confederates at Manassas, in front of Richmond, a hasty resolution set me off in company with Sanitary Commissioners to visit Fortress Monroe. The name of General Butler becoming much in evidence—a vigorous politician at all events, energetic, too, in movement and command; he had been much before the public in reference to the status of runaway slaves, "contrabands," as they were termed. The

attitude of the Federal government and of Secretary Cameron was much disapproved of by the Abolitionists, and Butler's letter on the subject was very embarrassing to Washington, where the idea that Federal armaments were intended to destroy the Constitution of the United States and the rights of slave-owners was energetically repudiated. Our steamer from Baltimore arrived at the wharf of Fortress Monroe in the early morning. We had some time to wait ere General Butler appeared, but there was a morning parade of the garrison to amuse us, and we could contrast the white gloves, polished belts, and buttons, bright appointments and soldierly smartness of a regiment of regulars, with the slovenly aspect of a Massachusetts volunteer battalion, and the Second New York Regiment. General Butler was very civil, more so, perhaps, to myself than to Dr. Bellows, the Chief Commissioner, a very estimable and eloquent clergyman. The Hygeia Hotel, once a favorite summer resort of the Virginians, was now an army hospital. Lady nurses in attendance on the patients; newspapers and illustrated periodicals on the tables in all the wards. In the fortress, guns, and carriages, the piles of shot and shell were dusty and rusty. The General told me that Fortress Monroe when he came in was in a filthy, neglected condition, but that he was busy getting things in order. "Who could believe that these villains would ever venture to take up arms against our government? Look at their audacity! Look at their flag flying at Sewell's Point opposite. I intend to astonish them when I get that pretty little piece (a Rodman gun) mounted, though it is not by masses of iron this contest can be decided, but by points of steel directed by superior intelligence."

From Fortress Monroe we went in a steamer to Newport News and the Federal camp. Colonel Phelps, a tall, saturnine, fierce-eyed, stern man, who regarded slave-owners as licentious, godless people, joined us, an excellent type of the chief of a Puritan regiment. I dined with the General and had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Butler, his wife, the officers of his staff and others. After coffee the General ordered horses to visit his advanced posts at Hampton. Very good mounts, indeed, with which we set off, accompanied by an aid-de-camp and a couple of orderlies. There was a rabblement of negroes, "the Contrabands," outside the fort, who with absurd bows, scrapes, and gestures hailed their protector. "Just look!" said the General, "everyone of these represents the loss of a thousand dollars at least to the chivalry over the way." "Nasty, dirty, idle beasts!" said his aide-de-camp *sotto voce;* "I wish to heaven they were all at the bottom of the Chesapeake." A most interesting ride to Hampton—a quaint old-fashioned country town of red brick houses. The church, the first built in Virginia, by the English colonists. Many tombstones bore the names of British subjects who had died ere the great rebellion could destroy their notions of loyalty, or their

ears could be assailed by the thunder of French ordnance, mingled with the roar of the guns of Washington's colonials, against the entrenchments at Yorktown. And there was General Butler standing on the wall of the cemetery and pointing to the woods whence the rebel cavalry of Virginia issued to attack the forces of H. M. "the Union."

The General sent orders to have a transport ready to take me to Washington, but it was 11 o'clock at night ere she was ready. Next day, July 15, and the next day till 7 o'clock in the evening was passed on the river, and it was with great difficulty that I persuaded the captain to land me at Annapolis.

McDowell, all alone, was standing on the platform at Washington. "Did you hear or see anything of two batteries of artillery at Annapolis?" I thought it a very curious question from the Commander-in-Chief of the Federal army at such a moment. But he explained to me that he had no officer to spare for the duty, so he had come in from camp, as the guns were very urgently needed.

I had returned just in the nick of time. The Federal Army had already moved out from its standing camp on the right side of the Potomac towards the Southern Army, which had advanced towards Fairfax Court House, and McDowell was straining every nerve to carry out the imperative order, "On to Richmond." He was not sorry to get away from politicians and the capital, but he was not confident of success, for he was aware of the defects of his troops, and he spoke with some diffidence of himself. "I do not know what sort of a general I shall make, and I am rather afraid of being under your solar microscope, but I shall do my best, and no one can do more." Then he spoke of his difficulties. "There is a legion of correspondents to be kept in order, and I have little or no control over them. I have suggested that they should wear a white uniform to identify them and indicate the innocence and purity of their business, but they don't like it, and they are very angry because I have insisted on each of them having a pass. They ask for all kinds of information on vital matters. I can tell *you* things which it would be ruinous to publish in Washington or New York, as it would be known to the enemy in a few hours, whereas it would be a fortnight before they could hear it from London. I am not allowed to work out my own plans.

General Scott has his, and General Mansfield suggests one thing and Simon Cameron another, and I am urged by Senators, Congressmen, and newspaper editors to attack Beauregard at once, though I show them I am not ready because I have not got what I want, and wish for a day's grace. There is, indeed, I admit, one reason for immediate action. Some battalions threaten to leave because the end of their three months' engagement is near at hand, but I hope they will not be base enough to leave the army when they are within touch of the enemy."

I have never met anyone who gave me a stronger impression of honesty and sincerity than Irwin McDowell. He was then in the prime of life—forty or forty-five years old—powerfully built, but rather ponderous in movement—kindly and simple in manner, with a very pleasant soldierly face—a water drinker and almost a vegetarian. After the cruel war was over, I met him one day in some foreign city—Vienna, I think—and as we were conversing he said: "Strange, isn't it, our encounter to-day?" "Why so, General?" "Have you forgotten? This is the 21st of July—the anniversary of Bull Run. Had I won that battle, I would have been one of the most popular men in the United States and you would have been another. I need not say how much it is the other way with us now." But I do not think his countrymen blamed him after all. When I went to the United States some years ago I found him in command at San Francisco—much changed, aged, and sad, but courteous and kindly as ever. I told him that I had in a place of honor at home the photograph which he gave me before he left my lodgings the day he was looking for Barry's guns. "And I suppose," he said, "your friends ask, 'Who on earth was General McDowell?'"

July 18. Rose early. A squadron of regular cavalry was clattering down the avenue toward the Bridge, groups of excited people in the streets, orderlies galloping to and fro. I hurried to General Mansfield and met him, straw hat, uniform coat open, on the stairs. 'There is bad news from the front! That fellow Tyler has been engaged and we are whipped.' And he hastened off to General Scott's. In the street I met Senator Sumner radiant. "We have had a great success! The rebels are falling back in all directions! General Scott tells me we ought to be in Richmond by Saturday night."

Before I left for Fortress Monroe I had given commissions to my friends and every livery stable keeper in Washington to get me

a couple of saddle-horses and a draft animal. Not one was ready for me, and though I had no kingdom to give, I was ready to offer the half of what I had for a horse. At the War Office, at the State Department, at the White House, every one I wanted to see was engaged. But at last I heard from Cullum that McDowell had occupied Fairfax Court House. I called on Lord Lyons, who, as was his wont, rubbed his leg vigorously. "These happy, prosperous people," he said, "are bent on fighting within a day's march of the capital of the great Republic!" It was curious how little of what was going on Lord Lyons appeared to know. Was he really ignorant or did he pretend to be so? Certainly his sympathies were with the executive of the state to which he was accredited, but Mr. Seward sought to extort declarations respecting the action of great Britain in regard to a conflict which had only just begun, as though it were closed by the triumph of the North. The other ministers took the situation each in his own way. M. Mercier, the Frenchman, was vivacious, interested, and well informed. He had much to say on both sides. General Stoeckl, the Russian, rubbed his hands gently and did not disguise his belief that the great experiment of the Conscript Fathers had failed. "*Actum est de Republica.*" Signor Tessara evinced on proper occasions the liveliest satisfaction at the prospect of a mortal rent in the power which had shown itself so tyrannous and strong in relations with the country which he represented. The South American representatives were in a state of decently suppressed exultation. Mr. Roost Van Limbourg deftly avoiding any expression of opinion, longed for the return of the quiet evenings when his gilded saloons were the resort of pleasant people who were fond of whist, poker, and polite society! Between them all and the President Mr. Seward placed his official person.

Families sat, in the old Dutch fashion, on the stoops of their houses, groups continuously reinforced by people fresh from some centre of intelligence, while others drifted away to join another family circle. At Mr. Carroll's I found Mr. Monson and Mr. Warre, of the Legation. The pleasant little Commander Wise, U. S. N., was telling them of the tremendous mischief that would be wrought by a steam ram 480 feet long with a speed of 25 knots an hour. I had seen it at the Navy Yard. But, alas! it was only a model!

When I returned in the evening to my quarters, there was a man before the door holding a tall, dark bay horse with unmistakable spavin and ring bone. "This will just fix you, I think. I will take a thousand dollars for him; not a cent less!" I demurred. "Well," he said, "I heard of chaps that paid more to hear Jenny Lind sing. If you want to see the fight, a thousand dollars is cheap! The battle won't be repeated, I can tell you." After one hour's negotiation it was settled that a gig with two horses and a saddle-horse were to be at my door at dawn of day on July 21st.

I called on everybody I knew in the forenoon, and at 12 o'clock I drove down to the Senate, where a Senator from California was on the floor delivering an elaborate lecture on the political affairs of the Republic. One of the officers of the House came in with a note from General McDowell to tell me "the army would advance very early next morning, left in front." At the same time a note was delivered to a Senator, who left his seat to communicate its contents to others who hastened to hear them. All was confusion. The President hammered again and again vigorously and called for order in vain. Presently Mr. Hay, the President's Secretary, appeared with a message to the Senate. I asked if the news that McDowell had carried Bull Run was true. He replied that the President knew nothing about it, and that General Scott was equally ignorant. The Senate was fast emptying. I had no time to lose.

Between General Scott, Colonel Cullum, and others, I gathered that McDowell had intended to make a feint against the centre of the Southerners whilst he threw the mass of his forces against their extreme right by a wide turning movement to get possession of Manassas in their rear, but he found the country too difficult, and so was obliged to form a fresh scheme of attack. But General Tyler, who had been ordered to reconnoitre, got some regiments under heavy fire and they retired in confusion. It is of no use now to mention regiments whose alacrity in getting away was conspicuous. "What a pity old Scott has not got legs! He would be good for a big thing yet if he could move!" said Cullum.

There was great joy in Washington, where nearly all the shopkeepers, barkeepers, restaurateurs, men and women, were for the South. Some of the heroes of the battle were already at Boulanger's. One lanky lieutenant was in much request.

"How many do you suppose was killed, lieutenant?"

"Sir, it is my honest belief that there was not less than etc., etc. You might walk for five hours by the side of the Run and not be able to put your foot on the ground."

"Was the dead that thick, Lieutenant?"

"No, sir! But the dead *and* the wounded together."

Officers and soldiers who ought to have been in front with their regiments were in the bar-rooms ; many were abject skulkers.

I went to obtain Lord Lyons's consent that Mr. Warre should accompany me to start that night over Long Bridge to overtake the army. It was necessary to have a pass. I walked to General Scott's and was handed passes by one of his aides ; but when I said that we intended to cross at once the aide-de-camp told me that the passes were not valid between tattoo and daybreak unless we had the countersign, and only the General himself could give that. "Will you ask him for it?" "The General is asleep, sir. I dare not disturb him." We returned through the silent streets and I got to bed at midnight.

The 21st of July was a day ever to be remembered ; *dies carbone notanda*, indeed. My experiences are written in the chronicles of the time.

We started late, which was not my fault. By the time we reached Centreville, where there was a crowd of Congressmen, some on horses, some in carriages, a few ladies, and many civilians, the attack on Beauregard was well developed, and after a brief survey of the scene, I mounted the led horse, which was full of spirit and mettle, and rode down the road. I told Mr. Warre that I would return before dusk to the place where we had left the gig in charge of the boy. Of the actual battle I saw nothing; of the results I saw too much. I was unfortunate enough to meet the first wave of the retreat, and to be involved in the panic rout of an army. When I got to the spot where the gig had been left it was not to be seen. Mr. Warre, joined by Mr. Vizetelly, the artist, seeing the flight of masses of the Federal army making for the road toward Centreville, judged it expedient to drive back to Washington with my groom an hour and a half before I reached the place, leaving me to ride back on a horse which had already done more than thirty miles, and had twenty-seven to do, with no light weight on his back. It was about 11 o'clock at night when I crossed the Long Bridge and rode into Washington. The

gig and its occupants had arrived three hours before me. That night I sat down to write with a heavy heart. I was anxious if possible to send off some account of what I had seen by the Boston mail which started on Wednesday. And here let me say that had I been able to finish a despatch that night I would have stated that McDowell had been repulsed and that a panic had ensued among a portion of his troops; but that the Federal army would take up a strong position between Centreville and Fairfax Court House and resume the offensive. I had not the smallest idea of the greatness of the defeat, of the magnitude of the disaster, or that a long interval would elapse ere another army could set out from the banks of the Potomac to essay a march to Richmond. But with the morning came the truth. The Federal army almost *en masse*—or rather in disjointed masses—had crossed the Potomac and were tramping in torrents of rain down Pennsylvania Avenue. Men from New York, Michigan, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Minnesota mingled together, many without knapsacks, cross-belts or firelocks. All day the stream flowed on, dammed up here and there in front of spirit stores. The President and the Secretary of State sat in the telegraph operator's room in the White House till the fatal words "full retreat" were ticked off by the needle. Then they awaited events. It was, or seemed to be, merely a question of hours rather than days when Beauregard would lead the Southern army into Washington.

I did not hesitate to communicate my own impressions at the British Legation. The Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, had borrowed from Lord Lyons a British flag with which to decorate his office in honor of the Queen's birthday. The Minister now thought that it would be wise to hoist the standard over his Legation, and sent for the flag; but it was nowhere to be found. As it happened, there was no necessity for its display; for Washington, though in danger, was never attacked, far less occupied. It will remain a subject for discussion whether the Confederate troops could have seized the capital. It can scarcely be doubted that the transfer of the seat of the government of the Confederate States from Richmond to Washington would have produced an extraordinary change, if not in the ultimate result of the contest, at all events in the great Northern cities and some of the Western States, where there were sections strongly in favor of the

South, whilst Maryland and New York would have probably thrown all their weight upon the side of a compromise. The Emperor of the French would have had, at all events, additional arguments to urge in favor of the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and the hands of the considerable party in England who were urgent in the same direction would have been greatly strengthened.

If the North Atlantic States and the great agricultural States had gone solid for the Union, it would have been scarcely possible for Mr. Davis and the other leaders of the slave States to resist the weight of the white race inhabiting the Federal States in many more millions than the whole of the South could muster black and white. It is now useless to speculate on matters of the kind.

Beauregard's troops had had no long marches, nor were their losses heavy. It seemed as if there was no impediment to their occupation of the capital. But afterwards it transpired that they were not in a condition to advance. There was an earth-work on the right side of the river near the Georgetown bridge which was occupied by the Sixty-ninth Regiment. Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Seward, and I think Mr. Cameron, repaired there to encourage the garrison to stand firm and to resist Beauregard's forces.

W. H. RUSSELL.

(*To be Continued.*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF RESISTANCE.

In many of the systems of education now in vogue the attempt is made, and with more or less success, to remove as far as possible the obstacles from the course of study. The student is carefully led over a path from which the stones have been taken away, and the holes filled up. There are no briars to scratch the legs or hold one back, no puzzling divergence of other roads, no pit-falls into which to tumble, no blind paths which end abruptly in mud-flats or against apparently unscalable cliffs. There are no sudden vistas of unexpected regions quite foreign to the environment. On every side everything seems to accord with and indicate the advance along the suggested lines. Briefly, the environment is made entirely favorable to the development of the student.

While I do not for a moment question the value and the advisability of a definite system in education, and the importance of systematically and intelligently guiding the student in his courses of study, it is an open question whether the environment may not be made too favorable for his best intellectual development. The conditions of actual life must not be lost sight of, for an education that does not fit one for the fullest and best development under the conditions of real life is not a good education. It is worse than that; it is a bad education, for the student is deceived and misled as to the real nature of his work and his hopes. His awakening is a bitter one, and there will be neither love nor respect in his feelings toward those who have sent him forth so ill-equipped for the real battle of life. As I have said in another place*—"The visitor from the other world might reasonably ask 'How are your people taught about themselves, about the world of which they are factors, about their habits of life, principles of morality, and right relations to each other?' To which we might answer, 'By hard knocks, by finding that life is intensely earnest, by failure; too little, alas! by success.' We might point, also, to the dark shadows that these words throw, and which cover so many broken aspirations, dead feelings, and lost hopes. There is the battlefield on to which we rushed with colors flying, waving our swords and blowing our penny trumpets, until the 'dark tower' echoed back the feeble din. Then came at us creatures that we knew not; huge beasts, crawling reptiles, stinging gnats, and rough men with jagged clubs; they struck us and bit us, broke our swords, split our penny trumpets, trampled our colors in the mire; until, disheartened and disabled, we crawled away on sore hands and bruised knees as best we could. Aye, and

* "Manual and Sense Training." *Scientific American Supplement*, No. 1026.

some remained on the field. Then we turned back and asked of those who sent us to do battle, 'Was it fair, was it just, not to tell us of these foes and dangers?' But those who sent us answered not."

In actual life a point is soon reached when one must depend almost entirely upon himself for guidance. The path is full of stones, rut , pitfalls, and mud. Briars beset it; diverging paths perplex one; precipices and cliffs confront one unexpectedly, and well beaten roads, which lead through fields of daisies and other pretty but worthless weeds, tempt the weary and the weak. Then there are the marshes and the forests where there are no paths at all, and where insects or wild beasts harass the struggler and make progress difficult and dangerous. Sooner or later in his progress through life, every man must face a determined resistance. Whether he can overcome it or not no one can decide but himself.

The best things which one does are what he does himself without guidance from another. Encouragement, sympathy, and assistance one craves as a thirsty man cries for water; but the force and guidance which lead to real success must be one's own. The men who make the greatest successes are not those who have had the most guidance, but those who either by environment or instruction have had the best development. But no man should fail to appreciate the true worth of sympathy, encouragement, and assistance of the right kind. These are, however, really a part of his armament. Unfortunate is the man who has them not.

The finest nature is the one out of which the dross has been squeezed by painful pressure, and the precious metal has been hammered and beaten into shape. The human being rarely works more than he has to. He appreciates by instinct an easy thing — what college students call a "snap." Some of the strongest points of our natures are best called out by resistance. An emergency rises; people wring their hands and cry out not knowing what to do. There steps out from the ranks some man, perhaps unknown to those who think themselves the leaders, who seems created to meet the emergency. His success does not come from what is often called "an opportunity," the easy chance that so many seek in the hope of proving their merit. It is the exact reverse of this; the favoring chance is an increase in the element of resistance. It is this in minds of high potentiality that develops the kinetic quality which overcomes obstacles. Without this element of resistance such minds may remain unknown, and the world might never know the hero or the leader. An idle purling rill may seem nothing more than an ornament to a landscape, but oppose it unintelligently and it may rise till it sweeps all before it. And the same stream may be so opposed that its accumulated energy will yield a power to energize a great industry.

This element of resistance in education should never be overlooked. Men value things, and rightly, by what must be done to acquire them. Everything in life has a price of some kind. In the acquisition of intellectual property promissory notes do not count. In the barter between intellect and knowledge only cash transactions pay interest. To eliminate the element of difficulty from a study is an act of dishonesty. It deceives the student as to the real nature and arduousness of the subject. For a teacher to think for a student is a pedagogical crime. But when a teacher thinks before a student he teaches. To train the elements of his mind and to teach him how to think, how to utilize knowledge to produce knowledge, how to attack and conquer obstacles like a gallant soldier, full of pluck, enthusiasm

and endurance is a pedagogical ideal. If one will be anything of real value in this life one must learn that in all one will do that can be fairly called one's own, not only obstacles have to be removed, but a strong and steady resistance to progress will have to be recognized and overcome. This resistance may be of so many different kinds that it cannot be classified or considered in a few pages. But it will soon make itself felt and will determine clearly and fully before the jury of mankind if the man is to be a soldier or a camp-follower.

That for every fact gained in education a certain amount of work has to be given should always appear distinctly. That a large amount of knowledge calls for hard work of an uninteresting nature should not be allowed to drop out of sight. The practice side of almost any study is not interesting. To spell correctly, to write good English, to obtain accuracy in observation or in scientific or any kind of work, to play well a musical instrument, to compose good music, to draw or paint well, to reason clearly, to be able to use satisfactorily any kind of knowledge, or to get the best results from one's ability or genius—each of these things demands long and tedious repetition and practice; and this is not exciting or interesting and cannot be made so. This repugnance constitutes one of the numerous forms of resistance offered to success in human endeavor. It is the enthusiasm and absorbing love of the goal in distant view—the land of milk and honey—that inspires the weary traveller and makes the drudgery seem light because there is no doubt that it is the bridge to success. However plain this can be made to men, it is by no means easy to make it clear to a child or a boy. The teacher who can quicken the immature minds of youths with the first rays of the luminous possibilities in them, who can encourage students to overcome the difficulties in their studies themselves by inciting an interest in the studies, he is the successful teacher to whom men look back with feelings akin to adoration. There have been and there are such teachers—fishers of men, makers of minds. The honors of this life must be won, as the Germans say (and how well the progress of that nation illustrates it) "*mit saurem Schweiss*," and by the application of another German proverb, "*Geduld bricht Eisen.*"

The coddled youngster, who is always led by the teacher, lifted over all the holes, sheltered from all the rain-drops, and who gets prizes which he has not earned, sooner or later finds his guide has left him for another party, and that he has no more chance of winning in the race than a jellyfish matched against a pike. To the adroit scamps, who fringe society, these glue-brained, self adhesive,* pap-fed, juvenile capons furnish delectable picking. Just which holes to lift him over, into which ones he may be allowed to tumble, just how far he may be exposed to the weather, just when he may have a lollipop that he does not altogether deserve, just how and when and to what extent work should be tempered with play, are matters between which the right discrimination indicates the true teacher as contrasted with the scholastic marionette.

The chief value in sport, in my opinion, lies in the effect that it has in developing the feeling that resistance must be overcome. The best knowledge at one's disposal is concentrated: self-control is cultivated because its absence plainly prevents the best use of one's resources and discounts the chance of success. Card games, billiards, etc., all have this valuable educational feature, aside from many other points in their favor. One of the most

* Or in the slang of the day, "stuck on themselves."

valuable features of wholesome athletics in the educational curriculum is the emphasis of the idea of resistance. The whole physical and intellectual organization of the boy is aroused and concentrated on winning success against determined resistance. To achieve this success he must practice self-control, use all his energies to the fullest, and utilize and not antagonize those who try to assist him. Under the proper conditions, the athletic field may be made an important factor in educational development.

In the development of character in the youth the wise instructor finds the application of this principle most useful and efficient. Not only is energy developed, but it is trained, and the ability to concentrate the mental forces is sustained. Will-power is acquired. The acquirement of self-control, by which I mean not only the ability to control the passions but also to compel the action of the mental powers upon a given subject is aided. I think there is no doubt that self-control is the most difficult of all qualities to develop, and that its lack is the commonest cause of failure of men and women. The German historian, von Ranke, has stated as a principle in human development that "all progress is through conflict." The proper recognition of this principle in education is, I am convinced, of great importance. It is not to be understood, however, as a mere desire to vanquish others or a vainglorious display of one's superior powers; but rather that an element of resistance is required to incite mental effort of the best kind. The results become of value because they have a value in work. In direct relation to the difficulty of obtaining them lies the value of intellectual gems.

PETER TOWNSEND AUSTEN.

A SIMPLE SOLUTION OF THE SHIPPING QUESTION.

WHILE the awkwardness of an attempt to restore the American merchant marine by means of discriminating duties is manifest to all, the misleading nature of certain claims advanced in behalf of this policy by its most enthusiastic advocates can be fully appreciated only by the careful student of commercial history.

As a matter of fact the claim that discriminating duties built up our merchant fleet of the olden time is untrue—the most that rightly may be said being that discriminating duties were among the forces acting upon commerce at the time of its early development under our flag. The exact effect produced by these duties must always remain a subject for disputes, but that they were adopted for defensive and not for offensive purposes is clear from the records of Congress.

Therefore, when it is proposed to restore discriminating duties for the purpose of attacking the commercial interests of a neighbor, and not "with a view to countervail similar exclusions" (John Quincy Adams, First Message to Congress), as was the case when we first put this policy in force, an experiment is proposed—an experiment the objections to which are too numerous to be given here.

But in that early legislation of which discriminating duties formed a part was a law which not only gave important pecuniary aid to our shipping, but which now suggests the most available method of enabling American ships to engage in foreign trade; *viz.*: tonnage dues. For since it is an admitted fact (see Lloyd's Register) that the unaided English ships

are not able to compete successfully with the Norwegian and other cheaply manned craft, it is evident that free ships can be of no possible benefit to us, so far as regaining a part of the foreign carrying trade is concerned, unless we reduce our sailing expenses to the level reached by such competitors; and since this method of achieving success is not in accordance with the present policy of this country, it follows that some legislative aid must be had to give American ships an equivalent advantage—and the tonnage tax is the least objectionable form which it can take.

Our first Congress provided for a tax of fifty cents per ton upon every foreign vessel entering our ports, American craft paying but six cents—an indirect bounty of forty-four cents per ton in our favor. The re-enactment of this law, as has been urged by some, would doubtless assist our ships in the foreign trade, but such re-enactment is not advisable, for reasons which appear in the objections urged against discriminating duties. Yet this old law, slightly changed, offers the solution of this shipping problem—a tonnage tax of fifty cents imposed on American and foreign craft alike, the fund thus collected to be expended in sailing bounties paid to all vessels engaged in the foreign trade according to the number of miles sailed with cargo.

For reference to Vol. II., "Commerce and Navigation of the United States, 1896," page 1415, shows that 20,989,184 tons of foreign and 5,196,320 tons of American shipping entered ports of the United States during that year—four tons of foreign to one ton of domestic shipping. If, therefore, a tax of fifty cents per ton had been imposed on American and foreign alike (and to such an act no sort of objection could, with any semblance of justice, be raised), the foreigner would have paid four-fifths of all the tonnage tax imposed, or $10,494,592. As every nation has an indubitable right to pay its vessels sailing bounties (a right now liberally exercised by some of our competitors), this sum might have been distributed in the shape of such bounties, and, including all American vessels which were either wholly or partly engaged in the foreign trade, would have yielded an average bounty of $12.44 per ton for the year.

The proposed method of raising this fund makes its equitable distribution a simple matter—a given amount (to be determined at the beginning of each year by the Bureau of Navigation, basing calculations on the tonnage and entries of the preceding year) being paid per ton for each mile sailed with cargo; the steamer's advantage in speed being offset by more frequent payment of dues, one rate of payment can be applied to all and thus the old disputes as to what constitutes a just division of sailing bounties cannot be reasonably resumed. The rate for 1896 would have been, in round numbers, one dollar per net ton for each 3,000 miles sailed, steamers and sailing craft being paid the same rate.

Since sailing vessels would be limited to one and steamers to two tonnage payments per month, the short-voyage craft would be placed under no disadvantages, while a premium would be placed on long voyages; and thus, instead of clearing but 429,224 tons of American shipping from Europe (about one tenth the amount we cleared from Canada and other North American ports), our ocean carrying would increase; and since one-half the tonnage bounty which would have been produced by the entries of 1896 would pay ten per cent. on the vessel's cost, it is evident that we may increase our tonnage engaged in the European and other long-voyage traffic more than tenfold before the decrease in foreign entries and increase

in the number of tons sharing in this bounty will reduce the rate below ten per cent. of the vessel's cost.

As so large a part of the vessels recorded as engaged in the foreign trade are merely coasting craft unfit for off-shore service, a fleet of modern ships would be required and a great impulse to shipbuilding would be given. Yet the system is self-adjusting—as soon as our fleet reaches a size sufficient for the needs of our commerce, the bounties will become so small that there will be no temptation to excessive building.

And this system aids vessels when carrying cargoes from the United States, does not require any change in treaties, does not disturb our tariff adjustments, and can be put in force at once—none of which advantages can be claimed for discriminating duties.

Details are easily arranged: the building of steamers suitable for use as cruisers can be encouraged by providing for payment of bounties on two-thirds of their gross tonnage.

This is but a brief explanation of a measure which has been shaped after long and careful study of our own and foreign conditions. It is submitted as the simplest and most satisfactory solution of the shipping problem which present conditions will permit.

EDWARD C. PLUMMER.

A DEMOCRATIC ARISTOCRACY, OR VOLUNTARY SERVITUDE.

THERE is such a thing in history as the arrival of a nation at the bottom of a *cul de sac*—a logical *impasse*. It becomes impossible to proceed further without running against a blank wall—there is no thoroughfare.

The social problem in America has something of this aspect; the question is how to extricate ourselves from an impossible situation. We have committed ourselves to two opposite and mutually destructive principles—have supposed it possible to go on living our lives according to ancient moral ideas, whilst adopting a social and political philosophy that is modern and revolutionary.

Ancient society was solidly based on the consistent principles, first, that men are of social importance in proportion to what they make of themselves, and second, that the great mass of men that make nothing of themselves worth mentioning, are of no social importance at all except as the bearers of rude burdens for the superior class.

Modern society in general, and American society in particular, is insecurely based because it is based on inconsistent principles. We go on asserting in the anachronistic way the ancient moral theory of the self-made man, whilst denying the necessary consequence of that theory—which is caste.

The moral drama of the age is the futile attempt to reconcile ancient culture and privilege with modern science and humility. Our social predicament is entirely modern; there is nothing like it in the experience of antiquity. One may well fancy that the citizens of an ancient "democracy"—say that of Athens in the days of Pericles, wherein there were half a dozen unconsidered drudges to every citizen—would have raised a great shout of derision if anyone had proposed in their assembly that coarse labor should be esteemed honorable or that all men should be equal before the law. And if it could have been whispered to Plato that after 2,000 years and more a democracy in the West should wrestle with the problem how to perpetuate a society constituted, despite great differences of names and customs, substan-

tially like his own Athens—of two well-marked classes, but saturated through and through with the doctrine of human equality—he would, one may be sure, have smiled at our simplicity and would have explained that our only safety lay in denying the doctrine of equality in the most uncompromising terms and getting back with all speed to the ancient order. But if he could have been told further that his remedy was impossible of application, that this doctrine of equality was not a philosophic abstraction, but the political expression of a profound moral conviction that had been growing in the hearts of both the privileged and the unprivileged for more than eighteen hundred years, that it was too late to turn back, that the mass of the people would never submit to be told that their lives had meaning only with reference to the lives of an upper class, that the upper class itself would not, could not, accept the teaching, that the world was absolutely and finally committed to the tremendous thesis that there is a sacredness and worth in life quite apart from wealth and culture, and that, in consideration of the depth and mystery of this common element in human nature, the differences that grow out of personal achievements were coming to seem unimportant—if Plato could have been told all this, I am inclined to think that he would have risen to the emergency, and would have counselled that in such circumstances it might be well to consider whether this Christian theory, having shown such extraordinary power to turn the world into confusion and contradiction, might not contain within itself the principle of restoration—whether, in short, it might not be better for society to try the Christian theory further, and even to give it a clean sweep rather than die of the contradiction.

It is Christianity that has engendered in the people this ineradicable feeling of the value of life, the feeling that the commonest and poorest life has an inestimable worth in itself and cannot be regarded as merely ancillary to the life of another. It is this feeling that has motived the age long struggle for civil liberty, and that has in the Nineteenth Century culminated in democracy. But this feeling is the product of a partial and superficial Christianity; the deeper content of Christianity is the teaching that civil liberty is valuable only as preparing the way for a higher and more interior liberty—the liberty of self-devotion. Christianity has abolished involuntary servitude and established civil liberty in order that—being freed from the compulsion to serve—men may rise to the moral eminence of voluntary servitude. And this profounder word of Christianity is now in due process of spiritual evolution, the order of the day, the word of omen and prophecy for the Twentieth Century, the power of God for the renewal of the nations and the fulfilment of the moral significance of democracy.

Consider whether there be any other possible resource. Doubtless there are those that suppose it possible, through educational and refining processes, to carry the whole of the working class over into the condition of the class called cultivated. These fail to see, what is however a plain fact, that the maintenance of the cultivated class in the physical condition of that class as we find it in America to-day requires the existence of a class whose lives shall be engrossed in irksome labor. It is fair to warn the benevolent people who are striving in so many ingenious ways to "elevate the masses" that if they should ever succeed in doing it, they would certainly have to blacken their own shoes and they might be obliged to carry in their own coal. If everybody had an easy competency there would be a great dearth of cooks, and if we each and all kept a carriage, none of us could keep a coachman.

The essential thing about riches is not so much the possession of things as the possession of power over persons. And the only way to release the poor from the constraint of that power is for the rich to take upon their own shoulders some portion of the burdens that have been laid upon the poor.

Again, it is coming to be fashionable to suppose that socialism offers us a means of escape from our predicament.

But it must be borne in mind that our social problem is not primarily an economic problem. The root of the difficulty is not that the working-class is intolerably miserable, nor is it that they have set their hearts on fine tailoring and five-course dinners; the root of the difficulty is caste; the brand of social inferiority, the dealing with the labor of men as if it were a commodity, and the contempt of life involved in such dealing. The great strikes of the last few years have been carried on, not principally to get more wages—the vital interest and passion of the struggle have invariably centered in some matter touching the self-respect of the workmen, and their right to deal with their employers as with equals. It would be as true to say that the Revolutionary War was fought for cheap tea as to say that the labor question is only or principally a question of wages. The remark of that very keen observer, M. de Tocqueville, that Americans care more for equality even than for liberty, has had a good deal of justification in the "sympathetic" strikes of recent years, wherein multitudes of American workingmen have cheerfully subjected themselves to the regimentation of labor unions and have made great material sacrifices to maintain the right of dealing with capitalists on equal terms.

The question is, then, Can socialism abolish caste? and the answer is plainly no. A socialistic government that should stop short of communism could be nothing other than a huge "syndicate" controlled by a privileged class. And a socialistic government that should go on to its logical conclusion in coercive communism would stand as the denial of all that the world has been learning for several thousand years. Community of goods enforced by the policeman, stands in the sharpest possible opposition to that voluntary and fraternal community of goods which is illustrated in the early church. The communism of the morning of Christianity is a simple and reasonable expression of the principle that the life is more than meat; but a regimentated, bureaucratic, police-court communism, resorted to at the end of the ages as the solution of a desperate class-question, would be the very carnival of envy and greed—a culminating triumph of the animal over the man.

The only solution of the social problem is voluntary servitude. It is necessary that there be raised up among us a class of persons of superior capacity, who might enjoy the privileges and immunities of an upper class who shall willingly submit to the conditions of life that are imposed upon the lower class. It seems not unreasonable to believe that were there but ten thousand such persons in the United States they would suffice—through the prevalence of that moral authority which is always commanding, and in the long run irresistible—to put such a check upon the universal struggle for privilege and promotion that the fatal schism should not be wrought in us. And so might the nation go on to the accomplishment of the moral ends of democracy; and Europe, looking our way, might take heart and follow our leading. The stake is immeasurably great.

I do not speak of self-sacrifice, because I readily concede that self-sacrifice, in an absolute sense, is uncalled for, and is perhaps inconceivable.

The motive power of this devotion must be a profounder conception of the meaning of life—a *renaissance* of faith, an achievement of spiritual liberty.

It is, perhaps, impossible to say what shall be the terms of the servitude into which men are thus willingly to enter. Certainly the gist of the matter is not mere digging or the wearing of hob-nailed shoes—these things may or may not have a place in the programme.

The essential thing is a vital humility and abhorrence of privilege—a perception that social advantages are in truth disadvantages, that culture is overfine or underfine unless it be wrought out in labor and experience, unless it begin with an inner passion of faith and a sacrificial devotion to the concrete ideal.

Such an aristocracy is the necessary complement of democracy. If it come not, democracy must be given up. But let us not yet give it up. Our way out of the blind alley is to rise to the highest occasion of history, and mount over the walls.

CHARLES FERGUSON.

PROFIT-SHARING AND DOMESTIC SERVICE, AS DISCUSSED AT A WOMAN'S CLUB.

THE subject of the paper that day was Profit Sharing—an admirable condensation of Gilman and other authorities, with pertinent comments by the writer. The paper was followed by a brief consideration of the many antidotes which have been advocated as panaceas for industrial discontent—"the malady of the age threatening to retard civilization"—arbitration, productive co-operation, strikes, socialism, etc.—each shown to be a failure compared with the infallible remedy that Profit Sharing promised to be. One speaker said that the review of the prescriptions for industrial discontent reminded her of that custom of ancient Babylon—the taking of the sick into the market-place that every passer-by might pass an opinion upon the malady and prescribe a cure, the majority to have control of the sufferer. For the fever of industrial discontent with which all hand-workers were said to be more or less afflicted, she could believe that the popular remedy was Profit Sharing. What she wanted to know was if Profit Sharing was sufficient for all forms of industrial discontent? Was it equal to that malignant type with which housekeepers were so familiar, usually called *the servant trouble?* Had it ever been tried in the kitchen? Would some one of the club members who had made an exhaustive study of Profit Sharing, and knew all the details of a system demonstrated in the *Bon Marché* of Paris, inform the housekeepers who had little leisure for study, and had well-nigh lost hope of having their lot improved until the Millennium came in, if they, the distressed housekeepers, might safely build any expectations upon Profit Sharing as the cure for industrial discontent in domestic service? Her heart had been strangely thrilled at hearing of a working man in one of the great Profit Sharing mercantile concerns who had reproved a fellow-laborer for breaking something by saying: "Be careful; don't you know that costs *us* five dollars?" She had foreseen what the exercise of such spirit would mean in her kitchen, what it would be if her china could be handled as if it belonged to *us*, and what might result when frugality in groceries and gas was put upon a business basis.

If it could be done in the factory, the big store, why not in the home? Had it ever been tried? That was what she most of all wanted to know.

Only one woman had ever known of Profit Sharing as applied to housework. But she could not give the details of what had proved eminently successful. A friend of hers, some ten years ago, had made a careful estimate of what she could pay yearly for her housekeeping expenses—her service, table, etc.—and had offered to pay her housemaid that amount in monthly payments, upon conditions specified in a carefully worded contract, signed by both parties. All that the housemaid could save of the allowance was to be her own. She had to replace loss by breakage, and see that the work was always well done. The partnership had been an exceptionally happy one, the housemaid following her mistress, who as the wife of an itinerary had moved from city to city, from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast.

Now, who can give another illustration of Profit Sharing as applied to domestic service? And the figures, please? Is it in Profit Sharing that help cometh to housekeepers at last? Then why not a movement in the women's clubs hastening its approach—stopping what threatens to be a general stampede to boarding-houses and hotels? If Profit Sharing is really the cure for industrial discontent, then may it not be applied wherever there is a symptom of the disorder? Who will tell housekeepers how to introduce it and give it practical trial?

JANE MARSH PARKER.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCXCIX.

JUNE, 1898.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE CONQUERED ISLANDS?

BY SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN.

THE war with Spain, into which we have been drawn by a necessity we could not honorably avoid, which is imposed upon our country by a proper sense of humanity and the duty we owe to Christian civilization, is not likely to close without embracing a wider field than the establishment of free government in Cuba alone, and the control of that island by a people with whom we can live in peace and friendship, as near neighbors.

The resistance of Spain to our just demands for peace in Cuba has already lost to her the dominion over the Philippine Islands, and will remove her yoke from the Caroline Islands and from Cuba and Porto Rico. The prospect of this sweeping result, which is not likely to fail of complete accomplishment, brings into earnest, practical discussion the question, that is almost new in our history, as to the disposal that should be made of all these islands at the close of the war. If the United States, at that time, shall have the control of the destiny of these islands, the first view of the question of their disposal requires us to determine whether these islands should be returned to the dominion of the Spanish Crown.

If a revolution in Spain should establish a Republic there, the

Copyright, 1898, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

principles of constitutional government which may be adopted by the Spanish people may accord to these islands the full liberty of local self-government, so well secured to them as to remove the tyrannical domination that the Monarchy has employed to crush them with oppressions that no people should be compelled to endure. In such an event, the Republic of Spain might consist of a confederation of sovereign states, such as the States of the American Union, into which the people of the insular countries might freely choose to enter. With "indemnity for the past and security for the future," such a result would gratify the American people.

Spain could have restored peace to Cuba at any time by the declaration of its independence, and could have made with that republic most advantageous treaty arrangements. But the iron hand of the Monarchy refused to relax its grasp upon the power to rule and tax and destroy those people. The haughty pride of the Monarchy refused to bow to duty. Cupidity refused to yield to the pleadings of justice, and the ferocity of brutal power refused to stay its hand, on the demand of humanity.

If a true republic had existed in Spain, animated with respect for human rights and liberties, Cuba would have been set free, and the gratitude of the people for such a deliverance would have drawn them, with great rejoicings, into a Spanish federation of free republics, along with the other colonies in the East and West Indies.

The time has passed when such a federation is possible, and "the pride that goes before a fall" seems still rigid and unrelenting, and is leading Spain into the loss of all her colonial possessions. The United States would have welcomed such a deliverance for these oppressed people, and would have rejoiced in sacrifices for the holy cause of humanity and liberty. But that is now beyond hope. The situation unexpectedly imposes upon the American people a difficult and responsible task, in giving a proper direction to the future of these insular peoples, that are now left in a chaotic condition.

In Cuba, the people have been in close contact with our free, constitutional government, and many of their leading men have been educated in our schools. With such opportunities, they have acquired the capacity for just and enlightened self-government, and, upon that foundation, they have already established their

infant republic amidst the throes of revolution, and have gathered around it in battle array and have sustained it, until it has grown into a power that commands the respect of the world, and will be established as a welcomed member of the family of nations.

Whether Cuba will ever enter into the union of American States, or will prefer to stand apart as a separate republic, will depend upon her free and voluntary election, but its union with our government will never be the result of compulsion. In her freedom there would still be an element of subordination, if Cuba does not possess and exercise the unconstrained right to control her own destiny.

In Porto Rico, the ability to sustain an independent government is more questionable, because her population cannot increase in so limited an area to the strength that is essential to independent statehood. Her geographical position is too important to distant nations, to admit of her separate independence. Unless Cuba and Porto Rico can be united into a republican federation, with advantage to both islands and with the free consent of their people, it is probable that the United States will protect the people of Porto Rico by including the island within the limits of a military outpost, while they will be left free to control their domestic affairs in their local councils. By making the ports of this island free to the commerce of all nations, except as to tonnage duties, or sound dues, no questions would be likely to arise with other countries for settlement that could not be properly disposed of by a commandant of a naval or military station.

The question of greatest difficulty that will be presented for solution by the United States at the close of the war with Spain will be the disposal of the Philippine and the Caroline Islands. In respect of all the islands from which Spanish power is expelled by our arms, there is a proper and necessary reservation, to be made at the proper time, of limited areas that will include certain bays and harbors that are best adapted to the purposes of military outposts, and for coaling stations and places of refuge for our warships and other national vessels.

It would be extreme folly to omit such provision for the security of our ships and the protection of our commerce in both the great oceans. If any of these islands are transferred to any government, local or foreign, such government should be bound by treaty stipulations to guarantee to the United States, against all

comers, and with arms if necessary, the full and uninterrupted possession and control of suitable military reservations. The government of the Philippines, outside of such military reservations, is the weighty problem we must solve in our dealing with this novel situation.

The necessary care of our commercial affairs, and the defense of our coasts, will require the annexation of Hawaii, and the establishment of a naval station in Pango-Pango Bay, in Samoa, where we have this right, by treaty. A military post in the Philippines, connecting with these other islands and with Asia, would form a strategic situation of immense value in time of war, and would place us on an equal footing with all other powers in the control of the commerce of the Southern Pacific Ocean.

The distance of Hawaii from all other places, and its equidistant proximity to all points on our Pacific Coast, from the border of Mexico to the island of Attu, would give us the ascendency in sea power in the North Pacific, if not the supreme strategic control of that vast ocean area.

It may be considered inappropriate or immodest, even, that a republic should contemplate the possession of naval stations, in those seas where monarchic Europe has laid violent hands on all the islands, but we must respond, in our policies, to the energy with which our institutions have inspired our people in seeking wealth and commercial pursuits. Wheresoever our power may extend beyond our continental boundaries, it will be confined to the protection of the interests of our own people, by establishing such military outposts as will secure to them the full enjoyment of all their rights, and the liberty of commerce. The policy of colonization by conquest, or coercion, is repugnant to our national creed, which places the right of free self-government in supremacy over all other sovereign rights; and a colonial policy which discriminates between the rights of colonists, and those of the people who enjoy full citizenship in the United States, would be repugnant to the principles of our national Constitution.

In all the departments of our government, the laws of nations are adopted and admitted to be in force. They broaden the powers of the government to include whatever is in accordance with those laws. Broadly stated, the United States have as much rightful authority beyond their borders, as may be exerted by any other power.

The limitations on the powers of our departments of government are intended to protect our people and the States against domestic usurpation or wrong, rather than to limit the national government in its dealings with foreign states or countries. The army and navy of the United States are not confined in their operations to the land or the water included in our territorial limits; and they may be used, in accordance with the laws of nations, in time of peace, or in war, to safeguard the rights of our people in any part of the world, when our laws so provide. In time of war, these powers are exercised in enforcing the martial law; and in time of peace, they may be exerted in the form of military government, acting in supervision, but in harmony with civil or municipal laws of the country held under military control. In our military reservations, the military arm is employed as an agency of civil government, and, in the necessary control of Indian tribes, the same principles of government obtain.

It must be conceded, under the laws of nations, and in accordance with the necessary authority of our national sovereignty, that we may lawfully govern the Philippine Islands, or any part of them that may come rightfully under our control as a result of war, by military authority, if we find it necessary for the wel fare of those people, or our own, so to govern them. In such an event, we should first set apart a special reservation of territory, under permanent military government, and fortify it as a naval station, giving to the people in such reservations the rights of citizenship of the United States, if they choose to accept them.

The question of the capacity of the people of the Philippine Islands to become a free and self-governing people can only be solved through the friendly offices of the United States, or of some just and liberal government, to direct and assist them in that course of development. It is too early now to venture upon a solution of the obvious difficulties that must attend their growth into a self-governing people, by any definite plan of procedure; but the example of Hawaii gives great encouragement to the philanthropist and the Christian who may look hopefully to the future of these people. When they are brought into living contact with the beneficent influences that have redeemed them from servile bondage to their oppressors and have elevated them to the possibilities of a true and enlightened civilization, they will accept the new situation cheerfully.

Among the people in the Philippines, who belong to the subject races, the native Malays are the class who possess the greatest governing power. They comprise the rebel element who have had the fortitude to resist the oppressions of Spanish rule. They have a feeling of racial autonomy and self-reliance, and a strong desire for independence, as well as an indignant resentment towards their oppressors. The history of their wrongs and sufferings, during a long period of oppression, is far more aggravated than that of the Cubans. Their oppressors are strangers to them in blood and language, and are strangers to human sympathy, or forbearance, in their treatment of the Malays.

In mental endowments, and in physical stature and strength, the native people of these islands are by no means an inferior class. They are quite the equals of the Japanese, in natural powers; and, like the Hawaiians, to whom they bear a strong racial resemblance, they are of gentle disposition. They are fond of social enjoyments, such as music and singing, in which they have great skill, and are fond of agricultural pursuits, in which they excel. That such a people have fought the Spanish so bravely and for so many years is a proof of their virtue, as a race, which gives strong assurance that, under just government, they will grow into a strong, useful and happy nation. Of the ten or twelve hundred islands that constitute this great archipelago, only a few have been explored by white men.

Since the earliest Spanish occupancy, which has only been a thin fringe about the coasts and harbors, the natives in the interior have lived in constant rebellion towards the foreign usurpers. They have had no government which they willingly recognized, and little hope of any form of union; and their separation into groups, corresponding with the insular divisions of their country, has excited local jealousies and has estranged them from each other; and, like our Indian tribes, they have had many internecine wars. Like the Hawaiians, until they were subjugated by a great chieftain, Kamehameha I., the inhabitants of each island have been strongly addicted to warfare against the others. If they had a government that commanded their honest allegiance, they would become united, as the Hawaiians are; and, upon the basis of that union, would be laid the foundations of a free constitutional government, like the Republic of Hawaii, than which there is no better government in the world.

It is not aside from the line of just reasoning and deduction, nor is it a mere conjecture, to attribute to the freedom of religion, or to expect from the labors of the American missionary, an influence in the regeneration of the Philippines, that was the most efficient cause of the elevation of the Hawaiians to the dignity of a self-governing and educated Christian people. The same conditions will assuredly bring about like results in the Philippines.

The government of the United States took no active part in promoting the regeneration of Hawaii, and it will not inaugurate or support a propaganda in the Philippines, either political or religious; but it should not deny to itself the right to give its encouragement to good government in those islands, or to give to those people proper support against the unjust invasion of their rights by foreign powers. The fortunes of war have devolved this duty upon us.

Annexation will not be a necessary or proper result of such moral or actual protection, because the United States is an American power, with high national duties that are, in every sense, American; and the Philippines are not within the sphere of American political influence, but are Asiatic, and should remain Asiatic.

All the American States are Christian, and, in nearly all of them, the political relations are dissolved between the Church and the State, so that religion is free and untrammelled. In the Eastern Hemisphere, the reverse condition has always been a source of discord that is apparently ineradicable. Freedom of religious opinion and conduct, under proper regulation, is an essential element in a true republic. Until this impediment is removed, which cannot be done by mere political agencies, a republic like ours would find a barrier to the annexation of European or Asiatic countries, which we could not attempt to surmount without danger to our own government. All the American States being Christian, and nearly all of them republican, it would be an uncongenial and dangerous situation if any of them should annex foreign territory having a people in authority who are antagonistic to both of these vital conditions.

The spread of republican institutions over new fields of endeavor must be a growth of reformation that is nurtured by the people concerned, and not a reformation by coercion that comes from the outside, and is supported by propagandists only. We have no justifiable motive, nor any compelling necessity for in-

cluding the Philippines, or the Caroline Islands, within our territorial limits, unless that is the only feasible way of saving those people from destruction ; or, unless those islands become indispensable to our national safety.

The United States cannot accept the surrender of the Philippines from Spain, and then consent that they shall be restored to the Spanish Crown, under any conditions. The people of the United States are not inimical to Spanish people. The history of the Latin states of America is full of proofs that we have towards Spaniards a sincere sentiment of respect and regard. It is the Bourbon rule in Spain that has incurred the hostility of the American people. The reason for this displeasure was developed in the early days of the republic, through the wrongs inflicted by the Spanish dynasty, first upon the native people, and then upon all except the favored subjects of the Crown, in the Spanish-American colonies.

Through long forbearance, and the silent toleration of these wrongs by the United States, Spain has presumed upon our pacific intentions until we have been forced to demand the reign of peace and humanity in Cuba, as it was demanded by all the other Spanish Colonies in the first quarter of this century. It was not until the atrocities of the Monarchy had culminated in the extermination of the natives by starvation and rapine, and had included citizens of the United States in the terrible *"bando,"* now and hereafter to be described as Weylerism ; and not until after our courtesy and benevolence were rewarded with the criminal destruction of the " Maine," that the United States asserted the common rights of humanity, and our national right to be rid of such a neighbor as the Spanish government in Cuba.

When the occasion has passed, and Cuba has been freed from the Monarchy, all Americans will welcome her people into the sisterhood of American States. That immense benefits will come to all the people of America by opening a new area to the blessing of free constitutional government, extending through all the Spanish possessions from Porto Rico to the Philippines, there can be no doubt; and this result will be the crowning glory of the war that is being waged with the most humane motives, and for the noblest purposes that ever inspired the action of a great nation.

We cannot honorably relax our efforts until this grand result is accomplished, and we have the just right to the enjoyment of

the increased commercial advantages that we will share, under fair competition, with the world.

It is a new and inviting field for American enterprise and influence that opens Porto Rico, Cuba, the Isthmian Canal, Hawaii, the Caroline and the Philippine Islands to fair trade and good government; and we shall need only the good will of those people to secure to us a just participation in its advantages.

This is an alluring field for conquest and dominion, but no compulsion will be needed to hold it, beyond the temporary necessity of preserving the peace in these islands, until the rightful government of their people can be established on safe foundations. Conquest would dishonor our motives in waging war against Spain, if we should hold the subjugated islands only in trust for ourselves. Civilized and humane people throughout the world, and all the great powers, must, in justice, accord to the United States the most honorable sentiments and purposes in declaring war against Spain.

Other nations have no ground for interference that can relate to the causes of the war; and, so long as it is conducted in accordance with the laws of nations, their right of intervention can only be excused upon motives of compassion for the weaker combatant.

The United States will be the first to discern a situation that appeals to their forbearance. They do not ask other powers for assistance in a war that concerns their own sense of duty; and, in its prosecution, they will reckon only with the enemy, without consulting the ambitious purposes of any other power. It is the earnest desire and hope of the people and the government of the United States that, in this war, we shall never be required to send a fleet or an army to the coast of Spain.

When Spanish dominion is ended in the colonies that have been persecuted by the Spanish Crown, and the successor government has been rightfully established, the great purpose of this war will be accomplished; and Spain will be a wiser and happier nation for the reaction upon her domestic institutions, which will result in the reformation of her home government.

A country that cannot govern its colonies, so as to secure their peace and promote their prosperity, cannot be wronged, if it is compelled to relinquish its authority over them.

JOHN T. MORGAN.

THE OFFICERING AND ARMING OF VOLUNTEERS.

BY CAPTAIN JAMES PARKER, U. S. A.

THE most important detail, perhaps, in connection with the organization of our volunteer troops, is the development, selection and appointment of their officers.

At the beginning of the war with Mexico in 1846 we were able to officer our comparatively small force of raw troops very largely with graduates of the Military Academy, or with men who had obtained military training in our army. The troops being thus commanded by experienced soldiers were trained with thoroughness and despatch, and brought that war to a successful conclusion in a remarkably short space of time, considering the difficulties they had to encounter, and the preponderating forces arrayed against them. We are able to look back upon that campaign with intense pride, which is not diminished when we compare our experience in Mexico with that of the French army in the same country in 1863.

In the war of 1861–5, however, our experience was different. Owing to the fewness of our trained officers, and to the enormous numbers of troops we were obliged to raise for that conflict in the early part of the war, we had many regiments which, when organized, were found to contain absolutely no officers or men fitted for instructors. As from the nature of things, in the case of any future *levée en masse*, the time for preparation will be very short, disaster is liable to overtake us, if we do not have men who are able to command and quickly train raw troops.

Fortunately for this country, while we are debarred in time of peace from educating soldiers on as large a scale as prevails abroad, we are not prevented from educating officers, and of this fact it behooves us to take the utmost advantage.

It is not to be doubted that, in case of attack or invasion, the patriotism and military spirit of our citizens would demand the immediate raising of an army sufficient in size for all possible contingencies, and that at least 400,000 men would thus be embodied in the ranks, in addition to our regular army and active militia. For such an army, calculating at the rate of an officer to twenty-five men, we should need 16,000 combatant officers. We may then safely say that 16,000 well-mustered officers should always be at our disposal, for even with this number we will be greatly inferior to other first-class, and even to second-class, nations in the number of available military organizers and drill instructors.

We will be able to obtain our officers and instructors from three different sources: (1.) From the Military Academy; (2.) from the Regular Army; (3.) from the National Guard.

The Military Academy, as a factor in our problem of national defence, has hardly received the attention it deserves. From the debates in Congress, the reports of the Secretaries of War, and the messages of the Presidents, in the early days of the Republic, it is clear that the Academy was intended, not so much to accomplish what at present is almost its sole function—to supply enough officers to fill the vacancies in the army—as to provide a reserve of officers, who in civil life would be always available to officer and train our raw levies. In 1815, with a population one-tenth the present census enumeration, the maximum number of cadets was fixed at 260, as against 371 to-day. Instead of increasing the size of the Military Academy as the needs of the country enlarged, its original purpose has been lost sight of, until now it is scarcely large enough to supply the ordinary vacancies. And this, in spite of the fact that the Academy costs annually little more than does a regiment of cavalry or infantry, while the benefit derived from it as a part of the army is a hundred-fold greater. Our history, as written by hosts of unprejudiced writers, will show that, as officers, instructors and disciplinarians, West Pointers, as a whole, are far superior to the military talent we can produce in any other way, and that they, more than any, are eminently suited to become the organizers of our volunteer armies. I will content myself with quoting General Scott, one of our greatest soldiers, who, not himself a West Pointer, said: "I give it as my fixed opinion that but for our graduated cadets

the war between the United States and Mexico might, and probably would, have lasted some four or five years, whereas, in two campaigns, we conquered a great country without the loss of a single battle or skirmish."

We have now perhaps 1,450 graduates who would be available in time of war, of whom about 1,300 are in the army. Instead of limiting ourselves to this restricted number, it would be well if 8,000 of the 16,000 trained officers and instructors required for volunteers were graduates of a National Military Academy. This could be accomplished in a few years by increasing the number of cadets authorized by law from 371 to 2,200, and this in turn could be done by providing three Academies, the existing one at West Point and two others. The fact that all these cadets would not remain in the army would not affect the efficiency of their instruction any more than like conditions have affected the value of the training given at the Naval Academy.

In return for his education the graduate of the Military Academy should always be at the service of the government, and this should be made a matter of law as well as of sentiment. To keep alive their interest in military science, the government should organize a reserve of officers, to which all graduates of the Military Academies not in the army should belong. In this reserve officers should serve without pay, being indemnified therefor, and for their temporary exclusion from active service, by promotion (after examination) at stated periods. This reserve of officers is of the utmost importance as a necessary adjunct in our system of national defense.

Another source from which we may gain our instruction of volunteers is the ranks of the regular army.

It is well known that in recent years the class of men enlisting in the regular army has greatly improved. Much of this improvement is due to improved conditions (food, clothing, barracks, etc.), though it is partly due to the fact that promotion from the ranks has become a common occurrence. In our army of 25,000 men we probably discharge, on expiration of the three years' term of service, about 6,000 men per year, of whom perhaps, 1,000 are non-commissioned officers. A large proportion of these soldiers are very intelligent; all have received a thorough and complete military training. Of the non-commissioned

officers many are eminently fitted as instructors and officers of volunteers. We commit a great fault, and one that will not fail to be serious in its consequences, in not developing this talent and making it available. Any non-commissioned officer or man who shows ability as a drill master should receive credit for it and be given a parchment certificate to that effect, signed by his company commander, who should be required to state his relative proficiency as an instructor in the school of the soldier, school of the company, etc., marching, camping, cooking, target practice, guard duty, etc. In order to give more non-commissioned officers, or men, experience and confidence in drilling, recruits, as far as possible, should be drilled in their own companies, and non-commissioned officers rotate as instructors. In the non-commissioned officer's record in the description book, should be noted, at the time, any tours of duty as drill instructor, with the proficiency attained. In case any non-commissioned officer is believed on discharge to be competent to act as a subaltern officer of volunteers, he should be given a practical and theoretical examination by a board of officers, who should sign a further certificate to that effect. These certificates should be registered at Washington, where the man's address should be preserved.

All this can be accomplished with ease, without resort to Congress, by a simple order of the War Department. The military talent developed in our army would then be made available in time of war. Certificates as instructors would bring warrants as non-commissioned officers in the volunteers to discharged men. Certificates of competency as instructors and as subaltern officers would go far toward securing commissions. Such certificates would be highly prized by the recipients, and would surely be recognized by governors or volunteer officers. It is well known that in 1861 non-commissioned officers of the regular army were in great demand as instructors of volunteers.

It is to be deplored that so many highly competent men have been hitherto discharged from the army without any such recognition of their peculiar talents, so valuable in time of war. The privilege of receiving the certificates I recommend might well be extended, however, to men who have been discharged, and who, having applied for them, are found competent by boards.

Such a system would be advantageous to the regular army, by causing what is now often a distasteful task to be sought by

non-commissioned officers and privates; and by developing talent which is now latent or not apparent; and it would also result in the more thorough instruction of our regular army recruits. It would further establish as a principle, which is not now clearly recognized, that one important feature of our regular army is to spread abroad military acquirement which will be available in time of war. Discharged non-commissioned officers of superior ability, who have been unable, on account of age or other reasons not affecting their efficiency, to obtain commissions in the army, should have the privilege of applying for and obtaining, after passing proper examinations, commissions in the reserve of officers recommended in connection with an increase of the Military Academy.

Another source from which we will, in time of war, obtain officers and instructors for our raw levies is the National Guard.

It is not to be expected that we can obtain as uniformly competent instructors from this source as from the Military Academy or the regular army. There is, unfortunately, much variation in the degrees of thoroughness attained in training and discipline by different regiments of the National Guard and in different States. In some organizations, false ideas of discipline are allowed to be accepted that would rather detract from the value of the men as volunteers. In many cases the military instruction received is exceedingly limited, not extending beyond a mere smattering of the schools of the soldier, company, and battalion, and a little guard duty wretchedly performed. By becoming accustomed to seeing military duty performed in a shiftless and careless manner, the experience of many is likely to unfit them for a time as soldiers when fighting is imminent and the time for nonsense is over.

But, fortunately, such conditions may be said to be the exception and not the rule. Within the limited range of their military functions, the officers usually are noted for a zealous performance of duty under conditions not always favorable. The ranks contain multitudes of young men who are enthusiastic soldiers, and zealous students of military science, as far as their opportunities go, and with talents and abilities that would, were they to obtain commissions, convert them very quickly into efficient officers. In the crack organizations the influential position, social and otherwise, of many of the men in the ranks

makes it certain that they would in time of war at once obtain commissions. It is, indeed, a pity that the desire of these young men to extend their military acquirements is not better rewarded, that the long tenure in office of the officers and non-commissioned officers of militia makes promotion slow, and that many do not ever gain that confidence which is only to be acquired by command. To extend the instruction of the future officers of volunteers who may be now serving in the National Guard, the general government should use every effort. Only the most active and competent officers of the regular army should be detailed for duty with the militia. Combined encampments of regulars and militia, like those at Aldershot in England, should be fostered; theoretical instruction for officers and men, by lectures delivered by our best military talent, should be furnished. It has been wisely suggested that tuition at our schools of application might well be afforded to a limited number of officers of the National Guard. It might be further recommended that, for such members of the National Guard as wish to fit themselves as officers of volunteers, and are unable to leave their homes, the United States may inaugurate a course of tuition by correspondence, similar to the Chautauqua system. Further, to promote military study by ambitious members of the National Guard, it would not be out of the power of the general government to detail boards of examination, composed of officers of the regular army, empowered to issue certificates of fitness, as officers of volunteers, to such non-commissioned officers or men of the National Guard as can pass an examination akin to the prescribed practical and theoretical examination for promotion to the grade of first lieutenant of the army.

The troops of militia cavalry, composed of men of assured position, recently organized in many of our large cities, should have as their principal function the development and schooling of officers.

To sum up: So long as war is a possibility, we must be convinced that the most important function of the National Guard is to develop officers of volunteers for that war, and every effort should be made by the United States to improve the National Guard as a school of instruction.

The officers of the regiments of volunteers raised during the war of 1861–5, received their commissions from the governors of

the States in which the volunteers were raised. This practice was confirmed by orders from the War Department, and the exercise of the appointing power would probably be tenaciously held on to by the States in any future war. By War Department orders such officers were required to undergo certain prescribed examinations, and in case of failure their commissions were vacated. Such should be the rule in future.

Promotions by seniority in the company and regiment were the rule. The system of promotion now in vogue in the regular army is hardly applicable to the volunteers. Companies are raised usually in one township or county. The men know each other and are acquainted with their officers, either personally or by reputation. They have enlisted together, and they expect to stand or fall together. The same is true in a less degree of regiments. To appoint outsiders to vacancies in companies or regiments is found to be demoralizing.

In making original appointments of company officers it was the practice of governors, in many States to defer to a certain extent to the views and wishes of the men. Where officers of experience were available the men almost invariably selected them as their leaders. And when (as in 1861 was, unfortunately, more usual) such officers were not to be had, this method of selection was perhaps as safe as any other, and had, besides, the advantage in the sight of many of being considered in harmony with the spirit of our laws and institutions. As a popular measure it was undoubtedly efficacious in drawing volunteers more quickly into the ranks. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that we will not in future be obliged to recur to a measure so opposed to the prompt application of military discipline. The necessity for such methods would disappear were we to turn our attention systematically to training officers in the manner I have suggested. In such case there would be, in addition to the large body of officers of the National Guard, a military reserve of officers registered at the War Department, known in their communities, who by reason of their proved military knowledge would command the attention of all as competent leaders. Men will surrender even their elective principle for the assurance that they will be well led and properly taken care of. But to allow the elective principle to govern in the filling of vacancies occurring after the regiment is once organized, as is done in the militia of the States, should be condemned as

fatal to proper discipline. Such places should be filled pursuant to the recommendation of the superior officers.

The mobilization of our volunteer armies consists mainly in organizing the staff of the various brigades, divisions and corps; detailing for this purpose the necessary chiefs and *personnel* of the quartermaster, subsistence, medical, ordnance, engineer, signal and other staff departments; in accumulating and distributing provisions, clothing, camp equipage, transportation, equipments, arms and ammunition; in organizing the wagon, pontoon, signal and ammunition trains, and in providing for the necessary movements of troops and supplies to the front.

It is well known that in April, 1861, the general government was unable to supply, without the delay required for their manufacture, either arms, ammunition, clothing or camp equipage, sufficient for the small army of 75,000 men then called into service. The States were, therefore, in great part compelled to equip their own troops, and many were even obliged to purchase arms and manufacture ammunition. Our supply departments were small and not organized in a suitable manner to meet the emergency; their officers were often timid about casting loose from the restrictions as to purchase, etc., which had grown up in time of peace, and the procurement of supplies, even where available, was hedged about with great obstacles and difficulties.

We may congratulate ourselves that there is a great improvement over the conditions that prevailed in 1861. That war is yet fresh in our minds, and the lessons taught by it will be of service for many years in any like emergency. Our staff departments are now organized on a scale more befitting mobilization; and their officers may be expected to renew the splendid record made later in that war, when it might be said that we had the best equipped and most efficiently supplied armies ever known in history. Thanks, too, to the patriotic policy which has prevailed since then of doing our own manufacturing, and to our enormous resources in raw materials, supplies will be immensely more abundant; provisions will not be wanting; medical material will be plentiful; blankets and shoes can be delivered at once or in a few days; uniforms, belts and knapsacks may be manufactured quickly; and by improvising wooden shelters in our State camps until tents can be manufactured, the training of our newly-raised troops may be commenced at once, without check or hindrance.

In the matter of arms for our troops we are, we fear, not so fortunate. While it is most essential to the quick training of our volunteers that the moment they are raised the necessary small arms and ammunition should be placed in their hands, it is a grave question as to whether, with our present resources, this can be accomplished. It is true that a provision is made yearly, in the sums voted for the War Department, for the manufacture of a certain number of rifles and carbines to be accumulated as a reserve, but the provision is so small that the number necessary for the arming of, say, 400,000 or 500,000 men, cannot be expected to be reached for years to come. Inferior arms in sufficient number might be obtained, but it is of the greatest importance that our volunteers should not lack confidence in their weapons, and we can secure this end only by equipping them with arms of the latest accepted design. While it is true that a number of our private establishments would be able to turn out rifles of the proper calibre, yet it would take time to arrange their plant for the purpose; and, furthermore, it should not be forgotten that several of these manufacturing plants are on the seaboard, and thus peculiarly exposed to capture by an enemy strong on the sea. It would, therefore, seem that it is imperatively necessary to our national safety that we should have a reserve stock of half a million rifles and carbines.

The same is even more true as concerns the field guns for our batteries. In case of a great war to-morrow we should probably be obliged to arm more than half our batteries with muzzle loading cannon of a type abandoned by other civilized nations for over twenty years, and which are so far inferior to modern breech loaders in range and accuracy as to make comparison difficult. And while we can manufacture such guns elsewhere than at the government shops, it would require much time to complete the necessary number. It would be the policy of our enemies to strike quickly, and in case of a war with a strong sea power, with our greatest cities lying on our coast and thus exposed to capture, the last battle of the war might be over before the proper equipment of our regiments and batteries was completed. For a foreign enemy, having no possessions on this Continent, might be satisfied with the crippling of our navy and the levying of an enormous contribution on one of our rich seaboard cities or States; sailing away, he would be beyond reprisal.

There is, therefore, no possible excuse for the failure of our government, or of any department of our government, to obtain, or to make effective provision for obtaining, at the first call to arms, a sufficient supply of field arms and small arms for an adequate field army.

As regards ammunition, it would seem to be necessary that large quantities should be kept on hand by the government, even at the risk of a slight deterioration ; for the manufacturing plants will be severely taxed to turn out the enormous quantity that will be needed at once for the instruction of our troops ; not to speak of the accumulation needed for the demands of fighting. A well-digested plan of ammunition supply in battle should be prepared in advance, so that ammunition trains, with all proper material and *personnel,* may be organized at once.

As regards the Adjutant-General's Department, it becomes clear, as we study the Civil War, that many of the blunders of that conflict, which cost so many lives, might have been prevented, were our generals provided with assistants well instructed in the higher branches of the art of war. It is for this reason that we should strive to have the number, size and scope of our schools of application increased, so that we may have plenty of officers fitted for these important duties.

It is evident that, in relying for our national defense on the volunteer system ; in rejecting the policy of supporting an adequate standing army ; and in deferring the training of our forces until war is actually declared, we have been running a terrible risk, in accepting which we are condemned by all the teachings of modern history, and only partially excused by our isolated position and our hitherto peaceful policy. It is equally evident that nothing but a catastrophe will change our present system. This being so, it should be the duty of the military department of our government, while loyally abiding by the choice of the people, to lessen this risk and ameliorate these conditions as far as possible, not only by inviting appropriate legislation, but also by using the opportunities we have now in our hands, without the aid of Congressional legislation, for preparing a body of instructors and a system of training that will as quickly as possible convert our raw troops into an efficient force.

JAMES PARKER.

THE RELATION OF FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES TO THE COMMUNITY.*

BY HERBERT PUTNAM, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

FREE libraries have existed for less than half a century. Their establishment assumed that books are beneficial: but it involved also the assertion that it is the proper function of government to supply books to such of its citizens as may require them at the expense of the community as a whole.

Libraries of this special type do not yet form the major portion of the institutions supplying books on a large scale to groups of persons. Under the head of "Public, Society and School Libraries," these institutions in the United States aggregate 8,000 in number, with 35,000,000 volumes, with $34,000,000 invested in buildings, with $17,000,000 of endowments, and with over $6,000,000 of annual income. Of these the free public libraries supported by general taxation number less than 2,000, with 10,000,000 volumes, and with less than $3,500,000 of annual income. They are, however, increasing with disproportionate and amazing rapidity. In Massachusetts, but ten of the 353 cities and towns, but three-fourths of one per cent. of the inhabitants, now lack them. One hundred and ten library buildings there have been the gift of individuals. No form of private memorial is now more popular; no form of municipal expenditure meets with readier assent. Nor are the initiative and the expenditure left wholly to local enterprises. The Commonwealth itself takes part: extending, through a State Commission, State aid in the form of books and continuing counsel. And Massachusetts is but one of eight States maintaining such commissions. New York

* The term "free public libraries" as used in this article is meant to designate only those free libraries which are supported by general taxation.

State, in its system of traveling libraries, has gone further still in supplementing initial aid with a continuing supply of books, and even photographs and lantern slides, purchased by the State and distributed through the Regents of the State University from Albany to the remotest hamlet.

The first stage of all such legislation is an enabling act—authorizing the establishment of a library by the local authorities; the next is an act encouraging such establishment by bounties; and New Hampshire has reached a third by a law actually mandatory, requiring the local authorities to establish free libraries in proportion to their means and the population to be served. This seems to mark the high-water mark of confidence in the utility of these institutions. It indicates that free public libraries are to be ranked with the common schools, as institutions indispensable to good citizenship, whose establishment the State must for its own protection require.

So the movement has progressed, until now these 2,000 public libraries combined are sending out each year over 30 million books, to do their work for good or ill in the homes of the United States. The entire 2,000 result from one conviction and a uniform purpose. Yet among them there is every variety in scope and in organization. There is the hamlet library of a hundred volumes, open for a couple of hours each week in some farm house, under a volunteer custodian, maintained by the town, but enlisting private contribution through bazaars and sociables—sending out its books by the local provision dealer to its remote and scattered constituents. There is the library of the great city, with elaborate equipment and complex organization to meet a vast and complex need. Such a library as you may find at Chicago; a city which, though it has two great endowed reference libraries, still considers its million and a half of people entitled to a municipal library, with a two million dollar building, studded with costly mosaics, and aided by forty branches and stations in bringing the books nearer each home. Or such a library as exists at Boston; organized as a City Department, under Trustees appointed by the Mayor, maintained, like the schools, or the police, or the fire department, by general taxation; with a central building which has cost the city two and one-half million dollars, with ten branch libraries and seventeen delivery stations scattered through the city and reached daily by

its delivery wagons; with 700,000 books; and accommodations for over 2,000 readers at one time; including in its equipment such special departments as a bindery and a printing office; requiring for its administration over 250 employés, and for its maintenance each year a quarter of a million dollars, in addition to the proceeds of endowments; and representing in its buildings, books and equipment an investment of over five millions of dollars, the interest on which, at four per cent., added to the expenditure for maintenance, is equivalent to an annual burden of $450,000 for its creation and support.

When this function was first proposed for a municipality, the argument used was that in this country books had come to be the principal instruments of education; that the community was already supporting a public school system; that this system brought a youth to the threshold of education and there left him; that it qualified him to use books, but did nothing to put books within his reach; and finally that it was "of paramount importance that the means of general information should be so diffused that the largest possible number of persons should be induced to read and understand questions going down to the very foundations of social order, which are constantly presenting themselves, and which we, as a people, are constantly required to decide, and do decide, either ignorantly or wisely."

A glance at the libraries now in operation in the United States shows that the ends proposed for them fall far short of the service which they actually perform. They begin with the child before he leaves the school; while he is still in his elementary studies they furnish to him books which stir his imagination, and bring the teaching of the text books into relation with art and with life. They thus help to render more vivid the formal studies pursued; but they also prepare the child to become an intelligent constituent hereafter. This work cannot begin too early, for four-fifths of the children pass out into active life without reaching the high schools. It need not be deferred, for now the number is almost countless of books that touch with imagination and charm of style even the most elementary subjects; and the library can add illustrations which through the eye convey an impression of the largest subjects in the most elemental way.

If the library begins with the citizen earlier than was foreseen, it is prepared to accompany him further than was thought

necessary. It responds not only to the needs of the general reader, but also to those of the student and even, to the extent of its means, to those of the scholar engaged in special research. The maintenance of universities at the common expense is familiar in the West ; it is less so in the East. And there is still contention that institutions for highly specialized instruction should not be charged upon the community as a whole. But no one has questioned the propriety of charging upon the community the support of a library whose leading purpose may be the encouragement of the higher scholarship.

Finally, to the services just above described the public library has added another : the supply of books for purposes purely recreative. This service, if anticipated, was certainly not explicitly argued for ; nor was it implied in Edward Everett's prediction that the public library would prove the "intellectual common" of the community. The common that Mr. Everett had in mind was a pasturage, not a base ball ground, or lovers' walk, or a loafing place for tramps.

But as regards certain of the books customarily supplied, the ordinary public library of to-day is furnishing recreation rather than instruction. In fact, if we look at the history of free public libraries in this country, we find that the one point of practice on which they have been criticised is the supply of merely recreative literature. The protest has come from thoughtful persons, and it means something, lightly as it has been waived aside.

The excuse that used to be given for the supply of inferior books was that they would entice to the use of the better books. There was to be reached a mass of persons of inferior taste and imperfect education. These persons must be introduced gradually to an acquaintance with the better class of reading through the medium of the familiar. And, at all events, it was better that they should read something than not read at all.

I am not quite so confident of the regenerating virtue of mere printed matter as such ; and I am confident that the reading of a book inferior in style and taste debases the taste, and that the book which sets forth, even with power, a false view of society does harm to the reader, and is so far an injury to the community of which he is part. But even granting the premises, the conclusion is doubtful. We do not deliberately furnish poor art at public expense because there is a portion of the public which cannot

appreciate the better. Nor when the best is offered, without apology, does the uncultured public in fact complain that it is too "advanced." Thousands of "ordinary" people come to see and enjoy the Abbey and Chavannes and Sargent decorations in the Boston Public Library. No one has yet complained that the paintings are too advanced for him. The best of art is not too good for the least of men, provided he can be influenced at all. Nor are the best of books too good for him, provided he can be influenced at all, and provided they are permitted, as are the pictures, to make their appeal directly. They must not be secluded behind catalogues and formal paraphernalia. The practice which admitted the scholar to the shelves, and limited the general reader to the catalogues, gave the best opportunity to him who least needed it. The modern practice sets before the reader least familar with good *titles* a selection of good *books*. It places them on open shelves where he may handle them without formality. The result is, almost invariably, that he is attracted to a book in advance of his previous tastes. Perhaps a chance paragraph appeals to some experience or ambition, or an illustration stirs his imagination. The books themselves draw him outside of his previous limitations.

In the place, therefore, of books inferior in quality, the more modern public library seeks to attract by the freest possible access to books of the best quality. Not that this practice is universal. But the opinion and tendency are in this safe direction.

However, quality assumed, the general question as to the reading of recreative literature remains. What shall we say of the fact that sixty per cent. of the circulation of the free public libraries still consists of fiction?

In the first place, that this percentage takes no account of reference use, which is almost wholly of serious literature; second, that as to home use the ratio in circulation of fiction to serious literature does not represent a similar ratio of trivial to serious service. Fiction is the small coin of literature. It must circulate more rapidly to represent the same volume of real business done. A volume of fiction may be issued, returned and reissued three times, while a biography or history or work of science is issued once. It will then count seventy-five per cent. in the circulation. But the serious book has during the entire period been out in the hands of the reader; and the service which

it has performed—the period of attention which it has occupied —equals that of the novel in its three issues. And, finally, there is to be considered the influence of the best fiction toward general culture (if the library is not merely to inform but also to cultivate)—in broadening the sympathies, giving a larger tolerance, a kindlier humanity, a more intelligent helpfulness ; in affording the rest that is in itself an equipment for work, and the distraction that may save from impulse to evil.

However, the amount of fiction circulated in proportion to the total work of the library is on the average steadily decreasing. At the same time the quality is improving ; in part through critical selection, in part as a happy result of the fact that the inferior novels are also, as a rule, inferior books, so poorly manufactured that libraries cannot afford to buy them.

But there is standard fiction and current fiction; and it is the current fiction that constitutes by itself a special problem still perplexing. It is a problem that concerns not the uneducated child, nor the illiterate adult ; it is caused by the people of intelligent education who are avid to read the latest novel by Mr. X. or Mrs. Y. while it is still the latest novel by Mr. X. or Mrs. Y. It is being talked about at dinner and afternoon tea. Well-informed people are reading it ; to read it is a social necessity.

The reason that presses the public library to supply promptly every most recent book in the domain of scientific literature is apparent enough. Such literature contributes facts which are the data for action. But novels in general belong to the literature of power. Their purpose is not to furnish information but to give pleasure. Literature of this sort adds no new fact, nor is it superseded, nor does it lose any of its value by lapse of time. To assume that it does would be to assume that beauty of form could become obsolete. This is not so in painting, in sculpture, in architecture ; why should it be so in prose fiction, in poetry, in the drama ? Was there, in fact, an aesthetic value in the Canterbury Tales in 1380, in Hamlet in 1602, in Ivanhoe in 1819, that is not to be found in them in 1898 ?

But a large portion of latter day fiction is fiction with a purpose ; another way of saying that it is a work of art composed for the dissemination of doctrine. This element promotes it at once to the dignity of a treatise ; a new view of politics, a new criticism of social conditions, a new creed ! Here is something that

concerns the student of sociology. And surely his needs are worthy of prompt response.

In fact, his needs and the general curiosity do get prompt response, and the new novels are freely bought. How freely I have recently sought to ascertain. I asked of some seventy libraries their yearly expenditure for current fiction in proportion to their total expenditure for books. The returns show an average of from ten to fifteen per cent. In one case the amount reached fifty per cent., in others it fell as low as two per cent. The ratio for fiction in general is much higher on the average; but fiction in general includes Scott and Thackeray and other standards, an ample supply of which would not usually be questioned. At Providence and at Worcester, two of the most active and popular of public libraries, the purchases of fiction, current and standard, formed last year but seven and eleven per cent., respectively, of the entire expenditure for books.

At Boston there were selected but 178 titles of current fiction (out of nearly 600 read and considered). But some dozen copies were bought of each title, so that the entire purchases reached 2,300 volumes and cost about $2,300. This was about six and a half per cent. on a total expenditure for books of $34,000. At St. Louis the practice is to buy but two copies out of the general funds to be circulated free. Nearly a hundred more are added which are rented out and thus pay for themselves.

The statistics do not seem to show that the initial expenditure for current fiction is very alarming. But the purchase price of these books is but a fraction of the expense of handling them. They cannot be supplied in adequate quantities; for while the frenzy of curiosity persists, an adequate supply is beyond the resources of any library. But since the attempt to supply is futile the pretence is injurious. The presence of the titles in the catalogues misleads the reader into a multitude of applications which are a heavy expense to the library without benefit to him. And the acquisition of the single book means to the library the expense of handling a hundred applications for it which are futile to one that can be honored. In this sense a current novel involves perhaps a hundred times the expense of any other book in being supplied to but the same number of readers.

The British Museum acquires the new novels as published; but it withholds them from readers until five years after their

date of publication. It is my personal belief that a one year limitation of this sort adopted by our free libraries generally would relieve them of anxiety and expense and their readers of inconvenience and delusion.

But as regards current light literature in general it is worth while to consider whether the responsibility of public libraries has not been modified by the growth and diffusion of the newspaper and periodical press. In 1850, when the free public library was started, the number of newspapers and periodicals published in the United States was about 2,500 ; now it is nearly 20,000. The total annual issues have increased from 400 million to over 4½ billion copies.

The ordinary daily of 1850 contained perhaps a single column of literary matter. To-day it contains, for the same price, seven columns. In 1850 it gave no space to fiction ; now it offers Kipling, Howells, Stockton, Bret Harte, Anthony Hope, Crockett, Bourget and many others of the best of the contemporary writers of fiction.

Then there are the cheap magazines, which tender a half dozen stories for the price of a cigar or a bodkin. There are, also, the cheap "libraries," which have flooded the United States with engaging literature available to almost any purse.

In short, conditions have altered. A vast mass of light literature is now cheaply accessible to the individual which formerly could be acquired only painfully or at great expense. Why then should the public libraries struggle longer to supply it in book form at the public expense ?

But as to a certain percentage of current light literature there is an embarrassment that I have not touched. It is the embarrassment of making selection without giving offence. All cannot be bought. A choice must be made. With reference to standard literature authoritative judgment is not difficult to obtain. But here there has been no lapse of time to balance opinion. An anticipatory estimate must be attempted, and attempted by the library itself.

Now, if the library decide against the book it is very likely held to blame for " dictating " to its readers. " It is one thing," says a journal commenting on a certain adverse decision, " it is one thing to consider this novel pernicious, but it is another and more serious thing for the foremost library in the country, main-

tained at public expense, to deny to a large and respectable portion of the public an opportunity to judge for itself whether the work of a man of (this author's) calibre is pernicious or not."

The author in this case was, of course, not Mr. X., but rather Mr. A., an already known quantity.

So a library is not to be permitted to apply a judgment of its own! It is not protected by the fact that this judgment coincides with the judgment of professional critics—so far at least as these may be ascertained. The author may have turned perverse and written a book distinctly bad. Yet this book is to be bought and supplied to enable each member of the public to form a judgment of his own upon it. And it is to be so bought out of public funds entrusted to the library for educational purposes. Censorship has to us an ugly sound; but does the library act as censor when it declares a book beyond its province? Does it dictate what the people shall read when it says, "We decline to buy this book for you with public funds?"

This is a question which is far larger than the selection or rejection of a novel or two. It involves the whole question of authority, and it concerns not merely the extremes, but the varying degrees of worth in literature. Most departments of educational work are founded upon principles, cautiously ascertained, and systematically adhered to. Their consistent maintenance upon principle is the easier because each other such department deals with a special constituency, limited either in age or perhaps in sex, or at least in purpose, and one which accepts as authoritative the system provided for it. The free public library, however, has to satisfy a constituency practically unlimited, including every age and both sexes, whose intellectual need ranges from that of the most illiterate to that of the most highly accomplished, whose education in books ranges from that of the person who has never entered a library to that of the scholar whose life has been a perpetual training in the use of a library; the assertive classes, the bashful classes. And if toward this vast and heterogeneous constituency it seeks to assume the position of an educator, it finds that its authority is not one which the constituents themselves are unanimously willing to concede. Each constituent deems himself not a beneficiary accepting some service, but a proprietor demanding it. Now, within each community there are persons who would have every kind of printed matter published. If,

therefore, a public library exists simply to respond to the demands of its readers, we must have, instead of an educational system devised by experts and administered with reference to general principles, a system fluctuating with each eccentric requirement of individuals, indefinite in number, various in taste and culture, inexpert, except as each may be competent to judge his own need, incapable of expression in the aggregate, and as individuals without responsibility for the general results.

If, on the other hand, an authority is to be vested in the library, what limits shall it set upon itself, upon what principles of discrimination shall it proceed, in what directions may it expediently control? I but state the problem. I shall not endeavor to answer it. But it is one of the most important involved in the relation of the public library to the community.

From such questions an ordinary educational institution stands aloof. It is content to represent the judgment of the majority in matters of morality and to inculcate the lesson of tried truths as against untried fancies in matters of opinion affecting the social order. It thus throws its influence in favor of the established order of things. But its right, nay, its duty, to do this is unquestioned. Nor is it regarded as disparaging the opinion which it does not teach.

But a public library is not so exempt. In addition to the doctrine which is accepted, it is held to have a duty to the opinion which is struggling for recognition. As to minority opinion, it is not so much a university as a forum. Nay, it is to give every advantage to minority opinion, for—in our resentment of intolerance—minority opinion is not merely tolerated, it is pampered.

Now, it is not for libraries or librarians to act as censors and denounce this or that publication. Yet it is to be remembered that a library which circulates a book helps to promulgate the doctrine which the book contains. And if public libraries circulate books which teach restless, irreverent or revolutionary doctrines, they offer us the incongruity of a municipality aiding in the propagation of ideas which are subversive of social order.

On the other hand, if there is to be exclusion on such grounds, where is the line of exclusion to be drawn? Shall we say at doctrines which, if carried into action, would be criminal under the law? Would the public rest content with this?

Moreover, the principle of exclusion accepted, who is to apply

it? Whose judgment shall determine whether the particular book does or does not offend? Shall the library determine? But will it not then be "dictating" to its readers? Will it not be unduly discriminating against a certain class of opinion when it has undertaken to represent impartially all shades of opinion? Will it not offend the remonstrant against the existing order of things who has a grievance, and, therefore, a right to be heard; and the defender of the existing order of things who must know the new opinion in order to combat it; and the student of sociology whose curiosity reaches all extremes and regards them simply as phenomena upon which he is entitled to be informed?

I believe that it will. And yet I do not see how the library can escape exercising judgment. For there is no other responsible authority which can be brought to exercise it. We must then expect numerous decisions which will offend a portion of the community. They will usually be on the conservative side —of exclusion. And it is for those who believe that a public library should be a conservative influence in the community to see that it has the authority and is protected in its exercise.

Not that in respect of the violent books there is great injury in present conditions. In the public libraries of to-day there exists no doubt material sufficiently anarchic to upset society, if it could have its will upon society. The fact is, that though there is plenty in literature that is incendiary, there is little in our community that is inflammable.

The good that the libraries do is obvious and acknowledged. They represent the accumulated experience of mankind brought to our service. They are the custodians of whatever is most worthy of preservation in our own life and literature. They are the natural depositories of what we have of memorial and of records; the original entries of legislation and of achievement They must render history available; they must adequately exhibit science; they may help to refine by the best examples in each art, and in this they may also contribute to the industrial life of the community by educating the artisan into an artist, his craft into an art. And through record and description of processes and inventions they may contribute to the foundations of great industries. They touch the community as a whole as perhaps does no other single organized agency for good. They offer to the shyest ignorance equality with the most confident scholar-

ship, and demand no formal preliminary which might abash ignorance.

They have a profound duty—not generally appreciated—to help render homogeneous the very heterogeneous elements of our population. Thirty per cent. of it has come to us from an alien life and alien institutions. One-third of the people in our six leading cities are of foreign birth; seventy-one per cent. were either born abroad or born of foreign parentage. In the assimilation of this foreign element no single agency is perhaps so potent as our public libraries.

The public libraries deem themselves the allies of formal educational processes; but also the direct educators of that part of the community not subject to the formal processes. It is this latter responsibility which has led them to attempt a broader service than the mere supply of books. A book is not the only nor necessarily the most effective vehicle for conveying knowledge. There are illustrations which more directly convey an impression, and often as fully state a fact. And photographs and process reproductions are now part of the equipment of a public library almost as conventional as books. Within the past year 10,000 such have been added to the collections of the Boston Public Library; not as works of art (they are for the most part cheap silver prints and the Art Museum is but a hundred feet distant); nor merely as aids to the study of the fine arts and the useful arts, but also as convenient auxiliaries to the study of history, of literature and of institutions. And they are used by individuals and by classes not as a substitute for the text, but as helping to render vivid the lesson of the text.

With these go lectures in exposition. Every building of importance recently designed for the uses of a public library includes an art gallery and a lecture hall. What an immense augmentation of function this implies! It implies that the library is no longer merely an aggregate of books, each passive within rigid limits; but that it is an active agent having under its control material which is kept plastic and which it moulds into incredibly varied shapes to suit incredibly varied needs.

The experience of the Boston Public Library shows that in the case of books each increase of facilities creates an increased demand. The trustees of 1852 boasted that they were providing for as many as fifty readers at a time; the trustees of 1887

thought themselves venturesome in providing for 500 readers at a time; and within a month after the new building was opened it was forced to accommodate over 700 at a time. Every week over 30,000 persons enter the Central Library building, and every year 1,200,000 volumes are drawn for home use by the 65,000 card-holders. Yet these figures represent still but a portion of the persons to be reached and the work to be done. Nor can facilities for distribution keep pace with the need. For a city of a half million people spread over an area of forty square miles adequate library facilities cannot ever be provided. A municipality which even approximates the adequate in providing buildings, equipment, administration and general literature at the public expense must still look to private gift for the specialized material necessary to a great reference collection. That the Boston Public Library is next to the British Museum in Shakespeariana is, to be sure, the result of a special expenditure by the city. But the larger part of its special collections which have given it distinction as a great scholars' library, has come from private gift; the Ticknor collection of Spanish literature, the Bowditch collection of mathematics, the Chamberlain collection of autographs, the Brown collection of music and many others. And a city which erects for its public library a building which is monumental is putting forward the most attractive invitation to private gift. The gifts which have come to Boston as the direct result of the new building have already reached a twelfth of its cost.

With proper organization and a liberal co-operation between municipal and private effort the opportunities for service are almost limitless. The risk is the greater of attempts at service either legally inappropriate or practically inexpedient, and the risk is not lessened by a popular appreciation which is more enthusiastic than it is apt to be discriminating. There is, therefore, the greater need of discrimination on the part of the library itself and of an authority which will protect its exercise. This authority can be conferred only by intelligent public opinion on the part of those who are capable of appreciating constitutional limitations.

HERBERT PUTNAM.

SHALL AN INCOME TAX BE RE-ESTABLISHED?

BY THE HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL, FORMERLY SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY.

THE war with Spain has given immediate importance to the question of making provision for an Income Tax by the authority of the government of the United States. The vote in the House of Representatives in April last upon an amendment to the bill making provision for the expenses of the war is strong evidence of the disposition of that body to levy such a tax. A change of eleven votes would have secured the adoption of the amendment. The amendment was proposed under very unfavorable circumstances, and in the presence of a recent decision of the Supreme Court by which such an income tax was declared to be in contravention of the Constitution. That vote, and the indications made in other quarters, justify the conclusion that the Democratic party of the country will advocate an income tax as wise partisan policy. There can be no doubt that a large body of Republicans will, upon discussion, favor the measure. It is apparent, also, that the necessity for such a tax is great at the present moment, and that in future times the necessity will be still greater, even though the general condition of the country should be a condition of peace.

From an early period in the history of the contest between free trade and protection in this country, it has been claimed by the friends of protection that the system would increase the product of our manufactures largely, in proportion to the consumption of them by the people, and consequently that the importations from foreign countries of articles which are produced in America would diminish proportionately. This prediction has, in a measure, proved to be a wise one. The customs duties on cheap cotton fabrics, on iron, and on steel have diminished largely, and

in regard to some of the items under those classes the revenue has disappeared altogether. It is, therefore, certain that under the protective system the customs duties in proportion to the population of the country are likely to diminish, while, on the other hand, the total expenditures of the country in proportion to population must increase with every decennial period. The present war with Spain will be followed, probably, by a large addition to our means of coast defense, and not unlikely by a large addition also to our navy.

The opinion of the Supreme Court, in the case of Pollock *vs.* Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, rendered at the October Term, 1894, by a divided Court, declared that an income tax levied directly upon the citizens of the country was unconstitutional, and that the only method by which an income tax could be levied and collected would be by a direct tax upon the States. Such a tax could only be levied upon the States according to the population of each, and without any reference to the ability of the citizens to respond to an income tax. Consequently, it would be in effect a capitation tax, which, if levied, would not be paid, probably, by the poorer States of the Union.

At the opening of the Civil War, Congress imposed a direct tax upon the States of $20,000,000 in the aggregate. That was a capitation tax, but in form and in fact it was precisely the same as an income tax levied upon the States. Some of the States paid the direct tax of 1861, while in other States the payment was neglected entirely. At the end Congress reimbursed the States that had paid the tax in order that equality might be re-established. From this experience and from the reason of the case it follows that a direct tax upon the States, whether so called, or classed as an income tax, will not be levied, and if levied, could not be collected without great inconvenience to the country, nor without a system of oppression upon the inhabitants of the weaker States that could not be justified.

The attempt made in Congress by the minority to enact an income tax was an unwise proceeding in the presence of the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Pollock. The decision was made by a mere majority of the Court, four members having dissented from the opinion. Since that decision was made there have been two changes in the personnel of the Supreme Court, but the opinions of the new members are not known, nor ought

they to be known. It cannot be presumed that they would act with the former minority, and in any aspect of the decision it is a very unwise proceeding, as a matter of public policy, to invite dissensions in the Supreme Court, and especially is it unwise to place the court in a position where, by a change of membership, it may be called to reverse its former action. Two such occasions have occurred in the history of that tribunal, and a policy ought not to be adopted which invites or furnishes occasion for such reversals of action.

The decision of 1894 opens the way for further unfortunate controversy, and possibly for other unfortunate decisions. By an act of Congress of the year 1794 a duty was imposed upon carriages. The imposition of the duty gave rise to a controversy which is known as the Hylton case. The act of 1794 was opposed by Mr. Madison and by others as an unconstitutional tax, and upon the ground that it was not an excise tax, and that as a direct tax it fell within the scope of the provision of the Constitution, which provides that direct taxes should be levied upon the States and not upon individuals. In the Hylton case the court held that the tax on carriages was an excise tax as distinguished from a direct tax, and that opinion was affirmed in the Pollock case. Inasmuch as that view has been affirmed, the question whether the tax upon carriages is an excise tax or a direct tax may be considered as settled, but the line between a direct tax and an excise tax is very indefinite. If the question were now submitted to a court as a new question it is probable that the court would divide, or an opinion would be rendered contrary to the opinion given in the Hylton case. The contest before the Supreme Court in what are known as the Legal Tender Cases, and the reversal by that court of its first decision after the appointment of two justices had been made, is further evidence of the unwisdom of placing the court unnecessarily in a position where it may either be compelled to decide important questions against the dissent of a large minority, or, as in the Legal Tender Cases, to reverse its original decision.

As the Constitution now reads, and in the light of the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Pollock, two conclusions are unavoidable—First, that the attempt by Congress to levy an income tax through the States and upon the basis of population cannot be made effective as a practical and practicable

means of raising revenues : Second, that any legislation by Congress in the line of the provision contained in the tariff act of 1894 would lead to further litigation, to be disposed of, finally, by a decision of the Supreme Court.

The limitation in the Constitution by which direct taxes could only be imposed upon the States, and the absence of a description or definition of such taxes, has wrought evil in two directions : First, it has rendered the authority practically valueless, inasmuch as, under that system, any tax levied upon the States would be a capitation tax: and, second, the manifest evil of such a tax is so great that Congress is not likely ever again to provide for the levy and collection of revenues through that agency. The form of government known as the Confederation was created by the States, and its only means of support were to be obtained by a levy of taxes upon the States. The Constitution was established by the people of the United States, and yet the provision of the Constitution in regard to the levy of taxes was derived from the idea which prevailed in the Articles of Confederation. The power to tax is an essential condition of sovereignty in every form of government, and any and every limitation upon the exercise of that power is an encroachment upon the quality or characteristic of government which we call sovereignty.

The Articles of Confederation were framed upon the idea that the government of the United States ought to depend upon the continuing co-operation of the States as independent sovereignties in their relations to each other, and as being superior in their nature to the government of the United States. The Constitution proceeded upon the idea that the people were sovereigns, the creators of the States and the creators of the National Government, and yet the right of the Congress of the United States to exercise the power of taxation upon the people of the United States was limited as compared with the power of the States to levy taxes upon the inhabitants of the respective States. The theory of the preamble can be exemplified in practice only by conferring upon the Congress of the United States power in the matter of taxation equal to that which exists in the several States; that is to say, a power whose limitations are to be found in the manner of the exercise of the power and not in the possession of the power. No objection can be raised to a provision of the Constitution giving such authority to the Congress of the United

States which may not be raised, and with like force, against the existence of the power in the legislatures of the several States. It may be assumed of every legislative assembly in a country where a free ballot exists, that the power to tax will be exercised with the greatest possible reserve. It may be assumed, also, that the Congress of the United States, in levying taxes, will be as free as the legislature of a State from the influences of improper motives. The power of the people to rebuke a Congress is the same in kind, and it may be exercised with equal freedom, as the power of the people of a State to control taxation through the election of their representatives.

In accordance with these views I am of opinion that the Congress of the United States should be authorized to levy taxes upon the persons and property of the inhabitants of the several States and to collect the same, and that the exercise of that authority by Congress should be free of any limitation, even the least. In form I would say : *The Congress of the United States is empowered to levy taxes upon the persons, incomes and properties of the inhabitants of the several States, and to collect the same.*

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

SOME ASPECTS OF COURAGE.

BY F. FOSTER.

COURAGE, physical courage especially, is perhaps the one virtue that no man will willingly confess himself deficient in. Our delinquencies with regard to the cardinal sins we admit with varying degrees of reluctance; pride we consider wrong, but respectable; appropriation of our neighbor's property, if effected with ultimate success and due regard for the law, we generally condone; while men who would wax indignant at finding their names associated with that of Don Juan are rarer than they should be. The possessor of an overbearing disposition or a hasty temper is seldom deeply ashamed of it, probably because such faults are supposed to approach the heroic side of one's character. Men even who are proud of a capacity for ingenious lying are not very uncommon; nay, sometimes a man will write himself an ass. But no man will seriously write himself a coward.

As M. Alphonse Karr says: *"On a mis l'honneur des hommes dans la bravoure,"* whereas in a woman honor and virtue have been bracketed; and he adds that this places the woman at a great disadvantage. So that perhaps it is in exchange for the greatest social injustice ever perpetrated, or ever possible, that man has felt it only decent to exaggerate the importance of this quality after having decided that it shall mean honor to him. He has also decided that it shall be binding upon him alone, for let us be honest with ourselves, who admires aggressive, physical courage in a woman? What we do admire in a heroine is not her courage, but that she remains a true woman in spite of her courage. A mere amazon cannot elicit the pure, warm adoration that every man deserving of the name feels for the memory of Joan of Arc, whom we love for her passive fortitude under suffering. Efforts to make the pugnacious female, the woman with a man's

courage, interesting, are dismal failures. Fighting-man and freebooter though he is, Amyas Leigh refers to her with a tinge of contempt. "Perhaps I did speak a little hastily to her, considering she saved my life, but what a brimstone it is! Mary Ambree in a dark skin!" It was not her desire to "walk on the cawsey with a jack and knapschalle, a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword that gave Mary Stuart her dire ascendancy over the minds of men, but her life of romantic misfortune, her fatal beauty and tragic death. Nor is Mary Ambree, "formost in battell," the woman's figure that stands clearest in the intoxicating golden haze of the border ballads, though martial courage is first there, if anywhere. Somehow, we are more interested in May Margaret who pleads with the wraith of her murdered lover, risen from his bloody grave:

"Is there ony room at your head, Saunders?
Is there ony room at your feet?"

and, on being denied such terrible consolation, "gaed weeping away."

Men are prone to contend most stubbornly for what they least understand. Otherwise, it might seem strange that most of us have but very vague ideas concerning this same courage or the causes of it. But, on regarding it narrowly, one is inclined to the belief that it is less a moral quality than a variable attitude of the mind resulting from mental phases entirely unconnected with anything moral or the reverse. This seems a good working theory, at any rate, in subjects first put to the test. For there can be no moral obliquity in possessing a sensitive, analytical temperament (unless, indeed, one should write a modern analytical novel.) Yet the odds are great that a man of such composition finding himself under fire for the first time, will at once perceive his mind to be immeasurably too strong for his body. He will find himself "thinking too precisely on the event," and speculating when speculation is fatal to trimming the balance between mind and body. Habits of drill prove a salutary tonic for the rank and file, but there must be trying times for many a subaltern at his baptism of fire. And, should the first engagement be also by chance his last, yet not fatally so, he will probably spend the remainder of his life in the bitter, secret conviction that he is a coward. Mr. Ambrose Bierce has portrayed for us with remorseless exactness the experience of an untried officer in his story, *One Officer, One Man*. On reading it one has a most uncanny fellow feeling

with Captain Graffenreid whose sword-hand "trembled; the other moved automatically, clutching at his clothes," and, alas! he "fancied that the men noticed it. Was it fear? he feared it it was. He panted like a dog and forgot to breathe until reminded by vertigo." He is particularly unfortunate, too, in being obliged to lie down next to the only man who has been shot, and seeing the thin stream of trickling blood and perceiving the "sickly, sweetish" odor. Finally, feeling that his honor is hopelessly involved, the unhappy man commits suicide with his own sword, his death being charitably included with that of the private in the list of casualties which forms the title of the story; for after all the regiment did not go into action. This favors the theory that the mind is responsible for the body's deliquencies in such cases, though one should remember Turenne's opinion to the contrary, when, starting at the sound of a cannon on the evening before battle, he addressed his body in most injurious language with the remark that it would tremble, indeed, if it only knew where he was going to take it on the morrow. Probably, if the fictitious Captain Graffenreid had thrown aside all shame, acted naturally, and become more really afraid and less afraid of being afraid, he might have "lived to fight another day," as did Hobart Pasha, a very real hero who died not many years ago. His description of what he experienced when under fire for the first time, given with absolute frankness, is delightfully humorous. He says: "I candidly admit I was in mortal fear, and when a shell dropped right in the middle of us and was, as I thought, going to burst (as it did), I fell down on my face. Lord John Hay, who was close to me and looking as cool as a cucumber, gave me a severe kick, saying, 'Get up, you cowardly young rascal! are you not ashamed of yourself?' I did get up and was ashamed of myself. . . . By degrees all fear left me. I felt only excitement and anger." Fear with him seems to have been a sort of preliminary "stage fright;" at least we hear no more of it, and in his varied experience in after life there was certainly no lack of danger. From hunting slavers to chasing the Czar's yacht under the guns of Sebastopol, he turns with zest to duelling, tells us how he ran the blockade six times in and out of the Southern ports, and devotes an unaffected paragraph to the occasion when he steamed down the Danube in the "Rethymo" between Russian batteries, among torpedoes, shoals

and sunken rocks, holding a pistol to the head of his pilot, whom he distrusted.

The mental disquietude attending one's introduction to perils and dangers does not arise directly from fear of death or injury; at least it is not confined to war. Mr. A. G. Steel, with all his experience in cricket, refers to "the nervousness inevitable to every man on first going in to bat." Nor is it a disqualification: indeed, Major Philip Douglas has expressed an actual preference for men who paled a little at first and then steadied themselves. From this it would seem that in danger it is well to take one's reflective fit early and get it over, like the diseases of childhood. To compel the mind into a sort of wilful ignorance of peril, not to think, is obviously the best course open to the rank and file, but the officers have a far more difficult task. Restricted thinking, at least, is absolutely necessary in them, though they probably obviate its dangers by rigidly refraining from thinking about themselves. Bacon tells us that "in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them, except they be very great." Now both counsel and execution rest with many officers, and the demand upon their nerves is of the severest. Persistent investigation only confirms us in the opinion of Mr. Stanley Weyman, who ought to know something of such matters, and who says: "Nothing sits worse on a fighting man than too much knowledge—except perhaps a lively imagination." And suppose he has both!

There is very little in this world without antithesis, and we find some instances where habit does not harden a man's nerve. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, displayed such courage as is to be expected from one of his rank and race under fire at Bergen, yet afterwards was guilty of deserting his comrades in a street fight. King James II., as Duke of York, took his chance in sea-fights, yet forfeited his character for bravery at the Boyne. It is noteworthy that in both these cases salt water courage proved unavailing on land, and certainly at sea the conveniences for individual flight are limited and ignominious. Mr. Archibald Forbes points out Alexander III. as a man whose disregard of danger during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78 had entirely deserted him in 1894. But the fear of assassination is a high-test case: it strained even the iron nerves of Cromwell.

If we consider courage, not as the constant attribute of a

certain per centage of the population, but as a variable characteristic of most men, we are naturally curious concerning its ebb and flow. The hero of Canon Kingsley's great romance is of opinion that: "A Dutchman fights best drunk, a Frenchman fasting, an Englishman full, and a Spaniard when the devil's in him," which gives one the impression that an Englishman is physically fittest for the fray. Major Whyte Melville is more thoughtful, less flippant altogether: he thinks that men are brave from various motives, from "ambition, from emulation, from the habit of confronting danger, some from a naturally chivalrous disposition, backed by strong physical nerves," adding that "the last alone are to be trusted in an emergency." They must have been men of this type to whom Cato addressed his famous speech: "*Serpens, sitis, ardor arenae, dulcia virtuti: gaudet patientia duris*," men of proof whom such words did not daunt. Such a tonic, however, cannot always be safely administered. Gideon's contemptuous advice that those who were fearful and afraid should return and depart early was promptly and cheerfully accepted by more than two-thirds of his entire force, and stands as a warning to leaders placing too much reliance in general upon the spirit of chivalrous emulation. But Cato's harangue still finds an echo in modern times. Take a case by an author who writes much truth under the guise of fiction. Tommy Dodd addresses his troopers of the Belooch Beshaklis with, "'O, men! If you die you will go to hell. Therefore endeavor to keep alive. But if you go to hell, that place cannot be hotter than this place, and we are not told that we shall there suffer from fever. Consequently be not afraid of dying. File out there!' They grinned and went." Moreover, it is significant that the Highlander, a man who has the strongest belief in and the greatest cause to dread hell, and to whom death must appear as a lottery of considerable importance, is perhaps the coolest and bravest soldier in the world. When we reflect that half an ounce of lead suddenly passing between his ribs or perforating his skull may (by his creed) instantly translate him to a sphere of unspeakable, never-ending agony, we find his tranquil exposure to projectiles and weapons a very curious fact. Nor is it the coolness of despair, for his capacity for taking care of himself is one of the very characteristics that make the Scotsman so fine a soldier. We cannot argue conversely, because the Turk, who fights under a different

contract, death promising for him sure and certain joys after his own heart, though not quite so good a soldier as the Scot, is an exceedingly good one, nevertheless. Skobeleff understood his men and considered that their courage throve best in an atmosphere of dare-devil gaiety, which he was always at great pains to create. Men actuated by strong religious principles, when they can be got to fight, generally do it effectually, with little or no fear apparent, but this is in a measure owing to the fact that there is not room in the human mind for more than one powerful emotion to operate at a time: fear cannot enter because the demon of fighting has the floor.

After all, danger is not so much disconcerting because it may result in pain or death, as because it is big with import and something unusual. Many a man will display more trepidation on the day of his wedding than on the first occasion he is called upon to face danger where there is no time for premeditation. It may be true, as some one recently observed, that our brave forefathers went to battle with stouter hearts than we take to the dentist, but they went to battle two or three times a month and we to the dentist once a quarter. Hotspur of the North—"he that kills me some six or seven dozen of Scots at a breakfast, washes his hands and says to his wife: 'Fie upon this quiet life! I want work'"—belongs to a type and an age in which cowardice was considered not only disgraceful but eccentric.

Some moral, or perhaps intellectual, constitutions have idiosyncracies for certain subjects of fear, just as some physical constitutions have unaccountable antipathies for particular drugs, cocaine, morphine or strychnia; as equivalents for which may be cited cats, deep water, dizzy altitudes, poverty, etc. Johnson frankly admitted that he feared death and what comes after, though he was a virtuous man and physically courageous. Villon specially and pathetically dreaded the gallows, and reasonably, considering his habits; whereas Gordon Pasha feared the Mahdi less than he did a dinner party, for which he appears to have had an almost malignant antipathy.

The crude idea that men are of two classes, courageous and cowardly, the former worthy of all praise and the latter deserving of scarcely enough consideration to brand them with contempt, is easily recognized as a fallacy upon very slight reflection. But the nucleus round which this exaggeration has

gathered is of such import that one can scarcely feel surprised. There is a condition possible to some few souls that, if not really the highest attribute of humanity, would be chosen by most men of noble mould, were selection possible. It is the unawed tranquility, the absolute inability to fear, that some men, not many, possess, or rather, one should say, by which some men are possessed. An instance of such courage on a low plane is that of Potemkin kicking aside the bloody head of his predecessor as he stepped to the block, an act almost indelicate enough to be humorous, yet, withal, significant of an iron nerve. Somewhere in the late '70's another Russian, but this time a savant, gave a proof of what length a rapt intensity of purpose will carry a man to. In order to make good his theory that a suicide may be deliberate and unrepenting, he subjected himself to hideous torture ending in death, but under such circumstances that he might have relinquished his design at any stage of its progress. He lay on his back upon a bedstead from which he had stripped all the clothing, with a lamp placed underneath him so that the flame just touched his spine, rising at intervals to make notes, which were afterwards published. They show a calm spirit of research, and are slightly triumphant in tone, though touched into high relief once or twice by an expression of anguish. Insanity has become to such an extent the plea through the whole gamut of crime, from shoplifting to murder, that one hesitates to apply the mean and derogatory word to an act like this. The immense disproportion between the value of the proof and the means taken to arrive at it cannot rob the deed of a flavor of heroism, and heroism passing into a stage where admiration takes on a shudder is not common. Perhaps the supreme instance of it is found in Dante's interview with Farinata rising from the burning tomb. The sight of that tragic, noble soul portrayed by the terrible twin arts of Dante and Doré makes us long for the rare virtue of stoicism and to sing with Mr. Henley, that modern apostle of passive fortitude:

> "I thank whatever gods there be
> For my unconquerable soul.
> In the fell clutch of circumstance
> I have not winced nor cried aloud.
> Under the bludgeonings of chance
> My head is bloody but unbowed?"

It is distressing to find what unpleasant vices are quite com-

patible with courage of a high degree, vices that form a constant factor of the character too, not such as can be regarded as sudden and isolated distortions of a too robust virtue, like Clive's forgeries, or Alexander's assassination of Clitus. But Marlborough's personal courage, which was of the rarest, the tranquil, smiling kind, reminding one of the suave attention of a skillful whist player, is scarcely more conspicuous to posterity than his avarice and his treachery. Francisco de Carbajal, who enjoyed danger like a boy at play, and joked until the last upon his own execution, which, being a sentence for high treason, was accompanied by details that could hardly be considered amusing even by a spectator, seems in his method of dealing with his prisoners to have been a sort of prototype of the famous Judge Jeffreys, with even larger capacity. Descending to the more private and personal delinquences, we regret to find Henri IV. a renegade in religion and a profligate; General Monk reputed a toss-pot, with a taste (and a capacity) for drinking all his companions under the table; Gonzalo Pizarro and Wallenstein inordinately fond of fine clothes and outward show generally; Luxembourg a voluptuary, a sybarite and a glutton; Julius Cæsar debased in his private life beyond the reach of criticism; and, perhaps strangest of all, Nelson ever willing that his ears should be tickled with the sound of his own glory, accomplished without ostentation at the call of duty.

What manner of plant is this courage, that thorns springing up do not choke it? And are we to accept the dictum of some who, in these latter days, tell us that it is a waning virtue, dying for lack of exercise? Must we admit that it is like the faculty for twitching one's scalp, or the dreaded vermiform appendix, a mere relic of something once necessary, but now no longer so, and that our high regard for it is but an instance of valuation surviving value? We should prefer to believe that the logic of the later pessimists has for once, at least, gone astray, and to agree with Thackeray that "bravery never goes out of fashion."

F Foster.

SPAIN'S POLITICAL FUTURE.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, LATE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES TO SPAIN.

THE Editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has requested me to define the present status of political parties in Spain in such a way as to indicate the conflicting interests and ambitions that inspire each in the presence of a condition of things that may at any moment involve that unhappy kingdom in the throes of civil war.

Seven months ago this REVIEW called upon me to make, in substantially the same way, such a presentation of the Cuban question as would indicate the probable issue of a conflict in which this country was then as now deeply involved. In the midst of the general interest excited by that article certain thoughtless and passionate persons, to whom I have never before deemed it necessary to respond, saw fit to criticise with greater or less severity my right to speak at that time. In the light of subsequent events I now beg leave to submit to my critics the following considerations.

At the time of the appearance of the article in question I was a private citizen, endowed with all the rights and privileges of every other citizen, save so far as I was restrained by the proprieties incident to the fact that I had recently been entrusted by two administrations with the conduct of delicate and serious diplomatic negotiations. By virtue of that circumstance I was, of course, precluded absolutely from using, directly or indirectly, any private information that I had obtained in my official capacity. So religiously did I observe that obligation that no one has ever attempted to point out the smallest particular in which it was violated. And yet I would never have exposed myself even to the suspicion of indelicacy, had I not been impelled to speak

by the solemn conviction that it was my duty to try and say something that would hasten the termination of a conflict that was not only oppressing the people of my own country, but also involving the most sickening and wholesale sacrifice of human life ever witnessed in modern times. As those who were in charge of our foreign affairs were completely blinded and overreached at that time by Spanish diplomacy, I deemed it my duty to appeal to the people of the United States not to be lured deeper into the morass by the phantom of Cuban autonomy. As every one knows, the prediction then made by me, that that hopeless and belated experiment would end in smoke, has been more than verified. So sure was I of that result that I then ventured to predict that intervention by this government would become inevitable; and in anticipation of that event I undertook to define technically the right of intervention, and to set forth categorically the special grounds upon which international law would sanction its exercise upon our part.

When the President finally resolved to adopt that policy, as the only one adequate to the necessities of the case, he did me the honor, in his message to Congress of April 11th, to paraphrase what I had said upon that subject in this REVIEW six months before, including the exact quotation from President Cleveland's message to the second session of the Fifty-fourth Congress then employed by me. I hope, therefore, that it will now be admitted on all hands that the article in question, objectionable to some at the time of its publication, has proven to be not only prophetic but influential in shaping the course of events. The great misfortune is that the suggestion of intervention was not accepted at the time it was made; because, if it had been, not only the Cuban people but ourselves could have been saved very many of the frightful and unnecessary losses both of life and of property that have occurred since that time.

Every student of the Science of Politics, who has been trained in the Historical School, perfectly understands that no clear comprehension of existing political conditions in any country is possible without some understanding of the history of its past. As Mr. Freeman, in his now famous aphorism, has tersely expressed it: "Present history is past politics; and past politics is present history." Of no country in Europe is that saying more true than of Spain; in no other European land are existing political conditions

so hopelessly bound up with the past. We can only speculate as to what would have been the present aspect of Spanish politics had the French Revolution, instead of pausing at the Pyrenees, swept on to Gibraltar. The fact is that no such thing happened, and thus Spain was deprived of the opportunity of breaking away as completely as France did from medieval political ideas. And yet there was a time when Spain made a much closer approach than France towards real representative government. Prior to the consolidation of the Kingdom by Ferdinand and Isabella, the most notable representative systems anywhere to be found were those in Spain, which were afterwards trampled out by Charles V. and Philip II. But from that time down to the French Revolution pure monarchy prevailed in Spain, as in the rest of Europe; and there was no country in which absolutist theories took a deeper hold than in that one which, after destroying its home parliaments, won for itself the first place "as the discoverer, conqueror and colonizer of new lands."

Nothing could have been more natural, therefore, than the rejection, by those who founded the Spanish Colonial system, of the idea that colonists should enjoy local self-government through the agencies of representative assemblies. The Roman pro-consular system was imposed by Spain upon each colony as it arose; and home-bred Spanish officials were sent from the Metropolis to govern the colonists as if they were children or slaves, and to manipulate their commerce in the interest of the mother country. The basis of the system as a whole was the principle that a bureaucracy at Madrid should dominate absolutely in colonial affairs. It cannot be denied, however, that under that regime Spain had wonderful success in extending her colonial empire in the new world. She there so far outstripped all of her European rivals that, at the beginning of the present century, she owned in the three Americas more than all of her rivals combined; she then possessed an area double the present extent of the United States, including Alaska. It has been Spain's misfortune not to be able to hold what she thus acquired—the despotic pro-consular system under which she subdued and settled her vast colonial domain has proven entirely inadequate for its retention. Through the cruel and short-sighted exercise of political tyranny on the one hand and commercial oppression on the other, Spain has lost, since the year 1800, seven millions of square miles of terri-

tory in North, Central and South America. Only Cuba and Porto Rico, representing less than forty thousand square miles, remain to her, and their loss now seems to be imminent. In the presence of that contingency there is a general belief that, if the worst happens, the present dynasty will be charged with the catastrophe, and as a punishment will be swept away in order to make place for some new and more competent regime. Whether or no such an organic change is to be made in the constitution of the Peninsula, is the question of questions which Spaniards must answer in the near future.

A mere glance at the record of civil wars and military revolutions that have occurred within her borders since the present century began should certainly admonish Spain to reflect before she plunges again into the abyss. Before the birth of Queen Isabella II. in 1830, the dynastic struggle which has clouded Spanish politics since that time began with the promulgation by her father, Ferdinand VII., of a "pragmatic sanction" abolishing the Salic law. When, upon the death of Ferdinand in 1833, his Neapolitan widow, Christina, as regent, asserted the right of her infant daughter of three years to succeed against the protest of the dead King's brother, Don Carlos, the fires of civil war were lighted; and the first Carlist struggle thus begun continued down to the surrender of the Basque provinces in 1839, and the abdication of the first pretender in favor of his son, Don Carlos II. In the next year, Christina, who was driven from the country by a military revolution, was succeeded as regent by General Espartero, who had made himself the hero of the first Carlist war. Three years later the scene shifted, and Espartero was driven out in favor of Christina, who upon her return had Isabella declared of age in order that she might be married to her cousin, the poor little mannikin, Francis d'Assis, while her sister, Maria, was married to the heir of the French throne, the Duke of Montpensier.

From the time of these marriage alliances—arranged through the cold blooded selfishness of Louis Philippe, who was fool enough to imagine that he had devised a plan to prevent Isabella from having heirs—military revolutions became the order of the day. In 1854, such an outburst under the lead of General O'Donnell forced the restoration of the constitution of 1837; in 1856, Madrid revolted and was declared in a state of siege, and,

in 1860, the second Carlist war began in favor of Don Carlos II., who was succeeded after its suppression by his brother, Don Juan. Insurrections then followed each other in quick succession until September, 1868, when the military movement against the throne, headed by Pim and Serrano, resulted in the expulsion of Isabella, who, with her mother and children, found an asylum in France. The republican uprisings that assailed the military regime thus established were sternly stamped out in blood, until something like repose was secured for a moment under a government by regency, established in June, 1869, with Serrano at its head. Then came the election in November, 1870, of Amadeus, the second son of Victor Emmanuel, who ended his troubled and unsuccessful reign by resigning in February, 1873. In the year preceding that event the third Carlist war broke out in favor of Don Carlos III., son of Don Juan, which for four years involved the country in more bloodshed and devastation than either of its predecessors.

In the midst of such trials it was that the Cortes, in June, 1873, proclaimed the Republic, with Pi y Margall as its first President; in July he was succeeded by Salmeron; and in September he gave way to Emilio Castelar. But the Lamartine of Spain, with all his genius and patriotism, could not work miracles. The republic was premature. Between movements for cantonal sovereignty, republican outbreaks in the south and Carlist uprisings in the north, it simply fell to pieces; and, in January, 1874, Castelar resigned the executive power, which was taken up at Madrid by Serrano, who held it until January, 1875, when the house of Bourbon was re-established in the person of the boy King, Alfonso XII., the only son of Isabella II.

Only by keeping firmly in mind the train of events that connect the accession of Isabella with that of her son, is it possible to comprehend the gigantic task that confronted the great statesman who re-established the monarchy, restored the reign of law and founded the political party which, to a great extent, conducted the affairs of the country under his leadership for the next twenty years.

Antonio Canovas del Castillo, undoubtedly the best equipped and the most useful statesman that Spain has produced in a century, came upon the scene at the moment when a firm, organizing, trained hand was needed to bring order and repose out of

a political anarchy that had sapped the very foundations of the kingdom. The licentious life of the Queen had so discredited the monarchy that she had been driven into exile by an outraged public opinion; the military element, by their repeated pronunciamentoes, had become a menace to social order; the republic had proved an ignominious failure; the imported and unpopular Italian King had been forced to resign; the Carlists had nothing to offer but a renewal of civil war, whose ending in their favor promised nothing but a certain return to obsolete medieval ideas. To build up a stable constitution upon such a wreck was the task which Canovas was called upon to perform; and the manner in which he executed it will stand in the history of his country as a monument to his genius and patriotism.

The son of a school teacher at Malaga, he came into life under conditions that put him in touch with the best and truest people in Spain, the common people, the people who compose that firm democratic substructure upon which a new and higher political life will surely be erected. And yet, humble as his origin was, he was the son of a man of books, who directed his mind to study as a means of advancement. So precocious was he in that respect that he soon worked his way to the university at Madrid, where he won a reputation as a scholar that paved his way into public life. As a member of the Cortes, he had already risen to leadership before the time came for him to bring back the Bourbons—"my Bourbons," as he is said to have called them. In order to save the line and at the same time to get rid of Isabella, he induced her to resign in favor of her son Alfonso, then a boy of sixteen years. With the aid of Campos, he was able to induce the armies of the centre and north to proclaim the new King, who came to Madrid under the guidance and direction of Canovas as prime minister. With that much accomplished, the greater task remained of drafting a new constitution, in which the restored monarchy could be checked and limited by the safeguards imposed by parliamentary government in its modern form, and also by those legal guarantees in favor of the personal liberty of the subjects which are a necessary part of it. There seems to be no controversy about the fact that the present Constitution of Spain, drafted by Canovas in 1875, was as entirely the work of his hand alone as such a work can ever be the production of one man. To a student of

the science of constitutions it is a masterpiece; it is complete upon its face, and strangely wise in its dealings with many questions that vex monarchical statesmen. But to one who has watched the practical workings of Spanish politics it is very apparent that the theoretical conceptions of Canovas were far in advance of his nation. The people of Spain were not prepared for such a constitution; and the monarchy was not willing to accept in practice the restraints of a real parliamentary system. The result has been that the government of Spain has been carried on under the outward forms of a fundamental law whose central principle has been to a large extent set aside. The dominant force in Spanish politics since 1875, as before, has been the monarchy governing through a bureaucracy, with a prime minister at its head, chosen, in fact, by the Crown and not by the Cortes. To put the matter in another form Canovas erected for Spain in its constitution a true ideal of parliamentary government, but he was never able to make it a reality, because it was resisted both by the Crown and the ruling classes.

The fact is that the governing classes in Spain, consisting of the nobles, the clergy and the political and military administrators, are, as a general rule, worn out, weary and unprogressive. Canovas could only lead them so far; and he had the good sense to know that if he attempted to lead them farther he would march alone. Richelieu, in Bulwer's play, cries out: "I have recreated France!" It was beyond the power of Canovas to recreate Spain; he was only able "to lure to brighter worlds and lead the way." In order to carry out his designs for the improvement of his country, he organized the Conservative party, which, down to the day of his death, he directed absolutely. As far as he was able, he always drew into his service the best and truest men in the country, and in that he was always sustained and encouraged by the Queen Regent, whose high and noble nature spurns all that is low and ignoble. His one scourge throughout the greater part of his political life was the notorious Romero y Robledo, who has ever represented all that is venal, contemptible and reactionary in Spanish politics. This crafty intriguer for years bore to Canovas the relation that the Duke of Newcastle bore to the elder Pitt. If the spirits of Catiline and "Boss Tweed" could reappear in one man we would have another Romero. It was from such a man that the great scholar

statesman was continually forced to borrow influence to carry on the government. After the death of Canovas, it was perfectly natural that the audacity of Romero should have driven him to clutch at the leadership of the disorganized Conservatives by drawing to his side poor little Weyler, who, as a politician, is very small indeed. The only possible successor of Canovas is Silvela, a fine lawyer, a striking orator and an incorruptible man, who for many years broke away from his party because he said that he could not be the yoke-fellow of such a corrupt man as Romero. The Conservative party will no doubt perceive the necessity of driving out both Romero and Weyler, and of reconstituting itself under the leadership of Silvela, whose high character and accomplishments must compensate for his lack of that indefinable something which makes a practical statesman.

Through the greater part of his career Sagasta was Canovas' political *vis-a-vis*, as the leader of the Liberal party, which has always supported the present dynasty upon a broad and popular basis. For many years Sagasta was on hand ready to take power whenever Canovas saw fit to give it up. A good patriotic man at heart, Sagasta is in the full sense of the term an opportunist, whose idea is that a statesman should live from hand to mouth, trusting that each day will in its turn take care of itself. Carlyle, in his life of Frederick the Great, says of Walpole that: "He had one rule, that stood in the place of many: to keep out of every business which it was possible for human wisdom to stave aside. 'What good will you get out of going into that? Parliamentary criticism, argument and botheration! Leave well enough alone. And even ill alone. Are you the tradesman to tinker leaky vessels in England? You will not want for work. Mind your pudding and say little.' At home and abroad that was the safe secret." Such is the rule which Sagasta has always followed when it was possible to do so. Of late he has deviated from it simply because there was no escape, and the result has been "parliamentary criticism, argument and botheration."

Under the best circumstances Sagasta's political family has never been a happy one. While the peace of Canovas was broken by the conflicts between Romero and Silvela, Sagasta was harassed by the differences between the faction led by Moret and Gomazo. Moret is, however, by far the better and more enlightened man of the two. He is a perfect master of English; a man of broad

culture and travel ; and a firm believer in real parliamentary government. No Spanish statesman has had so clear a comprehension of the Cuban question from the beginning ; and, if he had been permitted to act in time, he is the one man who might have averted the present catastrophe. His long residence in England has put him politically far in advance of most of his contemporaries. Until recently, Canalejas was one of the rising young leaders of the Liberal party who stood close to Sagasta. He only drew away from Sagasta when he foresaw that the Cuban policy of the latter was doomed to failure and disappointment. In that way he has put himself in a position to be of special use to his country in the near future, possibly as the successor of Sagasta.

Such, then, in general terms is the attitude of the two great monarchical parties—Conservatives and Liberals— that have upheld the present dynasty since its re-establishment in 1875. Since that time they have been equally resolute in resisting the Republicans, on the one hand, and the Carlists on the other; and united they are more than a match for both. No matter what may happen in the external politics of Spain; no matter if she is stripped of all her colonial possessions; no matter if Romero and Weyler do try to stir up civil war for their own selfish ends— Spain is safe so long as Conservatives and Liberals stand together to maintain social order under the existing constitution.

No student of politics who has carefully examined existing political conditions in Spain can believe that the time has come for her to depart from monarchial institutions. If that be true why should the present dynasty be overthrown ? Why should the wise and devoted Queen Regent be driven out on account of national misfortunes, for which neither she nor her son is in any way responsible ? The most priceless possession of Spain to-day is Maria Christina, because she alone bars the door to the renewal of civil war, which, at this moment, would be destruction to the country. In this dark hour of Spain's history, her pure, womanly character shines forth, like a light in a dark place, around which all patriotic Spaniards should gather. If monarchical institutions survive, her overthrow means the accession of Don Carlos, who, apart from his utter and admitted worthlessness as a man, represents a set of medieval ideas and aspirations that would set Spain back into the past at least a century.

Assuming, then, that Spain will be wise enough to firmly re-

ject Carlism as a panacea for her present ills, would it be to her interest at this time to overthrow the monarchy in order to re-establish the republic? Nothing can be more easily demonstrated than the fact that a form of government, however good in itself, is not necessarily adapted to all nations and to all conditions. France has been struggling for a long time so to emancipate herself from her political past as to make possible a reconciliation between a republican regime and her monarchical and imperialist traditions. But France has been transformed through a revolutionary process to which Spain has so far been a stranger; and in that way France has reached a stage of political development into which Spain is not yet prepared to enter. There are certainly two very good reasons for thinking so. The republican experiment which began in June, 1873, under the presidency of Pi y Margall, and which ended in January, 1874, under the presidency of Castelar, was certainly a dismal failure. It fell to pieces at the end of seven months, after having had three presidents, all of whom are now living and members of the popular branch of the Cortes. Of the three the one of whom all the world knows is Emilio Castelar. If anybody clearly comprehends and loves Spain he does. In his mighty brain is stored away her whole history as a part of the history of all Europe; in his heart is enshrined a filial love of country as lofty and unselfish as ever ennobled a patriot. From the serene height of gratified ambition and unbounded personal influence, Castelar can judge, as no other man can, whether or no his country is prepared for a republic. Convinced years ago that she was not, he resolved, stern and unbending republican as he is, to retire from the political arena and to transmit his aspirations to another generation. Castelar has for years made no secret of the fact that he does not consider Spain ripe for a republic; and in his great, tender way he has often said that he could not attack the monarchy as now constituted, because he could not make war upon a woman and a child. And, even if some great tidal wave of unreasoning popular passion should sweep over Spain and submerge for a moment all existing institutions, there is reason to believe that the great voice of the nation will, in the same spirit, cry out above the storm, "We cannot make war upon a woman and a child."

Let us hope, then, whatever may come, that Spain will pause and listen to the self-denying words of her greatest and noblest liv-

ing son, words that warn her at once against the perils incident to Carlism, militarism and the republic. And if, perchance, crushing defeats at sea and internal dissensions at home should bring the once proud Castilian Kingdom to the feet of this great and growing Republic, will not our moral dignity demand that we, too, should remember in the hour of victory that both justice and generosity should characterize our dealings with a once friendly nation, whose destinies are in the hands of a woman and a child? When the end comes, let us resolve to be just and generous not only to Cuba, but to Spain, too.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

LITERARY LIFE IN LONDON.

BY WILLIAM H. RIDEING.

THE literary profession in London, like the literary profession everywhere, is not confined by any narrow bounds. It is not hedged in as a guild, like the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers or the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, with minute regulations as to the quality and value of work and the hours of toil; nor has it coats of arms, like those of the craft-guilds, side by side with the escutcheons of prelates and kings in cathedrals—it has no badges or insignia of any kind to denote it. Every other profession is more or less a close corporation, requiring precise qualifications for membership, and is jealously held together by a sort of aristocratic exclusiveness. The barrister has his wig and gown and his inn, the surgeon his diplomas and the churchman his license. All must have some special technical training; none can set out to earn his living until he has given some proof of fitness for his chosen work, and, that done, he acquires not only a right to practise but also a social status from which others not of his profession are debarred. The literary profession, on the other hand, is an open field, filled with all sorts and conditions of men—the prepared and the unprepared, the educated and the uneducated—who enter it without challenge and without any question as to antecedents. Any one may claim to belong to it without incurring the slightest risk of such prosecution as would surely follow a pretender in medicine or law. It has no boards of examiners, charges no fees to beginners, discriminates not against age or sex, and invokes no law against charlatans. Anybody may spoil a sheet of paper and call himself a literary man, and though he may be detected as a quack the law has no power to punish him for his pretences. There surely is no other profession in the world so hospitable and, within and without, so unrestricted against com-

petition. What wonder, then, that the literary man, as a literary man, has no defined social position in those tables of precedence which gauge the tides of rank in county directories, except in the way Mr. James Payn found it in one of those publications. Lords and ladies were there, the military, the navy, the judges and all petty officials, each class in its order, each well-defined—mayor, councilmen and town clerk—dribbling down the page in diminishing glory until, like the last drop of a spent syphon, came the line "burgesses, literary persons and others."

There is very little *esprit de corps*, very little pride in one another, in the profession. A certain saucy gentleman, a critic himself, recently spoke to me of what the forthcoming "life" of an eminent poet would contain. "It will contain," he said, "much about X's social position, which didn't exist, and much about his religious opinions, which didn't matter." And a very distinguished man of letters, who has a seat in the House of Commons, recently complained to me that a literary man in that body is nearly always at a disadvantage; he is not taken seriously. "The popular persuasion is that when a man of letters goes into Parliament he is sure to be hopelessly belated, and occupied with conflicts that are long gone by." The poet may be adored as a poet, but he is apt to be laughed at as a man, and should a novelist enter the domain of public affairs, either in the House or elsewhere, it is regarded as a vain dream if not as an impertinence. Thackeray was defeated when he contested Oxford, and that excellent man of business, Anthony Trollope, who had been an efficient servant of the post office for many years, was considered presumptuous when he sought a seat in Parliament. It was the author who was presumptuous; the civil servant might have been elected with propriety.

The profession has in Sir Walter Besant probably its only out-and-out champion—a champion who uncompromisingly demands that the public and the state shall recognize and honor it as other professions are recognized and honored, but when, at a dinner given to him in London, he, contending for the point with the strenuousness of unescapable conviction, insisted that so long as rank and titles prevailed in England literary men should have their share equally with doctors, lawyers and men of science, the literary men who heard him smiled as at one whose flattery goes

a little too far. A brewer or a distiller may have a peerage, but speak of making Thomas Hardy Earl of Wessex, or Blackmore Lord Teddington, or Meredith Baron Box-hill, and it is the "literary person" who laughs most. He is so used to being without rank or titular distinction, and possibly he so little desires it, that he cannot keep up with Sir Walter in his forward policy of forcing the literary profession into a parity as regards rights, honors and privileges with the professions of law and medicine. Vain and arrogant he may be as an individual, but it is ten to one that in his profession and in his fellow professional men he takes no pride.

The truth is that literature is as often an avocation as it is a vocation, and the literary man who is a constant producer, and wholly absorbed in his profession, finds himself in competition with, and perhaps eclipsed by, others with whom the production of books is, as with Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Balfour, only an occasional recreation. Whether he be a writer of fiction, a sociologist, a political economist, a historian or a poet, the distinguished amateur is always jostling him and cutting him out of his market; and as the distinguished amateur often has genuine literary gifts as well as special knowledge in another profession, the fact that he has not chosen to make literature his sole occupation cannot justify us in saying that he is not a literary man.

So various is literary life in London, so interwoven with other kinds of life, high and low, that it is not easy to either locate it or define it in any arbitrary way. One might point to a forlorn figure coming down a dingy stairway from an editorial office in Paternoster Row, and say that that was literary life in London—a woman in seedy black, poverty and unspeakable dejection expressed in dress and face, with red, tearful eyes and a roll of manuscript in her split and ripped gloves. Paternoster is a poor name for the rag-fair of Literature, and the slop shop of penny books, where the "sweater" plies his trade, but within its dismal precincts there is a whole class of women like this one, and similar men, and the chronic disappointment of the accepted calls as loudly for prayers as the anguish of the rejected.

Fleet Street has scores of little clubs meeting in taverns, where all the talk is literary shop-talk, and where there are police court reporters who write novels and sub-editors who write verse. They would have to be reckoned with in a survey of literary life in Lon-

don, and so, too, the Vagabonds' Club, which gives big dinners in King's Hall, and has a field-marshal for its president and invites all sorts of literary ladies to its feasts—ladies who write religious stories of home and heaven, and ladies who write very wicked stories of earth and hell, and cross their legs and smoke cigarettes with their coffee—aye, and even drink whiskey and soda. Then there is a fascinating little club which in summer abides under the chestnuts and beeches of the park, and on sunny mornings you may see groups of literary people there—perhaps the eminent publisher of *fin de siècle* works, whose motto might be, "What can I do to shock you?" and some of his authors, ladies, of course, who are dressed in the smartest gowns and come in stylish carriages.

The Omar Khayyàm Club meeting at pleasant country inns in summer time represents some of the best and most distinguished elements of literary life, and the dinners of the *Punch* staff could not be omitted from any survey that had any claim to completeness. To see the literary man of modern times in all his variety one must look, also, into many of the older and larger clubs, like The Athenaeum, The Reform, The Garrick and The Savile.

Since Thackeray's days, and earlier, The Athenaeum has been hospitable to literary men, and now among its archbishops and bishops and its savants one finds Thomas Hardy, Andrew Lang, Rider Haggard, Sir Walter Besant and The Poet Laureate. The Reform, despite its political bias, has among its members William Black, Anthony Hope, "Henry Seton Merriman" and J. M. Barrie. The Savile, in its sombre house in Piccadilly, is the most literary of all, and, not to speak of scores of other authors who belong to it, I may mention Rudyard Kipling, Hardy, Grant Allen, Edmund Gosse, Rider Haggard, Sir Walter Besant and Henry Norman. The little dinners to eight which Sir Henry Thompson calls his "octaves" would also afford an illustration of a phase of literary life, for though great painters, great physicians and great statesmen sit down to them, the man of letters is conspicuous at them, if he is not predominant. Then there are literary "receptions" and teas, where if you would see the authors as they walk you would be bound to go—Mrs. O'Connor's, Mrs. Moulton's, Lady Jeune's, Mrs. Norman's, Mrs. Bryce's and Mrs. Hardy's, and from the air of the drawing-room, with its low lights and roses, it would be necessary in order to grasp and un-

derstand the extremes which meet in an adequate definition of literary life to descend into the slums and see poverty and horror of the kind which Mr. Coulson Kernahan so boldly pictures in his story of "A Literary Gent," and which hang as heavily around the necks of the unfortunate and the unwise as they did in the days of Richard Savage.

There is nothing esoteric in the business of literature; it is as universal as the gypsies and the Jews. All kinds of men and women enter it, the prince for a new glory and the beggar for the penny which other devices have failed to procure. There is a glint of magnificence in the openness of a republic like this, where there are no restrictions on age, or sex, or condition, and yet from its nature there is no brotherhood in it, no trades-unionism or even the possibility of effective combination ; equality of opportunity is nullified as in no other profession by inequality of equipment.

Literary life in the metropolis is indeed as ubiquitous as the hansom cab, and any attempt to describe it in all its social and intellectual variety would carry us far beyond the limits of an article. There are, however, features of it, such as the earnings of authors and the intervention of the so-called "literary agent," which, in such a "shop-talk" as this is meant to be, may possess some interest for even the unprofessional reader.

I believe that in no other centre do the wages of literature range between such extremes as in London. Authors who are unknown or little known in this country are far better off than those of a similar class there, who are often paid little more than a type-writer would receive for the mere work of copying. These are the compilers of books and articles of information, the writers of stories of adventure for boys, and the editors of popular editions of the classics, whom we may find by the dozen delving in the twilight of the British Museum reading-room, and munching dry biscuits for luncheon as they bend over their beggarly tasks. *Spenser's Works* complete for a shilling, good paper and binding, original notes and a new biographical preface—paper labels and deckel edges. What a marvel of cheapness combined with good taste ! The editor is a university man, and has given himself to the work for two or three months. It is to be hoped he enjoys it and can assuage hunger with glory, for all the money he receives

from the publishers is ten or twelve pounds. Then there is the biography which appears in the "Notables of the Nations" series; this, too, beautifully printed and sold for eighteenpence. The author is lucky if he gets twenty pounds for his share in this attempt to disseminate useful knowledge. Quite another class of work, but no more lucrative, is the writing of adventure books, which in the holiday season sell by the tens of thousands. I know a trained journalist, who, temporarily out of a place on a newspaper, was driven to accept a commission for a book of this sort. "What do you suppose I am to get for it—ninety thousand words?" he asked. Knowing what would ordinarily be paid for such a piece of hackwork in America, I guessed at sixty pounds. He handed me the contract, and the sum was twenty-five pounds—one hundred and twenty-five dollars for a volume that was to contain not less than four hundred printed pages.

Nor are the rewards of creative and imaginative work any better if the author lacks notoriety and fails to hit the popular taste. I have in mind a volume of short stories, the genius of which is recognized by some of the best critics. Some of them were first published in such magazines as *Blackwood's*, a proof presumptive that it is not mere idiosyncrasy or a manifestation of "faddishness" that sets them in a high place. They have a subtlety in fathoming human nature which recalls Balzac, and, though the author is a young woman, their style is restrained and polished, rich yet orderly, firm and temperate, as a woman's style rarely is. But, working steadily at her art for a year, she has been unable to make more than a hundred pounds, and is being forced out of her natural vocation to support herself by writing letters to provincial newspapers. Even when an author is widely known and has a name familiar on every bookstall in English-speaking countries, a large revenue does not always follow. Names need not be mentioned, but we all remember one author who a few years ago applied for a pension on the English civil list. She had written over fifty novels, some of which are still in demand, and all of which in their day had been printed and reprinted in England, Canada, the United States and Australia by the thousand. Yet she was able to show that during her entire literary career her income from this source had not averaged three hundred pounds a year. It is true that this result was due in some meas-

ure to the fact that she had been the victim of piracy and the rascality of unprincipled publishers who took advantage of the absence of international copyright, so that, as in the case of scores of other popular novelists, a ten pound note occasionally offered as a *solatium* by publishers of the better class, was all that ever came to her from this side of the Atlantic. Her publishers at home could not have treated her fairly, and for every shilling she made made a pound themselves. Probably she accepted any terms they offered, and signed egregiously unjust contracts without question or protest. Had her work been done in these days of international copyright and the surveillance of the Incorporated Society of Authors, she would have made a better showing of earnings, but circulation is not invariably a measure of the earning power of a novel, and a certain class of fiction may still have a large sale without bringing to its producers as much as three hundred pounds a year.

But let an author have the ability to produce fiction of a kind that hits the popular taste—to start his career with a *Prisoner of Zenda,* a *Bonnie Briar Bush,* a *Stickit Minister,* a *King Solomon's Mines,* a *Manxman* or a *Christian;* let him be able to do strong and admirable work without any claim to such pre-eminence as Scott's, Dickens's, Thackeray's or George Eliot's; let his most partial critic be unable to exalt him above Bulwer, Reade or Trollope, and though the emoluments from his work may not surpass those received by the first group of writers when they were at their zenith, they far exceed those of the second group.

I have before me a letter written by Charles Reade to a certain editor refusing to accept so large a sum as the editor had offered on the ground that it was too much! "In my view of things, nothing is good that is not durable," he writes, "and no literary business can be durable if the author takes all the profits. Publishers will pay for their whistle, like other people, and will buy a name for more than it is worth unless it is connected with work that is valuable without a name." The terms offered to him on this occasion were $100 per 1,000 words (the vicious custom of fixing the price according to the number of words was prevalent even then), and all he would take was $70 per 1,000 words. Nowadays $100 per 1,000 words is a common fee for literary craftsmen who would hardly dare to claim equality either in enduring merit

or commercial value with the author of *Never Too Late to Mend*, and in one case I know of $130 per 1,000 words is regularly paid, while in another $175 per 1,000 was once demanded, and though refused in one market, may have been obtained elsewhere. In fact, the author of successful fiction is rapidly approaching the point where he will take all the profit, and the outlook for the publisher is obscured by a hopeless gloom, which is not any more bearable to him from the consciousness that the author sees in it the shadow of retribution. A story illustrative of the relative position of the two is familiar in some of the clubs, and may be repeated here, though to have full effect it needs the oral mimicry of the sonorous speech and lofty manner of the very successful novelist who tells it of himself. His publisher approaches and says, "Highflyer, I want your next book." "Very good, Buckram, you shall have it." "On what terms, Highflyer?" "Two shillings per copy on a six shilling book." Buckram collapses, being driven to drink in despair, and a week elapses before he reappears with a humbled manner to say, "Highflyer, I accept your terms."

A royalty of two shillings a copy on a book that retails at six shillings a copy could scarcely be afforded by any publisher, no matter how large the editions, but some of the royalties paid in England—not many, but a few—do not fall far short of this dazzling and enviable percentage of "thirty-three and a third" of the retail price. Let us figure on one novel of which I have some information. The author received $18,000 for its use serially in the United States, and about the same sum for its use in an English magazine during the same period—that is, $36,000 in all. When it had run its course through twelve numbers of the magazines, it became his property again to publish in a book. The book was published at six shillings a copy there, and here at a dollar and a half a copy. Altogether, fully one hundred and fifty thousand copies of it (probably more) have been sold, and assuming the royalty to be only twenty per cent., we have $45,000 to add to the previously mentioned $36,000. This gives us a total of $81,000—far more than George Eliot received for her masterpiece or Disraeli in the heyday of his glory as the prodigy of politics and literature for his, or Thackeray, the supreme genius of English fiction, for his. Yet the earning power of the book is

by no means exhausted. Cheaper editions are to appear, adding to the revenue, and royalties for serial use in far-off colonies, The Cape, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, and the rights of translation are still to be reckoned, and then the story is to be turned into a play, which is not likely to bring the author less than $50,000, and may bring him twice or thrice $50,000 more. This, of course, is a very exceptional case, and such a success is not often repeated, but the successful practice of the art of the novelist is in many instances nowadays as lucrative as the practice of law or medicine or painting, which it never was before.

Times have indeed changed, but it is only fiction, and fiction of the popular sort, that has found itself in a golden age. I do not suppose that such writers as Mr. Ruskin, Mr. Herbert Spencer, Mr. Lecky, or any of the producers of standard works of philosophy, or history, or criticism, find themselves better off now than they were before.

How, then, can we account for the "boom?" I believe that the principal cause of it is to be found in the recourse of a tired people to fiction as a recreation, and the consequent temptation that exists to withdraw literary ability from other forms of activity to that which pleases the largest number of readers. Stories were never before read so much as they are now, and they are displacing other kinds of books. The author or his agent can exact vastly better terms than he could have done in earlier days. His position has been improved by international copyright, which secures for him a return for his work wherever it is reprinted, and by the enlightenment which the Incorporated Society of Authors has afforded him as to the proper method of dealing with publishers. The multiplication of American magazines, and their impetuosity in presenting the latest sensation at whatever cost, have also augmented his profits enormously. Revenue flows to him from not one but many channels, and when the main stream is exhausted, procreant rivulets spring from minor sources to swell the golden tide of remuneration.

Take the history of one novel I know of. It first appeared as a serial in a magazine, then in the old-fashioned three volume form; then in a single volume at six shillings, and then in "picture boards" at two shillings a copy. Even when the sale of the picture-board edition had run its course, it still had earning capac-

ity. A provincial daily, unable to afford the cost of original work, even of that manifolded by "syndicates," was willing to pay fifty pounds for the privilege of reprinting it from week to week.

The British author's position is strengthened by the stringency of his own copyright laws also. The American newspaper helps itself freely from the contents of the best periodicals here, seldom acknowledging its indebtedness with more than a grudging line of italics. Freebooting on a similar scale would never be tolerated in England. I remember the case of a Liverpool paper which took or "conveyed," as Pistol would say, a story from the *New York Times*, believing it to be a piece of unprotected American work. It belonged, however, to *The Cornhill Magazine*, and the publishers of that periodical promptly sued the Liverpool editor for infringement of copyright. He explained how he had been mistaken, and made apologies, and had influential friends who interceded for him. The publishers were very sorry, and would have liked to be lenient, but, really, they had suffered so much from similar offenses that they would be obliged to prosecute. Prosecute they did, and the case was compromised only by a payment of nearly one hundred pounds.

Thus it is that, protected in foreign markets as well as at home, and living in a period when his relations with his publishers are stripped of all sentiment and based on the simplest commercial considerations, the popular novelist rises to an affluence not inferior to that of pre-eminent specialists in law and medicine, and earns more than the President of the United States, the Lord Chancellor of England or the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The literary agent must not be overlooked in accounting for the "boom." Usually a shrewd man of business, he makes bargains for the author, and pushes all the work intrusted to him after the noisy and mendacious manner of the advance agent of a circus. He flourishes the trumpet and beats the big drum for each of his clients in turn, and if it is Highflyer who has a novel for sale, the possible purchaser is advised that, of all novelists, Highflyer is the one who has the largest sales and commands the highest prices, while if Highflyer is out of the market and Windebagge or somebody else is in it, it is he who is proclaimed paragon. There are agents and agents, of course—some of them entirely unobjectionable; but one of a familiar type seems to think

that editors and publishers are fools who can be imposed upon to any extent, and who have no judgment of their own and no knowledge of the profession in which he himself is an interloper. The publisher is the author's natural agent, but it is to the benefit of this middleman to create discord between the two, and frequently he succeeds in doing it. His methods, like his manners, are bad, and rather than submit to his extortions and impudence more than one strong house has ceased to consider the work of the authors who are only accessible through him. To a certain extent he might be useful, at least so far as relieving hypersensitive creatures from the irritation almost unavoidable in business transactions, but he is not content with so simple an office. The more manuscripts he sells and the higher the price he obtains the larger are his own commissions. The young author in his hands who has made a success at the start, is not allowed to choose his own time for further work and to prepare for it, but is urged and tempted to add book to book until he becomes a diffuse and tedious hack, undesired by anybody, undesired even by the literary agent himself. An instance occurs to me. The young author was "boomed" so persistently that in order to fulfill his orders he had to rise at four in the morning, and then, sitting down with a type-writer before him and a phonograph at his elbow, he would carry along two stories at once. His first book was an instant success when it appeared a few years ago, but his last manuscript, delivered "as per invoice" in the words of the agent, has been rejected by thirteen different periodicals, and is still in the market. "As per invoice" expresses the agent's view of literature precisely.

WILLIAM H. RIDEING.

THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF KOREA.

BY HOMER B. HULBERT.

THESE are red-letter days for the little empire of Korea. Never since the year 1122 B. C. has she known complete independence until within the past few months. During all those years there was never a time when her allegiance was not demanded by one or other of her neighbors, and when influences and forces, over which she had no control, were not moulding her to their own designs. To-day she owes allegiance to no one, and no power stands behind the throne to threaten or cajole its royal occupant into any course of action that does not meet with his own approval. It may not be uninteresting to follow out the steps which have led to this result.

When the Manchus, in the middle of the seventeenth century, overran Korea, brought the king to bay in the mountain fortress of Nam-han and there forced an abject surrender, they set up a stone on which was carved the evidences of Korea's vassalage to China. In one sense it was vassalage, and in another it was not. China never claimed the right to regulate her internal policy nor to meddle with her foreign policy. Her attitude toward the peninsular kingdom has always been that of a patron rather than that of a master. She more than once disclaimed responsibility for Korea's misdeeds, and disavowed any active interest in the affairs of the peninsula. From time immemorial it has been customary for Korea to send an annual embassy to Peking to present the compliments of the King and offer some small token of allegiance. While the Emperor accepted these signs of vassalage, he never took upon himself to do more than advise in regard to Korean affairs.

Such was the condition of affairs in the peninsula when in 1864 the present King, now Emperor, came to the throne. The

deceased King had left no heir and the duty of nominating his successor devolved on the one who should secure pessession of the royal seals. The Queen Dowager Cho entered the apartment where the King lay dying and succeeded in getting the seals from the Queen, who did not dare to refuse, since the Dowager was her senior. As successor to the throne a boy twelve years of age was nominated, who belonged to a collateral branch of the royal family. At that age he was, of course, not able to handle the reins of government, and his father, the celebrated Tai Wun Kun, became Regent until he should attain his majority. This Regent was a man of indomitable will, striking personality and tenacity of purpose. Whatever may be said of his mistakes, his rule was never less than strong. Royalty in Korea has often been so surrounded and hedged in that the nominal ruler has had little to do in the work of administering the government, but it was not so in his case. He was the actual as well as nominal ruler.

One of the first questions that came up after his assumption of the Regency was in reference to the opening of Korea to foreign influences. This question was introduced in a way that delayed the opening of the country for at least a decade and a half. Roman Catholic mission work had been carried on in Korea for nearly a century, sometimes by native converts alone, but more often by French priests, who entered the country early in the century. From the very first it was a proscribed religion, and at four different times severe persecutions have decimated the Church. In 1839 three French missionaries were executed. France, beyond sending threatening letters, did nothing by way of reprisal, and this naturally gave Korea a false sense of security, for she thought that what France did not do she could not do. For a full decade before the accession of the Regent to power, the government had been in the hands of a party that, while not favorable to Christianity, adopted a tolerant position. With the death of that King, however, the reins of power passed over into the hands of a party that was violently opposed to Christianity, and trouble was sure to follow. It is not certain that the Regent was at first inimical to the Church, for we are told by those who are conversant with the history of those days, that on one occasion he was about to use the Bishop as a commissioner to the Russians in the north, in order to persuade them not to push the matter of reciprocity of trade across the border. It is not un-

likely that the Regent was only negatively opposed to the Romanist propaganda, but he was forced to stronger measures by the party which had put him in power. However this may be, the matter came to a crisis when the Bishop and eight of his companions were seized and thrown into prison, from which they were brought forth only to meet the executioner's axe. Soon a French fleet, under the command of Admiral Roze, appeared off the coast of Korea and sent messengers to the court demanding redress for the murder of the nine Frenchmen. As this was not answered, the Admiral landed his forces on the island of Kang-wha and stormed the town. But he had miscalculated the strength of the Koreans, and after a considerable party of his men had been entrapped among the mountains and severely handled, he set fire to the town, re-embarked his troops and sailed away, leaving the Koreans to believe that they had been victorious. A general persecution was then ordered, and during the next three years ten thousand Christians were killed, not counting those who perished among the mountains from cold and hunger while trying to evade the persecutors. Thus it appears that Korea's first introduction to foreign powers resulted in her hardening herself to all outside influences and determining to preserve her seclusion.

Shortly before the coming of the French, an American schooner, "General Sherman," had approached the shores of the northern province for the purpose of finding an opening for trade, and though warned by the government to desist, forced its way up the Ta-dong River on a high tide and grounded above the inner bar. The natural result was that the officers and crew were all massacred by the mob, with the acquiescence of the government. In 1871 the United States government took the matter up and sent an expedition under the command of Admiral Rogers to make an attempt to induce the Korean government to conclude a treaty of peace and friendship. A surveying party from the fleet was fired upon by a Korean fort on Kang-wha, and a party was promptly landed and the fort taken, though every man of the garrison was shot down in the process. The mistake of the French was repeated, and when the Koreans saw the fleet sail away to China they felt sure that another of the great powers of the West had been humbled. The Regent erected a monument in the center of the city, on which was in-

scribed a fierce denunciation of any man who should dare mention the subject of treaties with the "barbarians."

In 1873 the Regent was compelled to retire, for the King had long ago reached his majority and a new party had arisen, with the Queen as its patron. The cardinal point in the policy of this party was opposition to every plan of the Regent, in consequence of which the Japanese demand for the ratification of a treaty was acceded to and the document was signed at Kang-wha. In 1882 occurred the soldiers' rebellion, during which the Queen fled south for safety and the Regent was put back in power. The ousted party appealed to the Chinese for help, not because they liked the Chinese, but because without their help they could not regain their lost position. A Chinese force arrived, the Regent was spirited away to China and the Queen returned to Seoul and her party to control.

From this time on, Chinese influence was overwhelming in the peninsula. A strong effort was made in 1884 to put it down, but without success. The Chinese had not, before 1882, laid claim to a right to interfere in Korean internal affairs, but now that an opportunity presented China resurrected her ancient claim to full suzerainty and tried to show the world that Korea was a vassal as well as a tributary state. She broke her convention with the Japanese by sending troops to Korea without first notifyng the Japanese Government and the Japanese made this a *casus belli*.

The immediate net results of the war to Japan may be summed up as follows: (1.) The independence of Korea is guaranteed; (2.) Japan shows the world her military power; (3.) the weakness of China is demonstrated; (4.) Japan gets a large indemnity. But China's necessity was Russia's opportunity. By forcing Japan to retrocede the Liao-tung peninsula, Russia established a claim upon China which she has not failed to press. It was a double opportunity, for it cleared the way for her advance to the Yellow Sea, and it relieved her of all fear of armed opposition from China. It appears, then, that while Japan gained fame and a few dollars, Russia gained an ascendency in Peking that was worth more than fame and a war indemnity. It might have been expected that Japan would maintain her ascendency in Korea, but here fortune went against her. She miscalculated the endurance of the king, and one fine morning Japan awoke to the fact that the king was cozily housed in the

Russian Legation. From that moment Japanese influence was dead in Korea. The last semblance of her power had gone. Her money and time had been wasted, for the nominal independence of Korea looked dim that morning when the sun rose upon the Russian Legation turned into a palace.

And now a new aspect has been given to Korean affairs. After gaining the overwhelming ascendency in Korea, after placing her agents at the head of Korean finances and in charge of her army, and that without fear of resistance from any power, Russia suddenly abandons the ground, withdraws her supervision of the finances and the army, and puts everything back into the hands of the Korean government. To-day Korea stands at a point which she had never attained before. From 1122 B. C. she was China's vassal until 1894 A. D. From about 500 A. D. until 1870 Japan claimed suzerainty also, and enforced it from time to time. From 1894 until 1896 Japan directed affairs in Seoul, and from 1896 until a few weeks ago Russia has been all-powerful. But to-day the definite withdrawal of Russian supervision leaves Korea an absolutely independent power for the first time in her history of over three thousand years.

It is hardly pertinent to inquire into the reasons for Russia's abandonment of Korea. They are probably known only in the council-chamber of the Czar. Many conjectures have been made; her more important work in China, her desire to propitiate the Korean people who are so violently opposed to her work there, the desire to conciliate Japan, and thus secure her neutrality in case of war. All these have been put forth as the reasons for the move, but none of them seems to fit the case perfectly. The last is, however, the most plausible. Whatever the reason may be, we can rest assured that it is in perfect accord with her policy of steady advance in the East, and that it does not mean the ultimate abandonment of any coign of vantage. If she abandons Korea to-day it is only to gain some greater advantage at some other point or at some other time.

As Korea sets out in the course of absolutely independent empire it is of interest to inquire what her equipment is and on what forces she may depend in carving out a career.

In the first place the spoils system is one of the heirlooms of the realm. From time immemorial the sweets of office have been the most tempting thing that Korean life had to offer. It has

been the swiftest if not the only road to fortune, and nepotism is a recognized principle in the distribution of the good things. This has been specially true since the year 1575, which beheld the formation of the great political parties. They originated in a petty quarrel between two of the officials, and such a thing as a platform or a policy has never been known among them. Their only reason for existence is that they facilitate the redistribution of the offices when there is a change of administration, or when, by hook or crook, the "outs" become the "ins." If a man wants to gain office he must join one or other of these parties and become identified with them.

Secondly, Koreans have the same low opinion of a military career that prevails in China, and which always did and always will make a strong army an impossibility. When to become a soldier is to drop into well-nigh the lowest social stratum, and when military rank always gives way to civil rank, no man who aspires to make a career for himself will enter the army. It is only a possible stepping-stone to something better, and so good discipline and good service are alike impossible. Every soldier knows his general would leave the service in a moment if a civil office of corresponding grade were open to him; the general knows that every soldier who would become possessed of an acre of land or enough money to stock a street booth would desert the army. As a consequence the army shares with the Buddhist monasteries the distinction of being the receptacle of the indolence and worthlessness of the country.

These are the two disadvantages under which the kingdom works, and they form, indeed, a heavy handicap; but in spite of it all there are many hopeful factors which tend to neutralize these factors.

In the first place the removal of all superintendence of a foreign nature removes a temptation which parties have been subjected to, of leaning up against the foreign power and acting in an arbitrary way, knowing that their backers would support them. To-day every party stands on its own footing and enjoys the moral support of no outside power. This may prove a benefit or it may prove an unmitigated evil. A few years ago it would probably have proved the latter, but during the last two years there has been a rapid education of the people of Korea through the columns of *The Independent*, a paper in the native speech of Korea, edited

by a naturalized American citizen who is of Korean birth. The Koreans have come to know what good government might be, and no party would be rash enough to ignore a popular demand for decent administration if that demand were loudly made. There is to-day such a thing as public spirit among a large class of the Korean people, and it is sure to increase rather than diminish. It is to be hoped that absolute independence and consequent responsibility will have a sobering effect upon party rapacity, and that the Koreans in power will try, at least, to carry out the plans for the betterment of the country which foreign superintendence has pointed out.

Again, Korea possesses a customs service that is excelled nowhere in the world. At its head are Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians and representatives of other Western lands who, while not interested in politics, exert a powerful influence for good upon the whole management of the country. The five open ports of Korea may expect to become model settlements, as three of them, indeed, already are. The growing import and export trade is slowly leavening the whole interior of Korea and enlightenment cannot but result. The growing coastwise trade, by rendering local famines next to impossible, will make less probable such popular uprisings as that of the *Tong-haks* and the "Righteous Army," for these originated, as all uprisings in Korea do, in lack of food. This, in turn, should render less necessary the maintaining of a standing army. Only such force would be necessary as the thorough policing of the country would demand.

The industrial enterprises which have sprung up in the peninsula are of great importance, although they are as yet limited to less than half a dozen ventures. The railroad that is soon to be opened between the capital and its seaport will be an object lesson that cannot fail to have great influence in giving the people a taste for modern things. The mining concession in the north is breaking down the ancient prejudices of the people who, from the earliest times, have feared the evil spirits of the earth more than they have coveted the wealth that lay hidden beneath. The electric street car plant that is on its way from America will introduce the Koreans to the greatest mechanical mystery of the century, and, by showing them the limitations of their own knowledge and skill, will make them push forward to the attainment of better things.

Educational enterprise has secured a sound footing in the country. A thorough English school is doing much to lay the foundation for and to give a taste for a general education, as distinguished from the narrow curriculum of the Chinese classics, which as yet forms the whole of a Korean education. A normal school under foreign instruction is preparing men to take in hand the work of public instruction throughout the country as fast as the prejudices of the people will permit. Schools for French, Japanese and Russian also flourish, and the government seems to realize that these diverging lines of education are necessary to the welfare of the country. Mission schools are doing much to popularize the pursuit of a well rounded education as well as to instil the principles of Christian morality into the minds of the people.

It may be confidently believed that there lies in store for Korea no social cataclysm like that which swept over Japan thirty years ago, and which has borne such marvelous fruit. The Korean is more like the Chinese. Whatever changes come, they will come gradually, after being tested thoroughly; but once having come they will remain. There will be no such reaction as that which Japan has seen during the past half decade. The conservative temperament is not all bad. Social inertia is as natural and as necessary as physical inertia.

The way of a bird in the air, of a snake on a rock and of a man with a maid are all proverbially difficult things to prophesy about, but perhaps not more so than the turn that political events will take in the far East. Whatever happens, Korea will be an interested spectator, perhaps an active factor. Now that all foreign control has been thrown off, it is difficult to see what combination could draw Korea into the maelstrom of war, unless it be that she might form fighting ground for others. Perhaps we may apply to Korea the words used by Pere Hyacinthe, in speaking of Judea: "*The Little States!* They are constituted by the hand of God, and I trust in Him that they never will be removed. He has placed them between the Great States as a negation to universal empire, a pacific obstacle to the shocks of their power and the plots of their ambition."

HOMER B. HULBERT.

THE CARRYING TRADE OF THE GREAT LAKES.

BY ALLAN HENDRICKS.

EVERY well established system of water transportation has developed for itself the type of vessel that will best and most economically perform its services, and these types vary as widely as the conditions of the different trades in which they ply. The steamboat of the Mississippi River and its tributaries has long been considered the most distinctive of all American steam craft; but in the last few years there has been evolved upon the Great Lakes a model of freight carrier that is almost as individual as the Western river boat.

This type, to which all the largest lake freight carriers of recent build belong, and which is by far the most economical vessel for the conveyance of such freights as form the main items of Great Lake commerce, differs widely in design and construction from the ocean freighter or the older lake craft. The conditions under which transportation upon the lakes is carried on are by no means those that control on the ocean, and the requirements of each sort of transportation have produced the vessel best fitted to serve its ends. In length and in beam the new lake boats compare favorably with the better class of ocean-going cargo boats, but their depth is only two-thirds that of many of the latter. The carrying capacity of boats built on the lake model far exceeds that of ocean vessels of the same draft; in fact, of two boats of equal length and beam, one a lake freighter of the latest model and the other a salt water vessel, the lake steamer will carry as much on a draft of nineteen feet as will the ocean freighter on a draft of twenty-six feet. Two considerations which the lake shipbuilder constantly has in mind are, first, great carrying capacity on shallow draft, and second, such construction as will permit the greatest speed in loading and dis-

charging the coarse freight for which the vessel is designed. Perhaps the most radical departure from the style of vessel employed on salt water was brought about by the remarkable development of the iron ore trade, which in tonnage is now the greatest of lake shipments.

The commerce of the Great Lakes has grown in an astonishing degree. The United States government already has done much in the way of improving the channels and harbors of the system, and the increase in the number and size of the vessels forming the lake merchant marine has kept pace with the deepening of the waterways, or rather it has been retarded only by it. The depth of water in the inter-lake passages at present is only sufficient for vessels drawing seventeen feet, but improvements now under way contemplate a navigable depth of almost nineteen feet. The new freight boats are designed to carry full cargoes on a draft of about twenty feet, and it is probable that before many years further improvements will give that depth throughout the lakes. These boats have very flat bottoms, lines that are by no means graceful, and a large number of hatchways, so spaced as to suit the docks and elevators of the lake ports. The midship section of such a vessel closely resembles that of a rather shallow box, and this not only in its exterior shape, but also in its unbroken interior space. The heavier weather that ocean vessels have to meet demands stronger construction than is required in the lake craft, and because of their lightness and simplicity of design, the latter cost less in proportion to their tonnage than do the steamers of the high seas.

In most of the new lake freighters there is no deck between the spar deck and the water bottom, and the bulkheads are few in comparison with the number on an ocean vessel. The water bottoms are safeguards against damage by grounding in shallow channelways, and they also give stability when, as frequently happens, vessels must go westward without cargo to load at up-lake ports. The engines are placed in the extreme stern in order not to interfere with the rapid handling of freight, and as the speed required is not great, high power is unnecessary. The coal bunkers are small, and all the machinery is less powerful and less expensive than that on an ocean-going cargo boat. The docks at which these large lake vessels load and discharge their cargoes are supplied with facilities for transferring freight with

a speed not attained in any ocean port, and hence the boats do not carry the many winches and derricks of salt water freighters.

Such are the vessels of the new lake fleet, designed to engage in the grain, iron ore, and coal trade. So far as their internal plan is concerned, the cargo capacity is cut by the bulkheads into a few large spaces, each of which is reached by several very broad hatchways. Into these spaces the bulk freight for which the boats are built is loaded with remarkable despatch; but in such vessels freight of that description only can profitably be carried. Ocean steamers, or lake steamers engaging in more general trade, must be of a design such as is suitable for a miscellaneous cargo in order that any freight may be loaded. The older vessels of the lake fleet, except for their small size, more nearly approach the ocean-going type. So rapid has been the evolution of the present lake freighter, and so different is it from the older craft, that the latter have lost value out of all proportion to their age.

The value of the Great Lakes system as an avenue for water transportation may be shown by a glance at the shipping upon it. The registered tonnage of the merchant marine of the United States upon salt water is 838,187, while that upon the lakes is 1,324,068. Statistics compiled by the United States Commissioner of Navigation show that on June 30, 1895, the number of steam vessels of 1,000 tons or over then plying the lakes was 360, whereas the number of such vessels registered on the entire seaboard was 309, including the great Atlantic steamers of the American line. It is further shown that the combined tonnage of the 360 lake vessels was 643,260 gross tons, while the gross tonnage of the 309 vessels sailing other waters was 652,598. According to the same statistics there were on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts at that date 626 iron or steel vessels aggregating 596,680 gross tons. On the lakes there were 194 such vessels, but their aggregate tonnage was 301,753. Thus the average gross tonnage of boats of that class on the lakes was 1,555, whereas that of coast vessels was 953.

These figures may seem surprising to the summer wanderer who regards the lakes principally as comfortable hot-weather resorts. Nevertheless it is true that barring one line of passenger steamships upon the Atlantic, the average size of lake steamers is much greater than that of the American salt water fleet. Nor is the tonnage of the vessels out of proportion to the amount of

freight seeking transportation by them, although there has been much wild guessing as to its volume. It is impossible to be exact in stating the aggregate annual freight movement on the lakes, for the reason that government customs regulations permit vessels to take on or discharge freight at intermediate points without giving an account of its amount. A committee of the Lake Carriers' Association reported in January, 1896, that slightly less than thirty million net tons of freight had been carried by vessels passing the city of Detroit in the year 1895. This statement was based in part upon estimates, and it does not include the commerce between ports on the upper lakes, such as that between Duluth and Chicago. There are about twice as many clearances of vessels from lake ports as there are from all the seaports of the United States. This, however, seems less astonishing when it is remembered that inasmuch as the voyages are short, one vessel clears many times in the course of a season. It must also be remembered in all computations of lake commerce that while there is more or less local traffic on the lower lakes during the entire year, the season for through shipment lasts only while the waterways connecting the lakes are unclosed by ice. Nor should it be forgotten that the figures are of tonnage only; ocean freights are of much greater intrinsic value.

Although the United States can claim no commercial supremacy upon the high seas, the commerce of the great lakes is almost entirely hers. Only eleven per cent of the tonnage registered upon the lakes is Canadian. Not alone in a commercial sense do the Great Lakes belong to the United States; much more than half the surface of the lake system lies within the limits of this country. It is a system by no means insignificant in size. From Duluth, at the head of Lake Superior, to Ogdensburg, near the foot of Lake Ontario, the eastern lake port of the United States, the distance is 1235 miles. No other inland waterway equals it in size or in advantage of position, and the shipping upon it attests its importance to the country. The growth of that shipping is remarkable; probably the history of commerce does not show its counterpart, yet it has by no means attained its greatest proportions. Beyond question its development would be stimulated by the construction of a waterway through which lake freights could reach the ocean without their bulk being broken. At Buffalo, the Erie canal, now being improved by the State of

New York to a navigable depth of eight feet, connects Lake Erie with the Hudson River, but all over the Great Lake basin there is a demand for a deeper canal to tidewater.

The project for a canal by which lake steamers should be enabled to reach the Atlantic is no new thing, and for more than ten years it has been strongly advocated by those interested in the commerce of the lakes. A number of routes for such a waterway have been proposed, but as yet no survey of any one of them has been completed. Owing in great part to the efforts of the Deep Waterway Association, a body composed of men actively concerned in lake shipping, Congress in 1895 created a Deep Waterways Commission for the purpose of investigating the feasibility of building such a canal "as shall enable vessels engaged in ocean commerce to pass to and fro between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean." Early in the year following, the commission reported that such a canal should ultimately have a depth of twenty-eight feet, and that the government would be justified in undertaking the work. It further recommended that surveys be made for such a canal. Later in the same year Congress appropriated funds for the purpose, and the surveys are now being made.

While the Deep Waterways Commission were engaged upon their labor, Congress authorized the Secretary of War to have made an examination and estimates of cost of a canal "of sufficient capacity to transport the tonnage of the lakes to the sea." Whatever the purpose of Congress may have been, the act was less particular in its terms than the one previously passed, and it allowed an investigation into the question of what depth of canal would be best in the light of all the interests involved. By direction of the Secretary of War a preliminary examination was made by Major Thomas W. Symons, of the Engineer Corps. After careful consideration of the subject Major Symons reported that a ship canal capable of floating a large ocean steamer would not be of sufficient benefit to justify its construction; but that a canal of about 12 feet depth, designed to carry barges of about 1500 tons burden, such as could safely be towed to any part of the Great Lake system, would meet the demands of commerce and should be built.

Two propositions are thus before Congress: first, to construct a 28 foot waterway from the lakes to tidewater, at a total

cost of more than $300,000,000, for the surveys of which the sum of $150,000 already has beeen appropriated ; and second, to build a similar canal of a depth of 12 feet, at a cost of about $50,000,000.

It has become apparent that the vessels of the old lake fleet are not able to compete with the larger modern cargo carriers on the same waters. Nevertheless, in order to secure the maximum usefulness of these new vessels and thus enable them to cut rates to the lowest figure, they must be able to carry full cargoes. In order to permit this, further dredging than that at present under way will be required. What was sufficient in 1890 is insufficient to-day ; then 2,500 tons was thought a large cargo on the lakes, whereas 5,000 tons is now common. It must be remembered that through freight rates are established by the large vessels, and it is said that were they able to load to their full capacity they could be operated at a profit on rates much lower than are now charged. What the deepening of the channels means to lake commerce may be shown by a statement made by the builder of one of the large steel ore-carriers recently added to the fleet. He estimated that on a draft of 14½ feet the boat would carry 4,180 tons, and that on a draft of 19 feet it would carry 6,680 tons. The estimate on light draft has been proved by trial to be within the capacity of the vessel, and there is no reason to doubt that the heavier can be carried on the given draft when the connecting channels of the lake system are deep enough to permit it.

Freight boats on the lakes now meet a stronger competition by the railways than ever before, and in this the railways have aided themselves by establishing, between advantageous ports, ferry lines upon which loaded cars are carried, thus enabling them to transfer their freight across a lake without unloading it. The heavy terminal and transfer charges at Chicago are said to have had much to do with the growth of the car ferry system. Inasmuch as a large part of the weight of every car ferry cargo consists of cars, it would seem that the cost of transporting merchandise by car ferry must be very great, and that the maintenance of such ferry lines in places where they are not absolutely necessary is thus a matter of doubtful expedience. Nevertheless, there are more than a dozen lines operating on the lakes. The capacity of the largest ferry is about thirty cars. Of them the one best known is the *Sainte Marie*, plying across the Straits of Macki-

nac, which is able to crush her way through three feet of ice. Besides the car ferries, many of the larger railways having important lake ports on their routes either own, or operate in connection with, lines of steamers, and thus are able to bill through freight advantageously by a combination of land and water transportation.

The canals built by the United States on the Great Lake system are free in every respect. Of these, that at Sault Ste. Marie is the most important. Nor is its importance only local; in point of tonnage it is the greatest canal in the world. By means of it and the locks at its lower end vessels are enabled to pass the falls of the St. Mary's River, down which the waters of Lake Superior flow to the lower lakes. There are now two locks in the American canal at the "Soo," and one in the canal on the Canadian shore. The American locks lie side by side, and a vessel may pass the falls through either one.

These canals are open to navigation during a season of about 222 days; for the remainder of the year they are closed by ice. In the season of 1895, 17,956 vessels passed through the locks, of an aggregate net registered tonnage of 16,806,781, carrying 15,062,580 tons of freight, the estimated value of which was $159,575,130. During the twelve months of that year, 3,334 vessels, of a net registered tonnage of 8,448,246 passed through the Suez Canal. By way of further comparison, it may be roughly stated that in the same year thirty thousand vessels, with a tonnage of thirty millions, entered and cleared at the ocean and gulf ports of the United States, The tonnage of the St. Mary's Falls Canal represents almost the entire commerce of Lake Superior, as very little of the trade on that lake is local. In 1870, there passed through the canal 691,000 tons of freight; in 1880, 1,734,800 tons; in 1890, the tonnage had increased to 9,041,213, and it bids fair to grow yearly for a long time to come. The freight traffic through the canals in 1897 was almost 2,000,000 tons greater than in the previous year. In spite of this there were fewer vessel passages, thus showing the increase in the size of ships employed. Measured by value, the greatest shipments through the canal are flour, wheat, iron ore, copper, lumber and coal. Of these the first five are carried to Eastern markets; the coal is loaded for the return trip, and the west-bound tonnage, most of which is coal, is only about three-eighths of that east-bound.

A small proportion of the vessels equipped with sails navigate by means of their sail power. These craft ply between intermediate ports and do not engage in through trade from the head to the foot of the Great Lake system. All of them are schooner-rigged, and most of them are towed by steamers, using their sails to aid them only when the wind is fair. Some are thoroughly seaworthy craft, able to fight their way through any weather, but others are bluff tow barges with sail power inadequate for general navigation. In several of the trades on the lakes, particularly the transportation of iron ore, it is the practice to employ fleets of such barges drawn by steamers. This method of transportation is the result of the need for carrying large quantities of heavy bulk freight on shallow draft. It is probable that with increased depth of water it will be less used, although for a number of years it has proved serviceable and economical in the coastwise coal trade on the Atlantic. Such a method of freight-carrying would not be practicable in long voyages on the rougher seas, and the question of its expediency on the lakes yet seems to be somewhat doubtful. In late years steam towing machines have been much used upon the lakes, and by their aid some of the greatest physical disadvantages encountered in such navigation have been obviated. The towing machine consists in brief of a drum controlled by steam cylinders, the hawser being passed around the drum and the resistance of the tow being borne by the cylinders. When the strain on the hawser is suddenly increased by the movement of either vessel in a seaway, the drum pays out the hawser to meet it, gathering the cable again when the unusual strain is eased. With such machines steel towing cables are used; by the old method only hemp hawsers were practicable, for the reason that there is no elasticity in steel, and thus it could not stretch when the steamer and her tow were pitching in a sea.

Some of the tow barges are built of steel, and all of the whalebacks, or "pigs," as the lake sailors call them, are so constructed. The whaleback is another distinct type of lake craft, but one that is far outnumbered by the vessels of the model already described. Some of them are provided with steampower, but most of the fleet are tow barges. The first whaleback was built in 1887. The purpose of the designer was to make a vessel that would be cheap and at the same time have great carrying

capacity. It was also claimed that on account of their peculiar shape they would more readily answer the strain of a tow rope. In spite of the claims of their builders, whalebacks have not found general favor in the sight either of lake vessel owners or of sailors. In appearance they are exceedingly awkward craft, but the freshwater Jackie dislikes them because they are uncomfortable in rough weather, and because, as he says, they "ice-up" badly in the winter season.

On no other waters are cargoes of equal size carried on so shallow a draft, and nowhere else has such rapidity in loading and discharging cargo been attained. In a trade, the season for which lasts through only two-thirds of the year, and where the average cargo is carried under 600 miles, a number of trips must be made in a season, and thus speed in handling cargo assumes an importance that it does not have elsewhere. One thousand bushels of wheat a minute is not an uncommon rate at which to load such a cargo. Iron ore is dumped into vessels at the rate of 1,500 tons an hour, and some of the ore docks on Lake Erie are capable of unloading ore ships of from 3,500 to 5,000 tons in twelve hours. There are several car-dumping machines in use on the lakes, by means of which the contents of ordinary coal cars are readily transferred to vessels. With these machines from fifteen to twenty cars of coal can be emptied in an hour, and vessels of 3,500 tons have been loaded in ten hours. The average time consumed by a vessel of the new lake fleet in handling cargo is said to be about fifty-eight days in a season, and the loss of time on account of weather about 4½ days.

Of passenger boats, the twin white steamers *North Land* and *North West*, plying between Buffalo and Duluth, and the black-hulled *Manitou*, running from Chicago to Mackinac, represent the best development of steamship building upon the lakes. The two first named boats are 383 feet long over all, with a horse power of 7,000 and a speed exceeding 21 miles. The *Manitou* is 295 feet over all. These are exclusively passenger boats, and in equipment equal most of the Atlantic liners. Of lake freight boats the *Coralia*, the *Sir Henry Bessemer*, and the *Sir William Siemens*, duplicate vessels, are the finest examples. They are 432 feet over all, with a beam of 48 feet and a depth of 28 feet. The largest of the Canadian fleet is the *Manitoba*, 303 feet over all, with a gross tonnage of 2,615.

The sailor of the Great Lakes has no easy berth; perhaps some phases of his life are harder than those of his salt water brother. In almost every case he has acquired his knowledge of seamanship upon the water he sails, and it is his habit to look down on ocean navigation as an occupation requiring less skill and hardihood. Fierce storms sweep the cruising grounds of each of them, but while the salt water mariner meets rough weather on the open sea, or with land close aboard on but one side of him, the lake sailor is never very far from a lee shore. He is at all times sailing waters more crowded than any part of the Atlantic highway, and from time to time he must pick his course through shallow channels that not only are thronged with shipping, but in themselves are narrow and intricate. It should be remembered, too, that most of the lake harbors are only river mouths, with from 150 to 300 feet of entrance-way, and in most cases they have very small area within. Frequently it is no easy task to enter such a harbor when the wind is blowing a gale and the sea is running high, and the presence of other craft increases the hazard. The shoals which lie outside some of the harbor mouths add to the danger, particularly when the sea is heavy. Vessels are wrecked each year while attempting to enter port. Storms come quickly and with little warning on the Great Lakes, and even in summer these waters sometimes are swept by gales that force the strongest vessels to seek shelter. Moreover, owing to the shortness of the season, lake captains endeavor to keep their vessels in service up to the last possible day, and thus as late as October or November, when navigation is most dangerous, but when the grain crop is moving and freights are high, they brave weather that a more prudent class of seamen would not face.

The lake captain has no knowledge of the science of navigation. Never is he out of sight of land for any length of time, and he must know his route almost as a river pilot knows the stream he sails. In truth, so far as following his course goes, the lake captain is a pilot rather than a seaman. His steering is by compass and the shore line; never does he watch for the sun in order to ascertain his position by an observation. He depends in a large measure upon landmarks in finding his way, and when they are hidden by fog or a snow squall he must make the best guess he can. He has always at least one port to make in a day,

and sometimes two or three. In each of them there is enough routine work to keep him busy until he sails again. If he commands a freight boat he often has to shift his vessel from one dock to another, perhaps several times, in order to pick up all his cargo. No pilot meets him off a harbor to share his responsibility and steer his vessel in. He must not only keep the deck during storms and when entering and leaving port, but also during fogs and when the dense smoke from the forest fires of autumn lies on the water, for such well-travelled thoroughfares as he sails demand eternal vigilance. In harbor and at sea, the lake captain's duties are many and his hours of labor long.

The loss of life upon the lakes is said to be greater than that upon the ocean in proportion to the number of sailors employed, although it is much less than formerly. On March 1, 1895, 4,946 vessels were registered on the Great Lakes. During that season of navigation 63 vessels, of an aggregate net tonnage of 48,975, were totally lost, while very many times that number were wrecked or damaged, but not so seriously as to unfit them for future service.

The chief problem in Great Lake navigation to-day is the depth of water. The work of the government in the way of improvement heretofore has been in the deepening and widening of the connecting channels, the dredging and constructing of harbors, and the protecting of waterways. It is possible that a slight but general lowering of the lake levels has resulted, while at the same time the depth of water in the channels has been increased. It does not seem improbable that the further deepening of the channels, the outflow from the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal, and the construction of canals now under consideration by the government, will still further lower the levels. To offset this it is now strongly urged that a system of dams equipped with large discharge gates be built at the outlets of the lakes in order that the levels above may be raised, or at least maintained at mean stages. The plan is an adaptation of one that has long been employed by loggers on northwestern rivers. There seems little doubt that the outflow of the Chicago Canal will have an appreciable effect on the level of Lake Michigan. Estimates of the probable fall vary from three inches to one foot. In many of the Lake Michigan ports this will be a matter of very serious importance, for the harbors are already very shallow. In fact, this

is true of most of the harbors of the Great Lake system; the depths, as a rule, range from 16 to 18 feet, and many of them are maintained at that stage only by constant dredging. Even without such outlets as the Chicago Canal and the proposed ship or barge canal to the sea, the water levels of the lakes appear to be receding, although insufficient data make it difficult to say how much. The stage of water fluctuates constantly; it is highest in midsummer, and lowest in midwinter or early spring, and the rise and fall varies from one to four feet according to the rainfall. It is seldom that unusually high or low water occurs in all of the lakes at the same time.

The Great Lakes, with their inter-lake channels, have a water surface of 95,965 square miles, and a coast line in the United States of 3,075 miles. The sailing distance from Duluth to Buffalo is 997 miles, and from Chicago to Buffalo the course measures 929 miles. Lake Superior, with an area a little less than that of the State of Maine, is the largest, deepest and most beautiful of the Great Lakes, as it is the highest above the level of the sea. Despite the almost arctic climate of its winter season, the lake never freezes over, although ice closes the harbors and sometimes makes out from the shore for several miles. The snow squalls that sweep the lake with varying frequency during nine months of the year add greatly to the danger of its navigation, while fogs may shut in upon it any time. Its mean level is 601 feet above the sea. St. Mary's River, through which its waters flow to the lower lakes, falls 18½ feet at Sault Ste. Marie.

Lake Michigan and Lake Huron are 580 feet above the sea level, and they are respectively 330 and 263 miles in length. Lake Erie is 250 miles long and has an average depth of only 30 feet in its western portion, while at its deepest point it is only 90 feet. Owing to its shallowness the water of the lake is very easily disturbed by storms, and for this reason lake sailors consider its navigation particularly hazardous. The result of observations upon Lake Erie show that several storms have caused differences in level between the two ends of the lake of from 12 to 15 feet. The mean level is 571 feet above the sea.

Lake Ontario is the smallest and the lowest of the lakes. It is 190 miles long and 245 feet above the sea. The Welland Canal, which connects it with Lake Erie, allows the passage of boats of about 1,700 tons. Lake Ontario has fewer storms n

either of the other lakes, and it is not often obstructed by ice.

In these days of great competition, every cut in the operating expenses of a common carrier means a corresponding cut in the rates of transportation. In railway service the cost of operation becomes less as the line of road is straightened, the grades cut down, the curves eased, and the weight and carrying capacity of the rolling stocks increased. So upon the lakes the deepening and straightening of the inter-lake channels, the dredging of the harbors, and the employment of larger vessels, have lessened the cost of moving freight and permitted the reduction of rates. Lake freight rates are already very low. Wheat, for instance, for five years, has been carried from Duluth to Buffalo at a lower average rate per mile than such freight has obtained in the trade across the Atlantic. It is probable that on no other haul of equal length in th world are the freight rates so low as on the lakes at the present time, although the limit of reduction has not yet been reached.

As increased carrying capacity is working a reduction of railway operating expenses in proportion to the amount of freight handled, thus enabling railways to reduce their freight rates, so in order to maintain competition with them the vessels of the lake merchant marine must increase in tonnage. To-day the limit to such increase is the depth of water in the connecting channels. With the completion of the projects in execution or under consideration by the government, the largest vessels now sailing the lakes will be able to load to their full capacity. Twenty feet may be considered the maximum draft that will be practicable in lake navigation for many years to come. Before that navigable depth is open from Duluth to Buffalo, lake shipyards will have produced vessels of such increased length and beam measurements that on the given draft they will have almost the carrying capacity of the largest cargo steamers in use to-day upon the ocean. The present tendency is strongly toward the employment of larger vessels, and the astonishing growth of lake traffic would seem to promise that it will always justify the use of the largest carriers the channels will float.

ALLAN HENDRICKS.

WHICH SHALL DOMINATE—SAXON OR SLAV?

BY THE HON. DAVID MILLS, CANADIAN MINISTER OF JUSTICE.

THE question of the future position of the United States among nations, is one of great interest and importance. Shall she unite with Russia, and endeavor to put an end to Anglo-Saxon leadership in the world, or shall she join with the British Empire in giving additional strength and assured permanency to that ascendancy? For a century the United States has acted upon the advice of Washington and "avoided entangling alliances." Apart from the Civil War, in which slavery perished, her history has been mainly a history of peace, and her condition has not differed, in any marked degree, from that of a self-governing dependency. She has now reached the point where the road parts, and circumstances are forcing her to abandon her position of isolation and to take her place among the great states of Christendom. The problems that now confront her, like those that have confronted the United Kingdom for a century, are as interesting as they are important, and the English-speaking population of the world cannot turn them aside and refuse to give them careful consideration.

Providence seldom lifts the mists which lie in the pathways of states. It seldom permits them to see clearly what lies before them; but there are laws of national growth that deserve careful study, and which, when understood, point, with moderate accuracy, the direction in which both the duty and the interests of a state lie. Sometimes the state's rulers are driven on to conflict by the force of public opinion, and when they undertake to assign the reasons they find them, as justifying causes, wholly inadequate. It may be that a state is losing its moral fibre. It may be that it has not the courage to resist popular clamor. It may be that there is an instinctive feeling prevalent, that hostili-

ties are necessary in order to escape greater evils. A state may have been called upon to endure no trials, to surmount no difficulties, to make no sacrifices. There is nothing in its political life to awaken noble aspirations. A low feeling of self interest has taken the place of a high sense of public duty, and war may prove to be the only adequate remedy for the political disease. It may prove the most appropriate means for restoring the moral health of the nation, and for impressing upon both the government and the people, nobler ideas of what, as a nation, they are in the world for, than they have hitherto entertained.

> "There is a divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough hew them how we will."

The growth of states is always a subject of profound interest. The Anglo-Saxon whose mind has not been perverted by prejudice, feels a pride in the fact that he is an Anglo-Saxon —one of a race that for two hundred years has held the first place in the march of humanity. He naturally observes, with interest, those who are treading immediately in the rear, and who are obviously striving to supplant the race to which he belongs, and he cannot well do otherwise than consider the conditions upon which he holds the first place. He is forced to ask himself whether the end of his leadership is approaching; whether he has fulfilled his mission; and whether the standard, which he has long carried, is soon to be wrested from him? Are we, as a race, to be called upon to yield to the Slav the place which we hold, because we are no longer qualified to retain it? Is our race sinking into a condition of lethargy because its energies are spent, and its moral fibre gone? Have we become weary with our constant struggle to overcome difficulties, and in our efforts have we lost the capacity, any longer, to lead?

Analogies have often been instituted between states and persons. It is said that they have alike their period of infancy, of growth, of maturity, and of decay. This, no doubt, has hitherto been so; but is it, equally, a necessary condition in each? Mr. Burke says that the analogy between states and individuals is misleading. They do not belong to the same order of being. States are not physical but moral persons, and are not subject to the same vicissitudes. The fact, however, remains that the world has seen a succession of leading states which have risen to greatness, attained the first place, and have themselves been sub-

jugated and forced to yield to some other state, which has, in turn, sunk into decrepitude.

This succession of great states as leaders of the world has also been a succession of distinct races, and their history may be summarized by saying that they have risen from obscurity to a controlling place; they have led humanity a certain distance; each has spread itself abroad by the force of arms; each has imposed its thoughts and habits upon the world, has exhausted its energies in the operation, and has finally had its place wrested from it by the superior energy of another race. I take it for granted, because I think it is demonstrated in history, that there is a Divine purpose in the relative condition of states, and that the status of each is mainly dependent upon the courage and the moral vigor of its people; that high character is of more value than mere numbers; and that states do not perish that deserve to survive.

I think it is equally true, moreover, that the nations and races which have led the world were called to represent a distinct group of ideas which were essential to the progress of mankind. It may well be that the lessons which it was necessary that men should learn were too difficult to be all learned at once, and so different races became the repositories of different types of thought; that the world was broken into classes, and each group had assigned to it its own appropriate lesson, until all should be mastered. The order of events, in the lives of great states, must be one of real progression, an order which has, so far, had a beginning, a middle, and an end; and when that end is reached, its life seems rounded off and completed. I am not asserting that everything a state does is a necessary part of the controlling thought which it embodies. It may make mistakes, and these mistakes may hinder and delay its progress; but they are only perturbing influences which, though rendering it unsteady in the course in which it marches, cannot change the general direction of the currents in which its energies flow. A careful study of the history of every great state will always enable us to estimate correctly those influences, and to ascertain the precise purpose which those forces serve by which it is impelled onward. It has been well said by M. Cousin, that the whole history of a state is wrapped up in the ideas which it represents. When these are completely

developed its work is done. It can no longer move forward, its impelling force is exhausted, its journey is at an end. Where a nation has still progressive life and energy, the institutions which it has outgrown are certain to produce friction, and they must either be destroyed, or modified so as to meet the new condition of things. When a people have spent their force, there is first rest, then decay, and finally disintegration.

When a state is struggling to the front, it has a personality of its own. It is the exponent of new types of thought, of new notions of human well being, and even when its mission is completed, it does not sink into a secondary place without a struggle. "War," says M. Cousin, "is but the bloody exchange of ideas." It is the triumph of the race that brings with it the treasures of the future, over the race that has nothing further to bestow. The great events which serve to exalt one state and debase another, are but "the judgments of God in history." Men sometimes sympathize with a fallen state, not because the state itself deserves that sympathy, but because, to the last, there are among those who stand up for it some who continue to exhibit, in their own persons, its departed excellence.

Is it not possible that a state may continue to possess habits of simple virtue and unwearied energy, so as to keep itself indefinitely in the lead of human progress ?

The Anglo-Saxon, in the history of the world, occupies a unique position. He has spread over the world far beyond the limits reached by any of the races that have preceded him. His environment is universal. He is not only placed in new geographical circumstances, but he is everywhere brought in contact with new races whose excellence he is incorporating into his own life. It may be that this may give to the ascendancy of the Anglo-Saxon new centers of influence, which will serve to impart to him new life and energy, and thus protect him against the disasters which have overtaken the masters that have gone before him. It never can be too well remembered by statesmen, and by all who wish well to their race, that without moral stamina, without public virtue and public spirit, without self-sacrifice, it is impossible to retain the front rank, as it would have been impossible without these to achieve that position. A race that does not continue to possess these qualities, in the very highest degree, is doomed to failure.

It is important, too, to bear in mind that these qualities are not absolute but relative; and as those that are in the rear grow in moral strength, they can be retained in that position only by a corresponding growth in those marching in the front.

It is impossible within the limit prescribed to a magazine article to set forth clearly what the people and government of the United Kingdom have gained, in this respect, by what they have accomplished. In Egypt, in the Soudan, upon the Niger, in South Africa, in India, and elsewhere, the people of the United Kingdom are, by their energy and enterprise, gaining in the moral elevation of character, and in the wider and juster view which they are acquiring in respect to their relation to other races with which they have been brought in contact, qualities necessary to keep them to the front. There are millions brought under the dominion of law. Life is rendered more secure. The humble laborer has assured to him the fruit of his toil. Whole nations are, from time to time, rescued from murderous and debasing rites, and millions are living in peace and domestic quiet, over vast areas where before these blessings were wholly unknown. British commerce, it is true, is being extended. That is the reward Providence bestows for the service performed. Regions that were before little better than deserts, in which one class of men were engaged in hunting another class, have gained the blessings of peace, and are laying the foundations of trade. The United Kingdom is doing for large sections of the earth what the inhabitants of the United States are doing, in another way, in that portion of North America over which they have for a century exercised dominion.

It is sometimes asked, How can Russia be a menace? Does she threaten Anglo-Saxon civilization? Is she seeking, for herself, the first place among nations? Let us look at the situation. The sovereignty over a large part of the earth's surface is held by three races: the Spaniards, the English, and the Russians. The Spaniards are of the Latin race, and the supremacy which they once held may be regarded as a short revival, after a long interval, of ancient Rome. I leave, in the consideration of this question, France and Germany out of view. They have already reached the maximum of greatness which their conditions allow. The French no longer go forth to colonize. The emigration

from France does not much exceed 5,000 a year. Though France may conquer, she cannot colonize. Germany has, in recent years, acquired extensive possessions, but they are in regions where, for the most part, her own people cannot settle, and so, like France, she can only revive a colonial policy of a past age, and shut the gates of commerce in the face of other states. For this reason I leave out of the question both Germany and France, as powers whose seat of empire must remain in Europe, and who can never hereafter be other than subordinate factors in any struggle for supremacy. Spain, though a fallen empire, is in a different position. Nearly 5,000,000 of square miles on this continent are under the dominion of Spaniards. True, the inhabitants are not all of the Spanish race, but Spaniards are the dominant race in all the republics which have sprung from her American possessions. The language, the literature, the religion, and the habits of thought are all Spanish, and to-day the Spanish language is more widely diffused over the world than any other European tongue, the English alone excepted. Though Spain has fallen, indeed, very low, she still possesses some elements of her former greatness which command respect, and there are, here and there, indications, in some of the states which have sprung from her loins, that they are beginning to awake from their lethargy, and to devote themselves to objects more worthy the ambition of their statesmen, than to struggle for first place in revolutionary governments.

It may well be that the results of the present conflict between Spain and the United States may serve to draw Spain and the Spanish-American states into some sort of alliance, and especially is it likely to do so if Spain should become a republic. Among the independent states of Spanish America, the feeling toward the United States has undergone great change. Early in the century, when the Monroe doctrine was originally promulgated, these peoples were seeking protection against Spain, and against the Holy Alliance. They welcomed the promised aid of Monroe and of Canning. They felt that the sympathy and protection of the United States was necessary to secure them against European aggression. The modern Monroe doctrine is a practical denial of the sovereignty of every state to which it is extended, and so it is, everywhere in Spanish America, passively resented. It is

regarded as a denial, under International Law, of the equality of states and without being a source of strength to the United States on this continent, it may greatly cripple her freedom of action elsewhere.

It has been said that Russia is the political ally of the United States, that the United Kingdom is her hereditary enemy, and that she ought not to throw away the good will of an ancient friend for the support of an ancient enemy. It is argued that the United Kingdom would never seek an alliance with the United States that was not to her own advantage. That may be so, but let us consider this view with more care. Few states have ever sought an alliance that was not believed to be advantageous, either because of the good which it might bring, or of the evil which it might prevent. If it were not advantageous, it would not be sought, and unless it were mutually advantageous, it could not endure, though consummated by the most solemn and formal agreement.

But let us examine closely for a moment the supposed friendship of Russia for the United States. It is not—it cannot be—other than mere words. States do not differ that are never brought in contact, and where there is no contact there is no rivalry, and professions of friendship may do no harm, and can do little good. But what is there between the United States and Russia, in common, that can make them allies? Russia aims at two things—to prevent an Anglo-American Alliance, and to prevent the United States from ever acquiring any voice in the direction of affairs in the Far East. The policy of Russia was not matured in a day. Russia did not withdraw from America until she had possession of the Lower Amour, until she had awakened the fears of Japan, had taken possession of one of her islands and had driven her into the family of nations, where Japan hoped she might find allies among civilized states. Russia intended that the Monroe doctrine should effectually estop the United States from having any voice in the settlement of any Asiatic question. She may say: "You can no more acquire by conquest the Philippine Islands, than Russia or France can acquire Cuba." Russia withdrew from Alaska for two reasons—to exclude the United States from having any voice in respect to questions touching the eastern shore of Asia; and to prevent Alaska, in case any future conflict with the

United Kingdom should arise, from becoming a part of British America, and it was so understood at the time by every Japanese statesman.

Let us consider the aims of Russia, as shown by what she has attempted and accomplished in modern times. The Russian statesman loves conquest. With him it is a habit of mind. Russia is a great Asiatic power, employing the resources of western civilization to further her ambitious designs. Her conquests are not the outcome of industrial enterprise. They have not sprung from the necessities of commerce. Her acquisitions have not arisen from a desire to find a profitable investment for her capital. They are due entirely to a love of dominion. In the last century, she acquired all the territory lying between her western border, and the Gulf of Bothnia and the Baltic Sea. She acquired the greater part of Poland and the whole of Crim-Tartary. In this century she has obtained Finland from Sweden, Bessarabia, and a part of Armenia, from Turkey. She has acquired the Caucasus, Georgia, several Provinces of Persia, and the whole country from the Caspian Sea, on the west, to the borders of China, on the east, including Samarcand, Bokhara, Khiva and Merv, besides a large section of north-eastern China. Russia is the one great state of the world that pays no regard to her Treaty obligations longer than it is convenient for her to do so. Her territories cover an area nearly three times as large as the United States, and are being constantly extended. If she finds resistance, at any point, upon her borders, she rests there, and pushes forward her boundaries, where those upon whom she encroaches are not prepared to stay her march. What she acquires is hers absolutely, the trade of the people, no less than her dominion over them. Not the slightest reliance can be put upon her promises. She regards falsehood as a legitimate weapon in diplomacy, as deceit is in war. In Afghanistan, which she declared to be outside of the sphere of Russian diplomacy, and within the sphere of the diplomacy of England, she carried on constant intrigues against English authority. Her representatives sought to stir up rebellion. She endeavored to obtain the consent of its rulers for the construction of a road that would lead to India, and for the purchase of supplies that would support an army of invasion on their march. She never gives up any pur-

pose which she has once formed. More than eight centuries ago she marched an army of 80,000 men to conquer the Byzantine Empire, and to seize Constantinople. What she then undertook and failed to accomplish, she has never abandoned. It has been from time to time postponed for a more fitting opportunity. She lost six great armies in the march from the Caspian to Samarcand, and two centuries elapsed from the time when she contemplated this conquest before it was consummated. If the Russian Empire holds together, she counts on the conquest of Turkey, of Persia, of India, and of China.

If Russia succeeds in the task to which she has set herself she will hold seventeen millions of square miles of territory, and she will have under her dominion nine hundred millions of people. The fall of the British Empire is regarded by Russian statesmen as essential to the realization of her hopes. Let me ask what would be the position of the world, with so much territory and so many people under one ruler, wielding the power necessary to the realization of his wishes. It is only necessary to study the commercial and industrial policy of Russia to discover that she would trample into the earth every people that might aspire to better their position or to become in any way her rivals. In every department of commerce, and in every field in which greatness might be achieved, her rulers would regard any attempt at success as an attack upon her supremacy.

In the discussion of this question I embrace the United States as a part of the Anglo-Saxon community. I do so because in the present position of the race, and of the work which obviously lies before it, the loss of British supremacy in the world would be scarcely less disastrous to the United States than it would be to the British Empire. It is true that the United States, under the present order of things, has room for further expansion. But the present order of things rests upon Anglo-Saxon supremacy. Even within her existing limits, she may grow for many years to come; and if Turkey, Persia, India, and China were added to the Empire of Russia, the whole position of the world would be completely changed; the condition of things on this continent would be revolutionized. With the power thus centred under Russian control and directed from St. Petersburg, with the Valley of the Euphrates occupied by Russians devoted to agriculture, with the frontiers of that mighty Empire resting upon

the Indian Ocean, and with the whole commerce of Asia in her possession, Russia would, as a natural consequence of these tremendous additions, become the dominant sea power. The Pacific Ocean would be a Russian Lake, and her eastern frontiers would rest upon the western shore of North America. The British Islands would rapidly diminish in population, until the number of inhabitants would be such as the product of the soil would naturally support. The United Kingdom could no longer be a market for the bread-stuffs of this continent, and European immigration to America would cease. Russia would rapidly grow in wealth and in population, but no country in the Western Hemisphere would do either; for the great markets of the world would be in the possession of a power that would use them to cripple the commerce of any state which would, in any degree, aspire to become her rival.

In the highest sense the United States has not, and cannot have, an independent existence. Her fortune is inseparably associated with the race to which she belongs, in which her future is wrapt up, and in which she lives and moves and has her being. The unity between the United States and the British Empire is a matter both of race and growth. They touch each other, and as peoples unite and great states rise, they must be, for all great international purposes, one people. They are parts of the same race, whose extension is being pushed more and more rapidly forward by the sleepless energy of individual men, under the protection of the United Kingdom, into barbarous regions where they are acquiring new standing room for the formation of new states. In science, in literature, in government, in religion, in industrial pursuits, and in the conception of human rights and of human duties, they are one people, having common aims, a common origin, and from their necessary relations a common destiny.

The very forces which would establish Russian ascendancy over the United Kingdom would in an incredibly short time establish Russian ascendancy in America, in South Africa, and in Australia. The leadership of the Saxon would be at an end and that of the Slav would be begun. It is impossible to follow the course of Russian diplomacy, without seeing that Russia aspires to the possession of all Asia. The aims of Russia concern not only the people of the United Kingdom, but the

English-speaking people everywhere. Russia was, at one time, overrun by Tartars. She long felt their iron hand of government. They were incorporated with the Slavonic population, and they have impressed themselves in a large degree upon the Russian nation; so that, in their mental make-up, the Russians are quite as much Asiatic as European. Their conceptions of government are Asiatic, and citizens of the United States who advocate a Russian alliance, rather than an alliance with those of their own kin, can never have seriously considered the objects and aims of Russia as a political force in the world.

This, then, is not a question between England and Russia, but it is a question between Saxon and Slav. The danger is a danger not to one state, but to the race to which we all belong. This danger is due to many causes, and among them not the least is the tendency of democratic institutions, which are a marked characteristic of our Saxon civilization. The dangers which spring from this source are not always apparent; and men who toil, and do battle with want, are seldom in a mood to make great sacrifices to ward off perils which they do not think imminent. It is easy to conceive that, in a period of distress, there are millions of freemen, in the British Empire and in the United States, who think only of questions of local and domestic reform. They have before their minds those changes in government which they think will increase their comforts and will relieve them from the evils that are pressing upon them. They refuse to see the consequences which spring from the relations of states. They are not willing to submit to burdens which the struggles for empire may impose, though the statesman sees that what the masses possess can only be retained by a triumph over the larger danger which threatens.

The interests of the world call for Anglo-Saxon alliance. Let not the British Empire and the United States revive, after the lapse of centuries, the old contest of Judah and Ephraim; but, remembering that their interests are one, as the race is one, let them stand together, to maintain the ascendancy which they will hold as long as Providence fits them to lead; which will be as long as, in their dealings with those beneath them, they are actuated by principles of justice and truth.

DAVID MILLS.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR—V.

BY SIR WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL, LL.D., SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF "THE TIMES" (LONDON).

On the 22d and 23d of July the streets of Washington presented an unseemly and disgraceful aspect. The streets were thronged with disorderly soldiers congregated round the drinking saloons; the side paths crowded with men who belonged to all arms; commissariat carts, country wagons, sutler's vans and ambulances filled with men—some not sober—rolling towards the railway station; General Mansfield, in much distress, running backwards and forwards to restore order, and mounted patrols were set to work to clear the streets.

It is the way with republics at all events, if not with monarchies, to deal promptly with unfortunate generals. The President at once telegraphed to General McClellan, a junior of McDowell and a class-fellow of Beauregard, to take command of the Federal army. General Patterson, who did not succeed in preventing Johnston getting away from Winchester and throwing his battalions on the flank and rear of the Federals, was "honorably discharged." The poor man in his farewell order did not venture to say a word about the regiments, constituting the greater part of his force, which had insisted on leaving as soon as their three months were up, which happened to be the very moment they were about to be of service against the Confederates. I had seen on the morning of Bull Run a magnificent regiment marching away steadily from the field. They actually left a battery in their camp for anyone who liked to take it. McDowell recorded the fact in his historic despatch: "They marched off the field to the sound of the enemy's guns." He did not complain of that now, nor did he say a word against General Tyler, whose inconsiderate movement had caused much mischief. He by no means

despaired of the situation. He did not blame the men who had run away, but he admitted frankly that the army was not fit to fight. They were disorderly on coming into action and before it; they stopped at streams to drink, delaying all the columns; they wasted the provisions and left themselves without food. The brigades, and even divisions, were not in their places; the men were possessed with delusions about masked batteries and cavalry. As to the plan of attack itself, presuming that Patterson ought to have arrested Johnston's march, no objection could be made. To compare small things with great, Patterson's failure, except that there was no Ligny before him, was like that of Grouchy, who could not arrest the march of Blücher to join the Allied Armies at Waterloo.

That night I dined with M. Mercier, the French Minister, in his pretty house on the heights of Georgetown, where I met Lord Lyons, Mr. Monson, M. Baroche, who had arrived after a tour in the Southern States, Madame Mercier and some other ladies. M. Mercier was firm in the conviction that the Union was gone, and that an attempt to restore it by force would end in tremendous disaster. M. Baroche declared that the Union was as dead as the Achaian League. After dinner a tobacco *concilium,* in which Lord Lyons did not participate as far as tobacco was concerned, was held under the shade of the trees in the garden. Below us flowed the Potomac, and at the other side of the river the Federal flag floated over Fort Corcoran, and from Arlington House, whence the grand army set forth to crush the great rebellion. The plateau was covered with runagates driven out of the city or stopped at the bridges. At that very moment Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward were passing through the ruck of the straggling *debris.* The President soon had a striking proof of the terrible disorganization. An officer of the regular army was endeavoring to get the crowd in Fort Corcoran into order. He was menaced with death, because he threatened to have an officer of the Sixty-ninth shot for disobeying his orders. The men of the battalion rushed to the President and complained that Sherman—for it was he—had insulted their officer. When the President inquired into the cause of the tumult Sherman replied: "I told the officer that if he refused to obey my orders I would shoot him on the spot! I repeat it now, sir; if I remain in command here, and any man refuses to obey my orders, I will

shoot him on the spot." This firmness in the presence of the President overawed the mutineers, and they set about the work that Sherman had ordered them to execute.

Next day I rode with Mr. Monson across the Long Bridge to Arlington House. McDowell got out his plans and maps and put them on a table under a tree in front of his tent to explain the battle. Covered with obloquy, put under his junior, and removed from his command, he displayed a self-possession and amiability, a complete absence of vindictiveness against press and politicians, that marked a philosopher and a man who was conscious that he had done his duty.

A shabby little man with a *bal masqué* conspirator air, introduced himself to me at M. Mercier's, one day, as "Adam Gurowski, at your service, sir, called Count Gurowski in Europe, but I am an American and a republican! What Pole who has suffered as I have from monarchs could be anything else but a republican?" He was an employé in the State Department, to which his qualifications as a linguist, no doubt, made him valuable. He spoke and wrote English, French, German, Russian, Polish—perhaps many other tongues. He had been neck deep in conspiracies all his life—a *carbonaro* with Louis Napoleon, a plotter with Cavaignac, an adviser of Mazzini, proscribed and exiled, a professional barricade-architect, cynical, censorious, sarcastic, and amusing. He spoke with the most profound contempt of Washington politicians, as soon as he had ascertained that he need not be afraid of my repeating his diatribes, and he was indiscriminating in abuse as he was capricious in judgment. The hero of one day was the miserable *fiasco* of the next. He was not disconcerted by having to sing palinodes perpetually. He was well read, a scholar, full of wise saws and modern instances. His comments were amusing, his love of gossip intense, and his thirst for information insatiable. For his Chief, Mr. Seward, he had a lofty contempt—spoke of him as "a grotesque Orbilius, aping the statesman;" and in his soul of souls he hated the vulgar democracy which had clambered into power, though he flamed and burst out into fire when he spoke of the South. He told me many things about the intrigues which he averred were active and potent in the making of the Cabinet. "You dined with them. A strange crew, were they not? All but Chase and Blair. God help this unfortunate Republic!" As I

did not make any remark, he said, with a sinister smile: "I suppose they thought the *London Times* would be quite converted by eating the President's dinner! They are so shallow and ignorant!" Some of his anecdotes were amusing. He told me he had seen a curious memorandum of Suwaroff in reply to some censure that had been addressed to him by the Minister at St. Petersburgh for sacrificing the lives of his soldiers in brusque assaults of strong places, instead of reducing them by regular siege. The old Muscovite demonstrated that it was far less deadly to storm at once, even though the loss were considerable, than to proceed by regular sap and bombardment, as in the end it would come to storming the breach after losing men daily and nightly by the fire of the place, by sorties, and by sickness.

When the government sent away the British Minister from Washington for alleged infractions of the Foreign Enlistment Act by procuring recruits for the army in the Crimea, the French Minister, M. Mercier, waited upon General or Governor Marcy to expostulate, in the name of the Emperor, with the State Department, for such an unfriendly proceeding towards England, then allied with France in the great war with Russia, and adduced many arguments against Mr. Crampton's treatment in an eloquent appeal for gentler measures. Mr. Marcy listened to the end without saying a word, busily intent on the nice arrangement of his fingers, and then sticking his knife into his desk he asked: "Well, M. Mercier—and how is Madame?"

I had not seen him for some weeks, but the eager, bitter little man came upon me full of notes of interrogation more than once. He was very severe upon poor old Scott. "You see," said he, "if Bull Run had been a victory, the credit would have been given to Scott, who had conducted the campaign from his bedroom. As it is, all the blame will be McDowell's." I was not aware at the time that the Count was keeping a diary, since published, in which he recorded the impressions of the hour and his own opinions—very pretty reading, indeed—or I would have given him a very different reception. But a day or two after the Bull Run letter appeared I met and stopped him as he was scrambling round the corner of Willard's Hotel. "Ah, Mr. Russell, you still here! I suppose you will be packing up your trunks soon?" I heard afterwards that he informed Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, that I told him, "over a glass of whiskey," that the *Times*

"intended to destroy the Union!" I never drank a glass of whiskey or of anything with him in my life! He also circulated the story that Mr. Seward informed Sam Ward, when he was going South with me *quasi* my secretary, that Mr. Lincoln did not intend to force the Union on the South if the people were unanimously against it. As I bade him good-bye, Count Gurowski, said: "If I were you, sir, I would return to Europe." "Will you come with me, Count?" He turned with an angry scowl and walked on.

If American generals were so cruelly assailed for failure they could not avoid, what had a foreign journalist who had the misfortune to describe it to expect? I had not long to wait before my anticipations of the reception my letter in the *Times* would receive were justified. "At last," exclaimed the *New York Times*, "the despatch of the correspondent, which was awaited with as much impatience as many a Presidential message, has reached our shore." The general conclusion was that I had spun out of my own brain a curious battle-piece as unsubstantial as "the stuff that dreams are made of." Even papers—such as the *New York World*—that spoke of the retreat as "the hideous headlong confusion beyond hope" joined in the cry. The *New York Tribune* spoke of "the whirlwind of panic that nothing could resist;" "how our troops, disorganized, scattered, maddened with terror for which they had no just cause, came pouring in amongst us, spreading the contagion of their fear. In the race from fancied danger all regiments and all divisions mingled. Even the sentiment of shame had gone! The agony of this overwhelming disgrace can never be expressed in words." The *Chicago Tribune* published a letter which stated, *tout bonnement*, that I "did not see the rout at all." The *Providence Journal* gave space to a letter from a gentleman who averred I was "at no time within sight or musket shot of the enemy," and that I "dreamed of what I wrote to the *Times*." The outburst of vituperation gathered strength and increased in vehemence as articles in the English press, founded on my report, came to hand.

Burnside, Barnard, Barry, commanding the artillery, and Sherman communicated with me, some by word, some in confidential notes. Officers, like Porter, assured me that they would vouch, if they could, in a court of justice that every word that I had

written was true. General Meigs and Colonel MacComb, of the United States Engineers, visited me to express their regret. Captain Wright, aide-de-camp to General Scott, Commodore Wise, of the navy, and others, brought friendly messages. Lord Lyons, whom I saw every day, assured me that the opinion of thinking men in the States was no way influenced by the attacks to which "Bull Run Russell" was exposed.

An attack of malarial fever placed me in the hands of Dr. Miller, a great Virginian much esteemed in Washington, who ordered liberal draughts of mint julep with some subtle powder. Till I was able to go out I read no newspapers, and the moment I could leave my room I went to a reception at the White House. Mr. Lincoln had quite recovered his spirits. The President's manner was as cordial as usual, and he meaningly said: "You will see some of your Bull Run friends off duty; I think they will have to do without swords and shoulder-straps."

It was stated in a Philadelphia paper that McDowell sat up all night before Bull Run drinking, smoking, and playing cards, and that he was helplessly drunk during the battle. McDowell never drank wine, spirits, malt, tea or coffee. He never smoked or used tobacco in any form, nor did he play cards. Colonel Richardson officially accused Colonel Miles of losing the battle through drunkenness.

The battle at Bull Run had proved the mettle of the North. A great upheaval, wider, deeper, than that which had taken place when the North was aroused by the echoes of the bombardment of Sumter, rolled over the Union from the ocean to the Alleghanies.

I made McClellan's acquaintance the second day I was out—a soldierly, resolute-looking man, in the prime of life, somewhat Napoleonic in actual height and breadth, with a good head set firmly on square shoulders. His features regular and prepossessing; a short, thick moustache concealed his mouth; his brow was small, contracted, and furrowed; his eyes deep-set and anxious. Conqueror of Garnett, captor of Pegram, he was now the man on horseback—"the young Napoleon," whom the President called "George" and trusted to the utmost.

He had not been called from the plough, like Cincinnatus, but he had been summoned by the war from a railway office to take command of the army in the field.

He had set to work with a will at reconstructing a creation, but he could not obey the order of the people, "On to Richmond." McClellan made one diplomatic move soon after he arrived at the capital. He invited the newspaper correspondents at Washington to come and discuss their position with him. They flocked in masses, and he then and there drew up a treaty of peace and amity with the many-headed monster. Editors and correspondents were to abstain from printing anything which could give aid or comfort to the enemy, and in return the government and the authorities would give facilities for obtaining and transmitting intelligence suitable for publication, particularly of Federal successes.

Every day increased my unpopularity, which was not unattended by personal danger, for it had reached the army. On the 1st of September (when partridge shooting opens), I was passing an earthwork near the Long Bridge, when a fellow shouted, "Bull Run Russell! you shall never write Bull Runs again," and levelled his rifle. I at once rode round into the fort and called for the sergeant of the guard, who arrested the man. He said: "It was a joke; I wanted to frighten Bull Run Russell." But as the rifle was capped and at full cock, and his finger was on the trigger, I did not quite see the fun of it.

The same day the government was cheered by the news of Butler's successful attack on Pamlico Sound. New heroes started up on distant battlefields. Poor General Scott was quite forgotten. He was still Commander-in-Chief of the army and affected to direct its movements. *Stat nominis umbra.* I saw him almost every day, always in uniform, with yellow lapels and yellow sash, walking slowly between his two aides-de-camp, unnoticed save now and then, when some passer-by would stop and say to a friend: "Old Fuss and Feathers does not look so happy to-day, I think." It struck me General McClellan ought to have been across the river with his army, but his headquarters were established in the house of Captain Wilkes at the corner of President Square, and there he transacted all his military business aided by General Marcy, his father-in-law, Chief of his Staff, Van Vliet, and others, with his Staff. A little bird whispered to me that McClellan had good reasons for remaining close to the President and the politicians. The new Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Potomac was warned that his absence from

Washington, even though he only went across the river, would encourage the enemy. Montesquieu taught long ago that faction and intrigue are the cancers which eat into the body politic of a republic and they were rife enough just now around the President.

On the 3d of September I rode out to the Chain Bridge to join an early reconnaissance. At Falls Church I was stopped by a picket, the officer of which refused to recognize General Scott's pass. I said, "But is he not Commander-in-Chief?" "Well," said he, "I believe that is a fact. But you must argue the point with McClellan! he is our boss at present." I turned to go back by the upper road. I there came across Mr. Lincoln, in a loose gray shooting coat and long vest, seated in the veranda of a farmer's house, "letting off" his jokes to the officers round, apparently indifferent to the Federal flag flying in sight from Munson's Hill. He waved his hand to me and called out: "I hope you like the boys over there. We are brightening up, you see!"

As it would not suit me to be stopped by every sentry or picket, I went to General Scott when I came back the day I was stopped, and was told that the pass was perfectly valid, "as the Lieutenant-General commanding the army was senior to every officer and could only have his pass revoked by the President." With a memorandum to that effect from Colonel Cullum in writing, I went to General McClellan's headquarters, where there was a council of war. Major Hudson, of his staff, told me that General McClellan thought it would have been much better if General Scott had given me a new special pass; but, as he had thought fit to take the present course on his own responsibility, General McClellan could not interfere;" from which I inferred that there were no very cordial relations between the headquarters of the Chief of the United States army and the headquarters of the army of the Potomac. Soon afterwards General Scott was retired from his command on his full pay, and General Halleck was summoned from California to strengthen the military cabinet at Washington.

In addition to the general unpopularity to which I was exposed, my friendly relations with Mr. Seward suffered. Senator Sumner, too, was chilly. The President, though he told me a story now and then, did not talk to me in the same open, unreserved way as was his wont. Indeed, what were they to do when

there was a great outcry against Great Britain, the *Times*, and myself? The citizens of Philadelphia got up a petition to Mr. Seward to send me away, on the ground that I had been guilty of treasonable practices and misrepresentations in my letter dated August 10th, and a lecture by the Professor of Rhetoric was announced, the subject being myself, at which the President was invited to attend.

September was drawing to a close. It was quite plain that McClellan had no intention of making a movement against Richmond. He told me his commissariat was deficient—he had no cavalry, he had not sufficient artillery. His regiments were badly officered and he was weeding out, in constant reviews and inspections, the preposterous fellow who made epaulettes ridiculous. A short time back he told me to be ready at any moment to move. Now, he hinted that I might go away for the winter, if I liked. One day, when I went round the front with him and old Major-General Bell, of the "Royals," who had arrived from Canada, I was struck by the difficulty presented by the country where the Confederate army lay. As Bell said: "A General could no more handle his troops among these woods than he could direct the movements of rabbits in a cover." That seemed to be McClellan's view also, and he renewed his hints that he would take his time. So I left Washington and went to Illinois, to have some shooting with a friend, Captain Lamy. The Central Illinois Railway Company gave us a sleeping-carriage from Chicago, and we halted at a shunting station near the town of Dwight, under the guardianship of Colonel Foster. We enjoyed ourselves for several days among the prairie chickens, till, on an eventful Sunday morning, the 29th of September, we went out in a storm of rain. In the evening, I, "The Honorable Lord William Russell," was arrested in the name of the people of the Commonwealth of Illinois for "having, with a company of men and dogs, unlawfully assembled and, by firing shots, barking, and noise, disturbed the peace of the State of Illinois," and so was to be brought up to answer for the same before the magistrate of the town. The fun of the thing was that the informer who had applied for my arrest generally went out shooting every Sunday, and that it was a habit of the people thereabouts to shoot upon that day without let or hindrance. I, in fact, had not fired a shot at all. The next morn-

ing a special engine took me off to Dwight, where the population assembled to give me a becoming, but not a warm, welcome. There, despite a most eloquent defence by Colonel Foster, I was fined half the maximum amount, according to law. I retired, after severe scoldings from old women in the crowd, from the Court House down the ladder by which I had reached it.

Next day, on opening the mail, which was chucked to us by the train as it passed, I was startled by the words, "Grand advance of the army! McClellan marching on Richmond! Capture of Munson's Hill! Retreat of the enemy! 30,000 men; their fortifications seized!" all in capitals. At eight o'clock that evening I started for Washington, which I reached on the 3d of October, to find all the world laughing at the wooden guns and Munson's Hill and at the pump which had been taken as a monster piece of ordnance. But there was an expedition to sail to Port Royal under the command of Burnside, and although the wife of a general, who commanded a division of the expedition, was allowed to accompany him, I could not obtain permission to do so. Burnside was willing, but he said my presence "must be sanctioned by the authorities."

As Mr. Seward had complained to a friend of mine that I had not been near him for a long time, I sought his intervention.

Mr. Seward did not refuse my request, but advised me not to leave Washington, as McClellan would certainly advance as soon as the diversion by Burnside had been made. There was no doubt that the army had been brightened up and solidified by McClellan and his officers, and when I took Mr. Butler Duncan, of New York, through the camps from Arlington to Upton's House by Munson's Hill to General Wadsworth's quarters, there seemed no reason why there should be any very long delay in testing the strength of the Confederate lines. Mr. Duncan was quite happy at what he saw, and expressed his belief that "the Union is all right," but, as I told him, "nothing looks so irresistible as your own bayonet until another is opposed to it." But McClellan did not stir.

At the end of December I was attacked by typhoid fever, which had made a general attack on the quarters of the army. Several officers, including McClellan, and many of the rank and file were on the sick list. On the last day of the year I was re-

moved to New York, and remained till the end of January, when I made a tour in Canada, as there was no possibility for military operations on the Potomac, where deep mud, alternating with snow and frost, bound the contending armies in winter quarters. On the 1st of March I returned to Washington. Mr. Cameron had retired and Mr. Stanton had been appointed Secretary of War. He was exceedingly civil to me when I met him at Lord Lyons', and gave me a pass to go to the front.

McClellan was now about to take the field in earnest, and sent a message to me by the Comte de Paris to say he would have great pleasure in allowing me to accompany his headquarters. Colonel Neville and Colonel Fletcher of the Scots Guards, Captain Lamy, and myself were to be provided for by the Quartermaster General, Van Vliet, on board a headquarters' steamer. I was on the point of leaving to join headquarters at Fortress Monroe, when the Secretary of State, who had expressed his indignation that a "Republican General should have foreign Princes and foreign newspaper correspondents on his staff," exercised his authority. Waiting till General McClellan and General Marcy had left Washington, he sent two orders to General Van Vliet from the War Office :

"No. 1. That no person should be permitted to embark on board any vessel in the United States service without an order from the War Department.

"No. 2. That Colonel Neville, Colonel Fletcher, and Captain Lamy, of the British Army, having been invited by General McClellan to accompany the expedition, were authorized to embark on board the vessel."

General Van Vliet was very sorry. But he could not disobey. My mission terminated at once. I went on shore. Othello's occupation was gone. The President expressed his regret that he could not overrule the decision of his Secretary, and so in the first week of April, 1862, I returned from New York to England.

W. H. RUSSELL.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE PULPIT AND THE WAR.

THE relation of the pulpit to the events of contemporary experience has always presented a question which has divided the sentiment of the Christian Church. Those who have felt that the pulpit should deal freely and explicitly with such issues, in order that the Church might have its influence upon contemporary life, have often been forced to realize that the discussion of "current events" has sometimes resulted in a pulpit sensationalism that has robbed the Church of all serious influence whatever. On the other hand, those who have demanded a policy of reticence and aloofness, in the interest of the seriousness and weight of the Church's leadership, have often become so sensitive of practical applications that the Church is handed over to an experience of solitary detachment from the affairs of this present world; and she becomes nothing but an institutional generality—with a vague gospel about the "sinfulness of sin." In each case there is a total or partial loss of the very end which is held in view. The course which is advised in the interest of the influence of the pulpit contributes directly to the sacrifice of the social helpfulness of the Church.

This is a time when the pertinence of such considerations should be kept carefully and sacredly in mind. The present war is, in the clearest and noblest sense, the opportunity of the Church. It is the opportunity of the Church because it is the trial of the nation; a trial that will bring its strain not only to our military and financial equipment, but to the moral resources of the country. The results of such a conflict as the present are often, and in the long run, more essentially disastrous for the victors than for the vanquished. There is danger, as we proceed, that the real charges and the serious reasons of warfare will drop into the background, and that our military feeling will degenerate into a passion for spoil and a lust for mastery that will leave us, at the end, further than ever from the goal of our national aspiration. As time goes on, we may forget those considerations of humanity and those sentiments of international compassion which have moved us to intervene. We may forget our interests in Cuba in our rancour against the Spaniard; we may forget our interests in peace in that increasing thirst for domination which always comes with the success of arms; and the close of this struggle may find us, in consequence of all this, a little further from the spirit of compassion and from the proper genius of civilization than we were at the beginning. If this be so, neither Cuba nor America nor the world will be any the happier for this war. We need the elevation of the military ideal; we need to be constantly and seriously reminded of the real reasons for American intervention; we need to have it

impressed upon us, in all wise and practicable ways, that this war is a war in the interest of peace; and who is to do all this? The yellow journalism will not do it. It will do all that may be done against it. We may depend upon the conservative press; we may depend upon the spirit and influence of our American homes; and upon the natural genius of our people; but we should also be able to depend upon the influence of the pulpit of the Christian Church. It is an hour for tact and judgment, for soundness of mind, for the prayerful and deliberate weighing of words. At the time of such a crisis in the development of the national character the privilege of service will be missed by the pulpit which speaks not at all; and it will be even more conspicuously missed by the pulpit that speaks with irresponsible and clamorous facility. But that privilege will be nobly and wisely used by the pulpit which shall speak—not to arouse excitement, but to purify and dignify the military passion of the moment.

EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY.

REHABILITATED LEGISLATIVE UPPER CHAMBERS.

THERE is a striking parallel between the position of the House of Lords in the eighties, as compared with its position at the present time, and the present position of the Canadian Senate as compared with its position before the overturn in the constituencies at the Dominion General Election of 1896 which defeated the Tupper Government and placed the Laurier Government in office. Then, to all intents and purposes, the Senate at Ottawa was the most obviously useless legislative chamber in existence. Of its seventy-eight nominated members, all appointed for life, not more than ten were Liberals; and for seventeen or eighteen years the Senate had had a most insignificant and docile part in Dominion politics. It had done nothing but say ditto to the successive Conservative governments, headed by the late Sir John Macdonald, the late Sir J. C. Abbott, the late Sir John Thompson, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and Sir Charles Tupper.

Except for the work the Senate discharges as a court in which divorce suits are tried, it might have dropped out of existence any time between 1878 and 1896 without causing even a jar in the legislative machinery of the Dominion. The public cared so little about it that the newspapers, Conservative as well as Liberal, usually ignored its debates. The Canadian editors would not trouble to tell off members of their Parliamentary staffs to report its proceedings. The Senate would have dropped into oblivion so far as the newspapers were concerned had it not drawn upon its contingent expenses fund for a reporter to attend its sittings and hand his reports to the Ottawa correspondents, free of cost to the newspaper publishers. This plan in the closing years of the Conservative regime alone saved the Senate from going unreported; and even with this plan and with the reports of the Senate costing the newspapers nothing, usually only the barest mention of the proceedings in the Senate found its way into the Canadian newspapers. The "stuff" coming from the Senate, to use the jargon of newspaper offices, was not regarded as worth the cost of telegraphing. Visitors seldom were seen in the Senate gallery; and so little of the Senate's proceedings were made public in the press, that up to 1897 it is doubtful if one Canadian in fifty could name ten of the seventy-odd Senators.

The Senate was characterized as effete and useless by the Liberals who were in opposition, and the Conservatives had little to say in its behalf. This is how matters stood when the Laurier Government came into office. But at the end of the first full session of the Canadian Parliament elected in 1896, the position had been completely altered, and Liberal newspapers of standing and independence were admitting that at last the Senate was serving the purpose for which it was designed, and was exercising a check in the public interest on hasty and ill-considered legislation originating in the House of Commons.

The occasion for this admission from journals which had hitherto sided with the Liberals in their demand for a reform or for the abolition of the Senate was the rejection of a bill which would have incorporated the St. Lawrence pilots into a close corporation, not unlike some of the old trade guilds which exercised despotic powers in the English trading communities in the eighteenth century. But the Senate did more than this in the session of 1897. It rejected the bill of the Laurier Government for the extension of the Intercolonial Railway from Levis to Montreal, not on the ground that the extension was undesirable, but because of the nature of certain ninety-nine years' agreements made by the Government with two railway companies. A reading of the debates on the Intercolonial bill reported verbatim in the Canadian Hansards, warrants the statement that by so doing the Senate saved the Dominion from an unbusiness-like and doubtful bargain, if not from something to which a less pleasant term might be applied. The impression to this effect produced by the debates was more than confirmed in the session of 1898, when there was a Parliamentary inquiry at Ottawa into the bargains with the railway companies. Then a new agreement with the companies was submitted by the Minister of Railways, under which a saving of about a million dollars was effected, as compared with the terms of the agreement rejected by the Senate.

Following the inquiry at which the new agreement was made public, the Senate rejected the Government bill for the construction of a railway from the Stickine River to Teslin Lake, which the government designed to form part of a rail and water route to Dawson City. The Senate threw out this bill because, like the bargain in connection with the Intercolonial Railway of 1897, the bargain with the contractors for the Teslin Railway seemed to it improvident. Under this bargain, three and three-quarter million acres of land in the gold-bearing Yukon country, with other great advantages, were to be given to the contractors as compensation for building about 150 miles of narrow-gauge railway. The plea put forward by the government in justification of the enormous land grant was that the only firm they had negotiated with would not accept less, and that under any circumstances the bargain as to the mineral land was a gamble both for the government and the contractors. This was a poor and unstatesmanlike defence of what, on the face of it, seemed to be an extraordinary bargain, and the defence failed to carry any weight with the Conservative majority in the Senate.

After nearly twenty years of uselessness, the Senate has asserted itself, and in regard to at least one of its actions in the session of 1897, drew from some of its hitherto most persistent critics the admission that it had rendered a great public service. To-day by reason of its action on the Pilot's bill and on the Intercolonial Railway bill, the Senate stands in a better position in the public esteem than at any time in its history, and whenever

the Liberals renew the agitation for the abolition of the Senate they cannot fail to be met with the precedents of the session of 1897 and 1898.

The Senate, as the Liberals who resent its action on the Teslin Railway bill assert, may have sanctioned many doubtful bargains without question, when the bargain originated with a Conservative Government. However that may be, if by actions like those of 1897-98, it raises the standard of Canadian politics, even if only for the lifetime of a single Liberal administration, it will have rendered excellent service to the Dominion, a service quite worth the five million dollars which the Senate is computed to have cost since Confederation.

The Intercolonial Railway bill, and as time will doubtless show, the Teslin Railway bill as well, are for the Senate at Ottawa what the Home Rule bill of 1893 was for the House of Lords. Without entering on a discussion of the wisdom or expediency of the bill for Home Rule for Ireland which Mr. Gladstone carried through the House of Commons of his last Parliament, it may now be taken that the General Election of 1895, with its unprecedented majority of 150 for the Unionists, is proof that the people of England endorsed the action of the House of Lords in throwing out the Home Rule bill, and also as proof of their satisfaction that the House of Lords existed to render so signal a service.

In the eighties, when the House of Lords was threatening the passage of the last of the three bills for extending the Parliamentary Franchise, it was easy to get up popular demonstrations all over England against the continued existence of a second chamber constituted as is the House of Lords. There are no demonstrations nowadays against the Lords, and the second chamber stands in a better position in the respect of the people of England than at any time since the Revolution of 1688. The House of Lords has rehabilitated itself; and if the Senate at Ottawa acts with as much discretion during the remaining three years of the existence of the Canadian Parliament as it has done up to the present time it also may rehabilitate itself and belie much that was said and written about it for twenty years onward from 1878, when the Conservatives entered on an unbroken tenure of office which lasted until 1896.

One obvious drawback will still remain to the existence of a second chamber in which the balance of power may be in the hands of men of the opposite political party to the Administration. Its existence may serve to lighten unduly and unconstitutionally the individual responsibility of the members of the majority in the House of Commons. It is doubtful whether the vote for Home Rule in the House of Commons in 1893 would have been as large as it was if on the division in the Commons had rested the fate of the bill. It is also doubtful whether the votes in the House of Commons at Ottawa in the session of 1897 for the Intercolonial Railway bill, and in 1898 for the Teslin bill, would have been, as they were, within one or two of the full strength of the Liberals in the Lower House, had it not been for the fact that the Senate was in existence and could be counted upon to throw out the bills. Politics, not statesmanship, dictates the actions of members of a Parliament or a Legislature who act in this cowardly way; but in many law-making bodies, politicians and not statesmen may predominate, and where party ties are close, and party discipline exacting and peremptory, there will always be found men who will unworthily shelter themselves behind an upper chamber.

EDWARD PORRITT.

OUR EXPORT OF CORN.

THE average annual corn (maize) crop of the United States for the past ten years has exceeded 1,800,000,000 bushels. The average annual export for these ten years has been 53,000,000 bushels—less than three per cent. of the production. While several causes contribute to limit our export of this important crop, it is due to one cause far more than to all others combined—the ignorance of European peoples of the food value of corn. The following comparative table showing the food value of corn and other cereals was prepared by the chemical division of the Department of Agriculture, and may be accepted as correct:

	Hulled Oats.	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Corn.
Water	6.93	10.27	8.67	6.53	10.04
Ash	2.15	1.84	2.09	2.89	1.52
Oil or fat	8.14	2.16	1.94	2.68	5.20
Digestible carbohydrates	67.09	71.98	74.52	72.77	70.69
Crude carbohydrates	1.38	1.80	1.46	3.80	2.09
Albuminoids	14.21	11.95	11.32	11.33	10.46

It will be seen as a food for producing energy or heat or fat, corn stands in the very front rank; but, unfortunately, few European people know this, and yet fewer know how to prepare corn for food. Clearly the thing for us to do is to acquaint the people of breadstuffs-importing countries with the merits of corn and the proper ways of preparing it for consumption. Mr. Rusk, when Secretary of Agriculture, perceived this, and in 1890 he sent a special agent of his department to Europe, to see what should be done and could be done to increase the European consumption of corn. The work of the special agent received, generally, the hearty support of our diplomatic and consular representatives. A fair expression of their opinions of the proposed corn propaganda is found in the report to the State Department made by our Consul General at Vienna:

"There is room in Europe for the consumption of several hundred million bushels of American corn per year, much of it as food for human beings who do not now get enough to eat. All the known preparations of corn should be prepared, put on show and distributed as samples."

Anyone who has studied the subject will not doubt the correctness of the assertion that Europe could well consume several hundred million bushels of our corn each year, or the wisdom of the recommendation that the different ways of preparing corn for consumption and its palatability and merits as food be demonstrated to the European peoples. Secretary Rusk well understood this, and in a report on the use of corn in Europe in 1891, said: "I wish to emphasize the necessity for vigorously following up the efforts of this department by the individual or combined efforts of parties interested in the trade of this product." Undoubtedly the enterprise of private individuals can accomplish much, and they should co-operate with the department of agriculture; but the national government, working through its state and agricultural departments, is the proper agency to educate Europeans in the uses and virtues of corn. It has been proposed that the money now used in the free distribution of seeds (and which is almost universally condemned) be used to increase our export of corn by acquainting food-importing peoples with the food value and merits of this cereal. This proposition has been submitted to many farmers' meetings, and, so far as I have been able to learn, every one has given it a hearty, unanimous endorsement. The agricultural papers, without exception, I believe, favor

the abandonment of the free seed distribution as now conducted and the use of the money to increase the foreign demand for our corn. It seems that all agree that the Department of Agriculture should keep abroad special agents, persons specially fitted for the work, to show European peoples how to prepare corn for food in the ways that make it most palatable and nutritious; and to show by lectures, distributing printed matter, advertising in periodicals, distributing samples, and by actual tests when possible, the food value of this grain. The Paris Exposition will furnish such an opportunity to acquaint the European nations with corn as a food as rarely presents itself, and which should certainly be improved. The Farmers' National Congress, at its last annual meeting, appointed a committee whose work is, in part, to increase the foreign demand for corn. This committee is composed of Miss Emma C. Sickles, Secretary National Pure Food Association; Mrs. ex-Senator Palmer, Mrs. Senator Kyle, John M. Stahl, Editor of the *Farmers' Call*, and Secretary of the Farmers' National Congress and Wm. H. Liggett, Dean of the Minnesota Agricultural College. This committee proposes the establishment at the Paris exposition of a "Corn Kitchen," wherein corn shall be prepared for food in the best ways, and the prepared corn be served free to all that may care to eat it.

The increase of our export of corn is an important matter. If we exported the corn we should, the domestic price of the crop would be increased at least five cents per bushel. As the cost of production would not be increased, the added price would be clear profit, hence the profits of our corn raisers would be doubled, and likely more. In his report on the use of maize in Europe, already referred to, Secretary Rusk said:

"Could we secure an advance of even five cents per bushel on an average for corn during the ensuing decade, which might well be done and still enable us to supply the foreign demand at a price far below that of other cereal foods of equal value, the result would be to add $1,000,000,000 to the value of this crop during that period."

That the advance of five cents per bushel in the price of corn, should European nations consume the corn they might easily take, is very moderate, will be seen when we consider that those nations are now buying our wheat in our markets at very nearly four times the price per pound that corn sells for; yet, as appears from the table herein given, corn is the equal of wheat, pound for pound, in food value. The Department of Agriculture says that "maize is fully equal in value as a food to any of the cereals, making up in its content of fat any deficiency which may be noticed in its nitrogenous matter and digestible carbohydrates." Intelligent and energetic effort ought, then, to be able to create such a foreign demand for it that, being equal in food value to wheat, pound for pound, the corn grower would get for his product at least five cents more per bushel than he gets now.

This increase would, in a very few years, amount to our present national debt. It would meet the interest charge on the present farm mortgage indebtedness of the entire country. It would more than pay every teacher in our public common schools. It is two and one-half times the value of the product of our fisheries. But secondary effects from the increased export would be even more important and beneficial. The congestion of our agricultural production would be materially relieved. Sending abroad only one-fifth of our present corn crop would bring to us $150,000,000 every year in gold, the corn being figured at only the average farm price in gold of the past thirty years. All trouble about the exports of gold, all inquietude

about our gold reserve, all difficulty about maintaining our standing as a gold nation, would be ended. If during the past five years we had been sending abroad only fifteen per cent. of our corn crop, there would probably have been no exports of gold, for the gold that paid for our corn would have exceeded that we sent abroad; and the panic and loss and business depression and shrinkage of values and dislocation of industries, so far as they were precipitated and intensified by the exports of gold and the consequent fears for our gold reserve and doubt of our ability to keep away from a silver basis, would have been avoided. If our export of corn were increased to twenty-five per cent. of the present crop, room would be made for the production each year of from $200,000,000 to $250,000,000 more of corn or other farm products, and this would successfully invite workers from the city, thus relieving the congestion there, while those that came to the farms would find healthful, profitable and independent employment while increasing our agricultural production by at least $200,000,000 per year. If to this were added the domestic production of the sugar we consume, which would each year add $100,000,0 0 more to the trade and gold balance in our favor, our agricultural industries would experience such a prosperity, and on a sure, solid gold basis, as they have never known before, even in the days of unsound inflation immediately following the war; and since the solid, enduring prosperity of all other industries must rest on a prosperous husbandry, our people of all classes and in all occupations would enjoy great and real prosperity; and at the same time our national credit and honor and financial resources would, by this happy condition and the legislation it would give the people disposition to have enacted, be put far beyond the doubt that has wrought such havoc, and which will threaten disaster as long as it exists.

JOHN M. STAHL.

THE SWEATING SYSTEM.

The great cities of our country are the centers for the manufacture of clothing under many varied conditions. The retail prices vary from figures at which it may seem impossible that anything has been paid for their manufacture, on the one side, to the extravagant prices paid by the wealthy on the other. As a necessary consequence the desire for cheap clothing of every kind has caused the competition to be so severe that hundreds, aye thousands, are working in the varied departments of the manufacture of clothing, for both men and women, at worse than starvation wages. With the high-priced goods we do not purpose to deal, for, as a rule, both the wholesale manufacturer, and the retail dealer, in these goods pay fair wages; but when we come to the wholesale manufacturers who supply what is called the general trade, varieties of practice and conflicting interests prevail. These cover the following points—the employment of middlemen or sweaters, insufficient wages, unsanitary conditions of manufacture. According to the practice in a large number of the wholesale houses, the cloth or other material (for these facts apply to every kind of garment made, is cut out in the shape of the garments required, with all necessary linings, etc. These are then given out to middle men or sweaters, the amount per garment or dozens of garments paid to the middleman being often a very fair wage. The middleman, or sweater, having accepted his contract, then either makes up the garments in his own sweat shop or gives them out to families living in tenement houses. The middleman or

sweater who has clean, airy workshops, complying with the conditions of the factory act, and giving union wages, is an honest and legitimate tradesman. But, unfortunately, the larger number of the sweaters do not belong to this class, and their only desire is to have the garments made at the lowest possible price, so as to obtain for themselves the largest margin from their contract with the wholesale house. In a recent visitation of twelve sweat shops in one house in New York—a house consisting of six stories with two shops on each floor — the halls were found to be in a filthy condition, the stairs being filthy beyond description. The shops themselves were badly lighted, badly ventilated and filled with particles of dust flying about. In one of these shops some women were making buttonholes and others stitching in linings, and, on being questioned, admitted that they could not earn more than fifty to seventy-five cents or one dollar in a working day of fifteen hours. That shop was not paying Union wages. In this whole house there was no water supply or toilet conveniences, except in the basement; and all were in a horrible condition.

Some of the sweat-shops in this house were union shops, as far as wages were concerned; and here comes a question for the various clothing workers' unions to consider—whether they should not rigidly require good sanitary conditions in all places where union work people are employed. But the condition of these shops is not nearly as bad as that of those where work is done in a tenement house by a man and his family. The law prohibits the manufacture of clothing in any tenement house, except by the lessee of it and the immediate members of his family. This is construed often to mean an apartment of two rooms, with a husband, wife and family, varying from two to six children, with two or more boarders (men or women, as the case may be), who live, eat, sleep and work for fifteen or more hours a day in the horrible atmosphere which must necessarily result — the garments that are for manufacture being often used to sleep upon or to cover the miserable denizens of these rooms at night. Constantly cases of sickness, infectious and otherwise, prevail in these rooms, and the men and women employed receive wages that hardly enable them to obtain more food than bread and tea. Surely, with such conditions it is no wonder that disease and vermin should mysteriously enter into the homes of well-to-do families.

A public sentiment must be created of such a character as will make the wholesale and retail trade understand that such conditions will not pay. After a careful study of the problem, there seem to be only three solutions: The absolute abolition of the sweater or middleman; the requiring that all clothing shall be made in workshops under the same conditions as pertain to the manufacture of cloth, etc.; that union wages must be insisted upon.

There is not lacking practical experience to show that it is possible to bring about such results. A large wholesale ladies' clothing house in New York, the heads of which some two or three years ago were in active opposition to union organizations in the clothing trade, carried on the greater part of their business through middlemen and sweaters, have changed their methods, with much profit to themselves and gain to the purchaser.

The firm has three manufactories—two in New York and one in Connecticut. No goods are given out to tenement houses. The wages paid are the highest given, under Union regulations, in the trade. The rooms in their factories are very large, lofty, splendidly lighted, and contain all labor saving appliances in the working of sewing machines. But the three

lower stories of the main building in New York is the one which will most interest the buyer. The firm came to the conclusion that by abolishing the middle-man and their relations with the retail trade and becoming retailers themselves, they would prevent that scattering of profit which entails a loss to the manufacturer, and an increase of cost to the purchaser. The total results of this new experiment may be summarized: better conditions and more pay for the workpeople; additional profit to the manufacturer and retailer (combined in one); and much lower prices to the purchaser. The assistants in the retail department all receive higher wages than those in similar establishments in the city.

We do not claim that all wholesalers should become retailers, or all retailers become wholesalers, but we are satisfied that the wholesale merchant, the retail dealer and the consumer will be largely benefited when the middleman or sweater is abolished. To carry out this object, the various clothing and garment workers are combining, so that in 1900 the middleman and sweater will be a thing of the past. To enable them to do this they will require the help of the public, who should, for self-interest and on sanitary grounds, endeavor to support them.

FRANCIS J. CLAY MORAN.

STRATEGICAL VALUE OF THE PHILIPPINES.

OUR foreign policy during the last few years illustrates the tenacity with which nations cling to traditional policies that have long outlived their usefulness, as well as the difficulty and slowness with which they rise to new conceptions of their interests.

The Monroe Doctrine has had for itself everything that could make a prejudice deep and strong—prescription, high authority and general consent. In carrying out its provisions we brought ourselves to the verge of war with our best customer—and for many reasons our most natural ally in the future—about an infinitesimal portion of the Continent of South America. At the same time, we have passively watched the ports of Asia being closed one by one to our trade by nations which are still chasing the Eighteenth Century *ignis fatuus* of establishing colonies for an exclusive and sole market.

Every port of South America is practically as near to Europe as it is to the United States, and in trading there we shall always be subjected to the fiercest competition with all our European rivals in trade. On the other hand, the coast of China, facing as it does our own Pacific Coast, is practically at our back door. If we guard it properly, nature will assure us almost a monopoly of trade with the greater part of the Continent of Asia. To compete with us European rivals are obliged to double either Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, with all the delay and dangers of crossing the line twice, or else have recourse to the long and expensive route by the Suez Canal.

The configuration of China is such that its trade with other countries must be through its seaports. The general direction of mountain ranges in Asia, unlike those of Europe and America, is east and west; and, roughly speaking, the great Empire of China is enclosed by the Himalayas and the Thian Shan range. The several attempts that England has made to establish trade routes between the interior of China and India across the Himalayas have all failed and those few who like myself have succeeded in reaching China from Europe can testify to the impossibility of the tide of trade ever setting in the direction of Europe across the icy and impass-

able ranges of the Thian Shans. The trade must flow with the Chinese rivers to the ocean.

Much has been said about the enormous future development of South America, and an impression exists that China has no such destiny. Few realise that China is yet a sparsely populated country. It is little more than one-third as thickly populated per square mile as the most sparsely populated part of Europe. It is not one-quarter as thickly populated as the most thickly populated part of Europe. I can confirm the testimony of other travellers as to the great extent of uncultivated land in its interior. Its immense mineral deposits have not yet begun to be developed, and it is said to contain the largest and finest deposit of coal yet anywhere discovered.

Contrary to the popular impression, the Chinaman is not a good business man. He is not an enterprising man. His sole idea in business is to turn his capital over rapidly and get quick returns in trade. The idea of laying out of the profits of capital for several years in order to drain marshes or irrigate wastes never occurs to him. The immensely increased trade that will result from the development of this country, should be ours. I believe there is a very pretty academic theory of economics, held by some Americans, that trade lines and routes should run north and south, on account of the greater variety of climates, and, therefore, of products to be exchanged on such lines. It is, nevertheless, a fact that in Europe, America and Asia, both by land and sea, the heavy trade-lines run east and west. It must also be remembered that in all parts of South America protective barriers will for many years be maintained against the admission of our goods, whereas China is now one of the few of the great countries which have a policy of free trade. Neglect and delay lost us a great part of our share of the South American trade. Europe has secured it. I do not wish to maintain that it is irretrievably lost to us; but, to profit by such an object lesson, it behooves us to guard our rights of trade in the almost virgin fields of China.

The Philippine Islands possess for the protection of our trade the three great essentials laid down by Captain Mahan for a strategic point at sea: first, position; second, strength; third, resources. Their position commands the channel of the China sea—the road to Europe. They would flank the communications between any European power and her colonies on the China coast with whom we were at war. Our cruisers, with them as a coaling station, could always infest the narrower passages of the Malay Archipelago. Their strength, if necessary, could be greatly increased in our hands, and the many straits and passes would make them difficult to blockade effectually if cut off from us by a superior naval force. The third great requirement—resources—would always be insured by their great population (estimated, 7,000,000), great size (an area of 114,326 square miles) and unsurpassed fertility. They have, besides, for us one accidental strategic advantage, almost equidistant as they are from both Singapore and Hong Kong, which would always enable us to co-operate with England, our natural ally to defend the trade that Anglo Saxon enterprise has won. Their importance cannot be overestimated. Germany, for the sake of a strategic position on the sea, gave an empire in Africa for a rock in the German Ocean.

TRUXTUN BEALE.

LIBRARY.

Slip.

INDEX

TO THE

ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIXTH VOLUME

OF THE

North American Review.

ABBOTT, FRANCES M. A Comparative View of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 142.
ABBOTT, LYMAN. The Basis of an Anglo-American Understanding, 573.
Air-Ships, The Siege of Paris and the, 474.
America's Interests in China, 129.
America's Opportunity in Asia, 32.
American Farmers, European Example for, 152.
American Fruits, Germany's Exclusion of, 460.
American Politics, The Chinaman in, 226.
Anglo-American Understanding, The Basis of an, 573.
Annexations, Suburban, 612.
Appeal to Womanhood, An, 255.
Aristocracy, A Democratic, 636.
Army, Some Reasons for Increasing the, 448.
Asia, America's Opportunity in, 32.
AUSTEN, P. T. The Educational Value of Resistance, 631.
Autobiographical Notes by Mme. Blanc, 595.

BARTON, CLARA. Our Work and Observations in Cuba, 552.
Basis of an Anglo-American Understanding, 573.
BEALE, TRUXTUN. Strategical Value of the Philippines, 759.
Belief, The Heart and the Will in, 121.
BIEBERSTEIN, ROGALLA VON. Could Russia Take British India? 324.
BLANC, MME. Autobiographical Notes by, 595.
BLIND, KARL. The Siege of Paris and the Airships, 474.
BOUTWELL, HON. GEO. S. Should an Income Tax be Re-established? 673.
BREWER, EBEN. A Civil Service Retirement Fund, 124.

Canals, Railroads *versus*, 207.
Carrying Trade of the Great Lakes, 716.
China, America's Interests in, 129
Chinaman in American Politics, The, 226.
Chinese Exclusion Laws, The Farce of the, 85.
Churches, Have We Too Many? 375.
Citizen Soldiers, Our Duty to Our, 585.
City, Problem of Next Century's, 126.
Civil Service Reform, The Crisis of, 196.
Civil Service Retirement Fund, A, 124.
Civil War, Recollections of the, 234, 362, 491, 618, 740.
CLARK, F. E. Do Foreign Missions Pay? 268.
Cobdenism, The Decay of, in England, 418.
College Government, Personal Morals and, 297.
Commercial Superiority of the United States, 75.
Committees of the House of Representatives, The Speaker and the, 24.
Comparative View of the Woman Suffrage Movement, A, 142.
Conditions Governing Torpedo Boat Design, 98.
Conscription of our Volunteers, The, 570.
Constitution, Is the, Outworn? 257.
Consumers Label, The, 250.
Corn, Our Export of, 755.
Could Russia Take British India? 324.
Courage, Some Aspects of, 678.
Crisis of Civil Service Reform, The, 196.
Cuba, Intervention of the United States in, 350.
Cuba, Our Work and Observations in, 552.
Cuba, The Insurgent Government in, 560.

DAPRAY, J. A. Our Duty to Our Citizen Soldiers, 585.
Decay of Cobdenism in England, The, 418.
Democratic Aristocracy, A, 636.
DENBY, CHARLES, JR. America's Opportunity in Asia, 32.
DOANE, WILLIAM CROSWELL. Patriotism: Its Dangers and Duties, 310.
Do Foreign Missions Pay? 268.
Domestic Service, Profit Sharing and, 639.
DOTY, A. H. The Federal Government and Public Health, 543.
DUNCAN, GEORGE B. Some Reasons for Increasing the Army, 448.

Educational System, Is Our, Top-Heavy? 164.
Educational Value of Resistance, The, 631.
Enfranchisement of Korea, The, 708.
England, The Decay of Cobdenism in, 418.
European Example for American Farmers, 152.
Europe, The United States of, 510.

FAIRCHILD, CHARLES S. The Monetary Commission and its Work, 172.
Farce of the Chinese Exclusion Laws, The, 85.
Farmers, European Example for American, 152.
Federal Government and Public Health, The, 543.
FERGUSON, CHARLES. A Democratic Aristocracy, 636.

FLOWER, ELLIOTT. Is Our Educational System Top-Heavy? 164.
FORD, WORTHINGTON C. Commercial Superiority of the United States, 75.
FOSTER, F. Some Aspects of Courage, 678.
FRANKLIN, FABIAN. The Intellectual Powers of Woman, 40.
French Officer, Reminiscences of a Young, 535.

Germany, The Industrial Advance of, 54.
Germany's Exclusion of American Fruits, 460.
GIBBONS, J. H. The Great Lakes and the Navy, 437.
GIRDNER, J. H. To Purge the Pension List, 374.
Good Government, A Paradise of, 66.
Great Lakes and the Navy, The, 437.
Great Lakes, Carrying Trade of the, 716.
GREELY, A. W. The Speaker and the Committees of the House of Representatives, 24.
GREGORY, ELIOT. The United States of Europe, 570.

Have We Too Many Churches? 375.
Heart and the Will in Belief, The, 121.
Henderson, Senator, and Pan-American Arbitration, 503.
HENDRICKS, ALLAN, Carrying Trade of the Great Lakes, 716.
HIBBEN, JOHN GRIER. The Heart and the Will in Belief, 121.
HOLDER, C. F. The Chinaman in American Politics, 226.
Homicide, Why it Has Increased in the United States, 1.
House of Representatives, The Speaker and the Committees of the, 24.
HULBERT, HOMER B. The Enfranchisement of Korea, 708.

Income Tax — Should it be Re-established? 673.
India British, Could Russia Take? 324.
Industrial Advance of Germany, 54.
Informers of Ninety-eight, The, 522.
Insurgent Government in Cuba, The, 560.
Intellectual Powers of Woman, The, 40.
Intervention of the United States in Cuba, 350.
Ireland Since Ninety-eight, 385.
Irish Question in a New Light, The, 107.
Is Our Educational System Top-Heavy? 164.
Is the Constitution Outworn? 257.

Jersey—A Paradise of Good Government, 66.

KAIN, LANGDON. Man's Span of Life, 466.
KELLEY, M. E. J. Women and the Labor Movement, 408.
KING, JAMES L. Lincoln's Skill as a Lawyer, 186.
Korea, the Enfranchisement of, 708.
Label, The Consumers', 250.
Labor Movement, Women and the, 408.
Lakes, The Great, and the Navy, 437.
Lakes, the Great, Carrying Trade of the, 716.
LA ROCHE, J. H. Masters and Slaves in the Old South, 383.
LATANÉ, John H. Intervention of the United States in Cuba, 350.
LATCHA, J. A. Railroads *versus* Canals, 207.
Libraries, Free Public, and the Community, 660.
Life, Man's Span of, 466.
Lincoln's Skill as a Lawyer, 186, 507.
Literary Life in London, 697.
LOMBROSO CESARE. Why Homicide Has Increased in the United States, 1.
London, Literary Life in, 697.
LOUD, E. F. The Need of Postal Reform, 342.

Machinery, Men and, 602.
Man's Span of Life, 466.
Masters and Slaves in the Old South, 383.
MATTISON, J. B. Wane of Narcotic Inebriety in America, 254.
MELVILLE, G. W. Our Future on the Pacific, 281.
Men and Machinery, 602.
MILLS, DAVID. Which Shall Dominate—Saxon or Slav? 729.
Missions, Foreign, Do They Pay? 268.
Monetary Commission and its Work, The, 172.
MORAN. F. J. C. The Sweating Sytem, 757.
MORGAN, SENATOR JOHN T. What Shall We Do With the Conquered Islands? 641.
MULHALL, M. G. Industrial Advance of Germany, 54.
MURPHY, EDGAR G. The Pulpit and the War, 751.

Narcotic Inebriety, Wane of, in America, 254.
NATHAN, MAUD. The Consumers' Label, 250.
Navy, The Great Lakes and the, 437.
Need of Postal Reform, The, 342.
NEWCOMB, H. T. The Crisis of Civil Service Reform, 196.
NICHOLS, STARR HOYT. Men and Machinery, 602.
Ninety-eight, Ireland Since, 385.
Ninety-eight, The Informers of, 522.

Officering and Arming of Volunteers, 650.
Old South, Masters and Slaves in the, 383.
O'RELL, MAX. A Paradise of Good Government, 66; Reminiscences of a Young French Officer, 535,
O'SHEA, M. V. Some Social Aspects of School Teaching, 378.
Our Duty to Our Citizen Soldiers, 585.
Our Export of Corn, 755.
Our Future on the Pacific, 281.
Our Work and Observations in Cuba, 552.

Pacific, Our Future on the, 281.
Pan-American Arbitration, Senator Henderson and, 503.
Paradise of Good Government, A, 66.
PARKER, JANE M. Profit Sharing and Domestic Service, 639.
PARKER, JAMES. The Conscription of Our Volunteers, 570; The Officering and Arming of Volunteers, 650.
Paris, The Siege of, and the Air-Ships, 474.
Passing of the People's Party, 12.
Patriotism: Its Dangers and Duties, 310.
PEFFER, W. A. Passing of the People's Party, 12.

Pension List, To Purge the, 374.
People's Party, The Passing of the, 12.
Personal Morals and College Government, 297.
Philippines, Strategical Value of The, 759.
PLUMMER, E. C. A Solution of the Shipping Question, 634.
PLUNKETT, HORACE, The Rt. Hon. The Irish Question in a New Light, 107.
PORRITT, EDWARD. Rehabilitated Upper Chambers, 752.
Postal Reform. The Need of, 342.
Problem of Next Century's City, 126.
Profit Sharing and Domestic Service, 639.
Public Health, The Federal Government and, 543.
Pulpit and the War, The, 751.
PUTNAM, HERBERT. Free Libraries and the Community, 660.

QUIMBY, A. W. Have We Too Many Churches? 375.

Railroads *versus* Canals, 207.
Railways, State Regulation of, 398.
Recollections of the Civil War, 234, 362, 491, 618, 740.
REDMOND, JOHN E. Ireland since Ninety-eight, 385.
Rehabilitated Upper Chambers, 752.
Relation of Free Public Libraries to the Community, The, 660.
Reminiscences of a Young French Officer, 535.
Resistance, The Educational Value of, 631.
Retirement Fund, A Civil Service, 124.
RIDEING, W. H. Literary Life in London, 697.
ROBERTS, EDITH. An Appeal to Womanhood, 255.
ROBINSON, HARRY PERRY. State Regulation of Railways, 398.
ROMERO, M. Senator Henderson and Pan-American Arbitration, 503.
RUBENS, HORATIO S. The Insurgent Government in Cuba, 560.
RUSSELL, SIR WILLIAM HOWARD. Recollections of the Civil War, 234, 362, 491, 618, 740.
Russia, Could She Take British India? 324.

Saxon or Slav—Which Shall Dominate? 729.
SCHARF, J. THOMAS. The Farce of the Chinese Exclusion Laws, 85.
School Teaching, Some Social Aspects of, 378.
SELBY, PAUL. "Lincoln's Skill as a Lawyer." A Correction, 507.
Senator HENDERSON and Pan-American Arbitration, 503.
Shipping Question, A Solution of the, 634.
Should an Income-Tax be Re-established? 673.
Siege of Paris and the Air-Ships, The, 471.
Slav or Saxon—Which Shall Dominate? 729.
SMITH, GOLDWIN. Is the Constitution Outworn? 257.
SMITH, J. B. Germany's Exclusion of American Fruits, 460.
SMITH, R. C. Conditions Governing Torpedo Boat Design, 98.
Solution of the Shipping Question, A, 634.
Some Aspects of Courage, 678.
Some Reasons for Increasing the Army, 448.
Some Social Aspects of School Teaching, 378.
SOMERSET, LADY HENRY. Frances Elizabeth Willard, 429.
Spain's Political Future, 686.
Speaker and the Committees of the House of Representatives, The, 24.
STAHL, J. M. Our Export of Corn, 755.
STANTON, THEODORE. Autobiographical Notes by Mme. Blanc, 595.
State Regulation of Railways, 398.
Strategical Value of the Philippines, 759.
Suburban Annexations, 612.
Sweating System, The, 757.

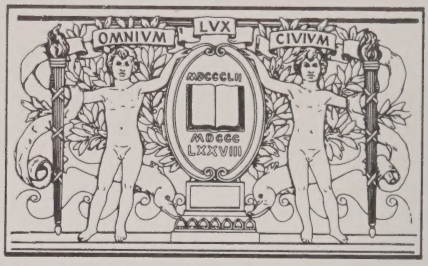
TAYLOR, I. A. The Informers of Ninety-Eight, 522.
TAYLOR, HANNIS. Spain's Political Future, 686.
THORNTON, AMASA. Problem of Next Century's City, 126.
THWING, CHARLES F. Personal Morals and College Government, 297.
To Purge the Pension List, 374.
Torpedo Boat Design, Conditions Governing, 98.

United States, Commercial Superiority of the, 75.
United States, Intervention of the, in Cuba, 350.
United States of Europe, The, 510.
United States, Why Homicide Has Increased in the, 1.

Volunteers, The Conscription of Our, 570.
Volunteers, The Officering and Arming of, 650.

Wane of Narcotic Inebriety in America, 254.
War, Recollections of the Civil, 234, 362, 491, 618, 740.
War, The Pulpit and the, 751.
WEBER, A. F. European Example for American Farmers, 152; Suburban Annexations, 612.
What Shall We Do with the Conquered Islands? 641.
Which Shall Dominate—Saxon or Slav? 729.
Why Homicide Has Increased in the United States, 1.
WILSON, JAMES H. America's Interests in China, 129.
Willard, Frances Elizabeth, 429.
Will in Belief, The Heart and the, 121.
Womanhood, An Appeal to, 255.
Woman Suffrage Movement, A Comparative View of the, 142.
Woman, The Intellectual Powers of, 40.
Women and the Labor Movement, 408.

YOUNG, JOHN P. The Decay of Cobdenism in England, 418.



BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY